The Resolve to Become a *Buddha*

A Study of the *Bodhicitta* Concept in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism

Dorji Wangchuk

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In memory of my mother

g.Yang-sgron

(1931–1989)

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Preface

Obeisance to *bodhicitta*,
That which averts all bad destinies,
Shows the way to good destinies,
And leads [one] to [a state where there is] no aging and dying.

– *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra*[1]

My interest in Buddhism goes back to my high school days when I was introduced to a Bhutanese commentary on a small text popularly known by its abbreviated title *rGyal sras lag len* ('Deeds of a *Bodhisattva*'). The basic text was authored by the Tibetan scholar dNgul-chu Thogs-med-bzang-po (1295–1369), who is believed to have been the incarnation of the Indian teacher Asaṅga. The commentary by the Bhutanese scholar mGon-po-bstan-'dzin, written in a very elegant rDzong-kha (the national language of Bhutan), was prescribed, however, as a textbook on the Bhutanese language, not on Buddhism. The theme of these texts, the *bodhisattva* ideals, fascinated me, so much so that it became increasingly clear that what I wanted to study after my high school graduation was Buddhist philosophy (in the broadest sense of the term).

Given the poor prospects back then of pursuing an academic study of Buddhism in Bhutan, the only viable alternative seemed to be to go to India. In the olden days, Tibetans travelled to India and Bhutanese to Tibet to study Buddhism, both of which were precarious undertakings. Ironically, Tibet's tragedy enabled Bhutanese like myself easy and unrestricted access to the intellectual world of Tibet. The Tibetan Buddhist monastic seminaries that made this possible for me is my traditional *alma mater*, Ngagyur Nyingma Institute (NNI), a stronghold of rNying-ma academia at Bylakuppe (Mysore District, Karnataka State, South India). It was established and is still being administered by His Holiness Padma-nor-bu (or simply Pad-nor) Rin-po-che (b. 1932), one of the leading rNying-ma masters of our time. My study in India would not have been possible had it not been for His Excellency Jigme Thinley, the then director general of the Department of Education, Ministry of Social Services, Royal Government of Bhutan, who in 1987 granted me a Government scholarship to study Buddhism at the Ngagyur Nyingma Institute. Until this day, I remain grateful to the

[1] *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 195a4–5; D, fol. 114a4–5):
ngan 'gro thams cad zlog bgyid cing ||
mtho ris lam ni rab ston la ||
rga shi med par 'dren bgyid pa ||
byang chub sems la phyag 'tshal lo ||.

Bhutanese Government and His Excellency Jigme Thinley, who is currently the minister of Home and Cultural Affairs.

I have incurred an unrepayable debt to Pad-nor Rin-po-che, who, in his infinite graciousness and compassion, allowed unrestricted access to the spiritual, intellectual, and material resources that abound in the monastic academy founded by him in 1978. I am also indebted to my astute and compassionate teachers at the NNI including mKhan-po Padma-shes-rab, mKhan-po rNam-grol-tshe-ring, mKhan-po Tshe-dbang-rgya-mtsho (alias mKhan-po Gu-ru), mKhan-po dBang-phyug-bsod-nams, mKhan-po Tshe-ring-rdo-rje, mKhan-po 'Jam-dbyangs-tshe-ring (alias mKhan-po Kātyāyana), mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-skal-bzang, mKhan-po bKra-shis-tshe-ring (alias mKhan-po Nub-ri), mKhan-po Padma-chos-'phel (alias mKhan-po Ajita), mKhan-po Sangs-rgyas-rang-byung, mKhan-po rDo-rje-dpal-bzang, mKhan-po Kun-bzang-bde-chen, and others who have been instrumental in introducing me to the major Indian treatises translated into Tibetan, centring on Vinaya, Abhidharma, Pramāṇa, Yogācāra, Madhyamaka, Prajñāpāramitā, Tathāgatagarbha, and Tantra, together with their Tibetan commentaries, and a wide range of other traditional fields of knowledge and texts of different literary genres. My gratefulness also extends to His Holiness the Dalai Lama, mKhan-po 'Jigs-med-phun-tshogs (1933–2004), sMyo-shul mKhan-po (1931–1999), Mes-mes Bla-ma bSod-bams-bzang-po (1892–1983), sTag-lung rTse-sprul Rin-po-che, sMin-gling Khri-chen, gDung-sras Phrin-las-nor-bu, and Bla-ma Ser-po, from whom I have had the fortune to occasionally receive initiations, teachings, or transmissions, and with whom I could establish the so-called 'Dharma connection' (*chos 'brel*).

I cannot help looking back with a sense of joy and gratitude at my friends, colleagues, and students from monastic academia, too numerous to mention by name, who made my indulgence in the arts of exposition, disputation, and composition a stimulating, enriching, and memorable experience. I take this opportunity to thank dGa'-rab Rin-po-che, sPrul-sku 'Jam-dpal, Karma-sku-chen Rin-po-che, Gyang-khang sPrul-sku, Rag-mgo mChog-sprul, sMin-gling mKhan-chen, sMin-gling gDung-sras, Sher-pa sPrul-sku, Zhi-ba sPrul-sku, among other incarnate masters, for their friendship and inspiration. I also owe thanks to my friends and colleagues at the NNI, most of whom now live or work in widely different parts of the world—including Byang-sems bKra-shis, Lung-bstan-rgya-mtsho (Lungtaen Gyatso, who is currently the principal of the Institute of Language and Cultural Studies, Royal University of Bhutan), mKhan-po bsTan-'dzin-nor-rgyas (the current Ram-sbyar Bla-ma), mKhan-po Sangs-rgyas-dbang-'dus, mKhan-po 'Gyur-med-kun-bzang-bstan-'dzin, mKhan-po mKhyen-brtse-dpal-ldan, mKhan-po bsKal-bzang-nyi-ma, mKhan-po rTa-mgrin-sri-thub, Shing-khar Bla-ma dNgos-grub, Dr. Karma Phuntsho (now a Spalding Fellow, Cambridge), Slob-dpon Phrin-las-rdo-rje (Thinley Dorjee), Slob-dpon Klong-yangs-seng-ge, and Bla-ma Byang-chub-rdo-rje—for their help and friendship.

Just as my desire to study Buddhist philosophy took me to India, so too did my desire to trace the Indian roots of Tibetan Buddhism bring me to the University of Hamburg, Germany, in 1997. In the course of my ten-year interaction in the NNI with Tibetan Buddhism, it became increasingly clear to me that the best way to deepen my understanding of this subject is to read the original Indian Buddhist texts in Sanskrit (from which most Tibetan translations were made) and to analyse Buddhist ideas by employing western academic approaches. The road to western academia has been, however, by no means smooth. Nonetheless, the kindness and assistance of several key individuals made my studies in Germany possible. First and foremost is Prof. Dr. Lambert Schmithausen (now Professor emeritus), my *Doktorvater*, without whose support I in all likelihood would not have had the privilege to study in Hamburg in the first place. My gratitude to him is profound for his having accepted me as his student, for guiding me, and for helping me to surmount a series of seemingly insurmountable bureaucratic hurdles. I feel honoured to be the last doctoral student of this legendary Buddhologist.

I am also indebted to Prof. Dr. David Jackson who supported me in various ways, among others by enabling me to teach the Tibetan language and Tibetan Buddhism at the University of Hamburg from early on, and for being my second supervisor for both the M.A. and Ph.D. degrees. Moreover, I express my gratitude to Prof. Dr. Harunaga Isaacson (University of Hamburg) for his support and guidance, and to Prof. Dr. Michael Friedrich (University of Hamburg) and Dr. Martin Delhey (University of Hamburg) for their invaluable suggestions.

I should also like to take this opportunity to thank a number of other persons for rendering their help in different ways: Prof. Dr. Albrecht Wezler (Professor emeritus), Prof. Dr. Katsumi Mimaki (University of Kyoto), Prof. Dr. Florin Deleanu and Prof. Dr. Hubert Durt (both of the International College for Postgraduate Buddhist Studies, Tokyo), Prof. Dr. Karin Preisendanz (University of Vienna), Dr. Anne MacDonald (University of Vienna), Dr. Felix Erb (University of Hamburg), Prof. Dr. Tatiana Oranskaia (University of Hamburg), Prof. Dr. Michael Zimmermann (Stanford University), Mr. Burkhard Quessel (British Library, London), Dr. Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi (University of Heidelberg), PD Dr. Klaus-Dieter Mathes (University of Hamburg), Prof. Dr. Jan-Ulrich Sobisch (University of Copenhagen), Dr. Kazuo Kano (University of Kyoto/Hamburg), Dr. Achim Beyer (previously at the University of Hamburg), Dr. Barbara Schuler (University of Hamburg), and Ms. Ayako Nakamura (Ph.D. candidate, University of Hamburg). My thanks also go to the other staff and students at the Department of Indian and Tibetan Studies, Asia-Africa Institute, University of Hamburg, for their encouragement.

I am also grateful to Philip Pierce, who despite having a long waiting list of editorial work, not only corrected my English but also made valuable comments and suggestions pertaining to content, which often made me rethink, refine, or reformulate my thoughts. I also express my thanks to Prof. Dr. Junkichi Imanishi (Director, International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo) and Mr. Shin'ichiro Hori (Acting Director, International Institute for Buddhist Studies, Tokyo) and other members of the Steering Committee including Prof. Dr. Florin Deleanu and Prof. Dr. Hubert Durt for consenting to publish this book, a slightly revised and reorganised version of my dissertation, in the Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series. Above all, I am indebted to my wife Dr. Orna Almogi (University of Hamburg) for standing by me in all walks of life, both academic and non-academic, and for being my first and foremost critic. My thanks are due also to relatives and friends in Bhutan, particularly to my brother bSod-nams-phun-tshogs and sister-in-law Chos-nyid-dbang-mo for their unrelenting support. I should also like to express my thanks to my non-academic German friends, particularly Klaus and Inga Brücken, for their support and help.

In addition to these acknowledgements, I have also some apologies to offer: to my Tibetan Buddhist teachers for my failure to live up to their expectations—for theorising about Buddhist teachings instead of practising them and for investigating the idea of *bodhicitta* instead of generating it; and to my teachers in the west and all other perfectionists for not always being able to meet the high standards of scholarship set by them, and for the major and minor mistakes that certainly abound in this work (for which I am solely responsible).

For the sake of transparency, I should perhaps venture a few words about my intellectual background and the methodological guidelines I have attempted to follow. For several reasons, it is not feasible to pursue the study of Buddhism in a western academic setting the same way it is done in a Tibetan monastic seminary, and vice versa. It goes without saying that the priorities and methods of monastic and western academic training differ, although the objective of both may be to gain knowledge of Buddhism. Ideally, the priority of a Tibetan monastic seminary is to train monks and nuns in such a way as to equip them with qualities of erudition, personal integrity, and conscientiousness (*mkhas btsun bzang gsum*); and with the competence to engage in exposition, spiritual practice, and beneficial tasks (*bshad sgrub las gsum*). Erudition is attained through learning, contemplation, and meditation (*thos bsam sgom*

gsum); personal integrity through the practice of the three trainings (*bslab pa sgum*), namely, higher ethical-moral discipline, higher concentration, and higher insight; while a scholar with conscientiousness can be expected to carry out the tasks of exposition, disputation, and composition (*'chad rtsod rtsom gsum*), and thus contribute to the preservation and propagation of the Buddhist teachings so as to put salvific means at the disposal of other sentient beings. The pursuit of knowledge for knowledge's sake, permissible in western academia, would probably be seen as inadequate, although here too there are several Buddhist (particularly Mahāyāna) concepts with which one could legitimise one's unquenchable thirst and quest for knowledge. Perhaps one could say that for traditional Buddhist scholars, knowledge of Buddhism is desirable primarily for its instrumental value (i.e. good as a means), whereas for western academics it is primarily sought for its own intrinsic value (i.e. good as an end).

One of the methodological strengths of the monastic academic system, I find, is the intensiveness and extensiveness of training it can offer in a relatively short period of time. One of the weaknesses of the traditional system of investigation, however, seems to be its tendency to regard texts and ideas as though they were static entities with no history of their own. The strength of the western academic system, by contrast, as exemplified at the University of Hamburg, is its cultivation of historical-philological skills and tools, based on the presupposition that ideas, articulated and transmitted to us in the form of written texts, have a history of their own, just like persons—that they originate and evolve; and that the authors of texts, analogously to ourselves, wanted to convey definite (and not just any) ideas, and that researchers, regardless of religious or ideological affiliations, or other personal predilections, should attempt to determine the authorial intent of a given text by employing historical-philological tools and skills (without, however, ruling out the usefulness of any other tool that bids to bring us a step closer to the goal).

There have been other individuals like myself who studied first in a traditional monastic academy and later pursued their studies in a western university, and there may be many more in the future willing to do the same. For better or worse, such individuals are in a unique position, and thus also face unique challenges, including overcoming inner conflicts—perhaps a natural consequence of the tension generated between tradition and innovation, religion and science, subjective faith and objective reason, and even between Orientalism and Occidentalism—and having often to cope with such preconceived notions as that a Buddhist can never be an objective Buddhologist (or even that only a Buddhist can be a competent Buddhologist!). Surely individuals deal with such challenges in their own unique way.

My ten years in a Tibetan Buddhist seminary in India and now another ten years in Europe have imparted to me knowledge and values which I would have otherwise remained ignorant of. Far from regretting, there are reasons for rejoicing over having had both the privilege to study Tibetan Buddhism as a Tibetan Buddhist monk and the freedom to give up monkhood and pursue further studies in Germany. The information gathered during study in a monastic seminary can indeed be reassessed with the aid of western academic tools. Methodological precision and the reliability of findings may differ owing to several factors, but at least for me, one of (if not the most) reliable ways of gaining knowledge of Buddhism transmitted in the form of written texts seems to be the use of historical-philological tools and methods, which are not, by the way, completely unknown, at least in some form, in the Tibetan tradition. I would go so far as to say that if there were one western method that a judicious traditional Buddhist scholar is likely to find appealing and worth adopting when analysing Buddhist ideas and textual sources, then that would be the historical-philological one. Moreover, if we assume that the goal of western scientific enquiry is to determine states of affairs as precisely as possible, that is, without underplaying or overplaying any factor, I would argue that it is very much in conformity, at least in theory, with the traditional Indian and Buddhist notion of knowing things or reality without superimposition (*adhyāropa/samāropa: sgro 'dogs pa*) or depreciation (*apavāda: skur ba 'debs pa*).

Readers may wonder why I chose to study the concept of *bodhicitta* (i.e. the resolve to become a *buddha*) in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism. The existential significance of the *bodhicitta* concept in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism, which I hope will become sufficiently clear in due course, is what motivated me to study it. Given the vastness of the literature on *bodhicitta* (it is in fact overwhelming), I had to be selective in the choice of my materials. Whenever possible I have based myself primarily on Indian texts (in their original, if available, or else in their Tibetan translation). I have also resorted to a great deal of indigenous Tibetan sources, particularly when these discuss *bodhicitta* from a tantric perspective, but also when the Tibetan tradition has attempted to systematise various positions found in Indian sources. Indigenous Tibetan sources have often been very helpful, and at times even indispensable, in several respects. Unrestrictive use of indigenous Tibetan material on *bodhicitta* would have been impossible, and I have hence tried to limit myself to the early sources, and drawn on later ones only when I could find no earlier source on a given topic. Two of my criteria for choosing sources have been the accessibility of a given work during the time of writing this thesis and my familiarity with it. In any case, I have tried to present Indian ideas and Tibetan ones (be they of the rNying-ma or gSar-ma schools) as objectively as possible. I have avoided presenting Tibetan ideas as Indian, or rNying-ma ideas as universally valid for all Tibetan schools. Although I have resorted to more Indian sources than Tibetan ones and, in the case of the Tibetan sources, employed more rNying-ma than gSar-ma literature, I believe that this study is, as far as the major issues are concerned, fairly representative of both Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, and hence can rightly be called a study of *bodhicitta* in Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.

This study contains eleven chapters of varying length. In chapter one, I try to provide a general background on the concept of becoming a *buddha,* against the backdrop of the relevant Buddhological, soteriological, ontological, epistemological, gnoseological, and axiological concepts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. I also try to bring the major themes addressed in this book within the compass of these concepts. The second chapter provides an overview (and when deemed necessary also an assessment) of previous studies done by modern scholars on the theme of *bodhicitta*. The third chapter seeks to explore the prehistory of the *bodhicitta* concept and discusses doctrinal foundations that may have contributed to its conception. Chapter four is devoted to the idea of the resolve to become a *buddha* purportedly made by the historical Buddha for the first time in one of his previous existences. The fifth chapter discusses three concepts that are closely related to each other, namely, Mahāyāna, the soteriological means of awakening; *bodhisattva*, a sentient being who strives for awakening; and *bodhicitta*, the resolve to strive for awakening. Chapter six examines the two traditions of Mahāyāna Buddhism found in India and systematised by Tibetan scholars—particularly their views of issues related to the generation of *bodhicitta*. The seventh chapter presents a typology of *bodhicitta*, namely, ethico-spiritual, gnoseological, ontological (or metaphysical), psycho-physiological, and semeiological (or symbolical) *bodhicitta*. Chapter eight brings together various traditional classifications of *bodhicitta* found in Indian and Tibetan sources. The ninth chapter takes a look at the causes and conditions pertaining to *bodhicitta*. The tenth chapter thematises the observances of Mahāyāna, and particularly the maintenance of *bodhicitta* as the foundation of a *bodhisattva*'s ethico-spiritual discipline. The eleventh and last chapter deals with the relapse or loss of *bodhicitta* and the methods for restoring it. Since I have made profuse use in this study of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (i.e. the *Cittotpādapaṭala*, the chapter on the generation of the resolve to become a *buddha*), which is one of the earliest pieces of Mahāyāna literature that deals with the theme, and so is an important textual witness to the development of the concept of *bodhicitta*, I have also included a critical edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of this chapter as, respectively, appendices A and B.

Given the pervasiveness of *bodhicitta* in Mahāyāna Buddhism and the amount of material found on it, this study cannot claim to have done full justice to the theme. Perhaps I

have been naïve in venturing to take a flight into the domain of Mahāyāna that is said to be as vast as space itself.[2] To use a simile employed by Candrakīrti, a bird in flight must finally land, not because there is no sky left to traverse but because it has exhausted all its energy.[3] Similarly, my study comes to an end not because materials on *bodhicitta* have been exhausted and everything that needs to be said on the subject has been said, but because a limit has had to be set so that the deadline for submitting the dissertation can be met. Nonetheless, I do hope that the present work will be a small contribution towards understanding the concept of *bodhicitta*, the *élan vital* of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism.

Dorji Wangchuk

February, 2007, Hamburg

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[2] See, for example, *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 1.21.

[3] *Madhyamakāvatāra* 11.32ab:
nam mkha' med pas 'dab chags ldog par mi 'gyur gyi ||
'di ni rang mthu zad pas ldog par 'gyur de bzhin ||.

Technical Note

When citing Tibetan canonical works from the bKa'-'gyur, I have employed both the sTog manuscript (T) and the sDe-dge (Karma-pa)[1] xylographic edition (D). For works which are not available in T, such as the rNying-ma *tantra*s, I have consulted the Peking bKa'-'gyur xylograph edition (P). When citing works found in the bsTan-'gyur, I have made use of the Peking edition, the sDe-dge edition,[2] and the modern Sichuan (Chengdu) edition (S), which has the sDe-dge xylographic edition as its basis. This recent edition also takes into consideration the Peking (P), sNar-thang (N), and Co-ne (C) editions, and records the variant readings found in them. The variants N and C given by me are based on this edition. Although it is not a critical edition, S records significant variants fairly accurately (except in some cases, where variants seem either to have escaped the notice of the editors or to have been considered insignificant by them). I have not faithfully reproduced all the strokes (*shad*) while citing Tibetan texts. Whenever possible, I consulted and made use of existing critical editions, versions, translations, or studies of texts that I have cited. It was, however, impossible to discuss the date of composition and authorship in all cases. The respective Sanskrit titles and authors were in most cases adopted from the available bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur catalogues. Nonetheless, as already noted by several scholars, some of them are doubtful. Short titles have been used for citing primary sources in Sanskrit and Tibetan. The bibliography and index have been arranged according to the Roman alphabet, including Tibetan titles and words, in which cases I followed the sequence of the initial letters, not the main letter (*ming gzhi*).

The relevant Sanskrit and Tibetan passages have for the most part been quoted in the footnotes, except for the passages from *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (i.e. *Cittotpādapaṭala*). In the latter case, only the paragraph numbers are provided in the notes, referring to the edited text included in the appendices, where lists of the sigla used in the editions are also provided.

Archaic orthographies found in some autochthonous Tibetan works, particularly works of Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po, have been retained. These include the archaic suffix *d* (*da drag*), the archaic employment of the suffix *'a*, and the inverted vowel *gi gu* (marked as *ī*). Glosses contained in the cited Tibetan texts have been given within braces.

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[1] Although the so-called Karma-pa edition of the sDe-dge bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur is said to have undergone some corrections and hence does not completely represent the original sDe-dge xylographic edition of the Tibetan canon, I hope that variants resulting from those corrections, if they exist at all, are negligible, and do not affect the content of the texts that I have cited.

[2] In cases where the works cited by me are not found in the sDe-dge edition, only P and S have been considered.

Chapter One

A General Introduction: On Becoming a *Buddha*

> There has never appeared, will never appear,
> And does not appear a *buddha*
> Who does not depend on *bodhicitta.*
> It is thus always worth being joined in reverence with [*bodhicitta*].

– Khu-nu Bla-ma bsTan-'dzin-rgyal-mtshan (1894/95–1977), *Byang sems bstod pa* 331[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

Becoming a *buddha* ('Awakened One') under the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) was undoubtedly the most significant event in the career of the historical Buddha, and may be considered the starting point of Buddhism. According to both Mahāyāna ('Greater Vehicle') and Hīnayāna ('Lesser Vehicle') or non-Mahāyāna, the historical Buddha had sometime in the distant past resolved to become a *buddha*, thereby launching out on the career of a *bodhisattva*, that is, a sentient being who strives to attain the highest state of awakening. A major distinction between non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna, however, is that for the former the status of being a *bodhisattva* or *buddha* is confined to the historical Buddha (or a few others like him), while the ultimate soteriological goal of a disciple is Arhatship (that is, the final state of a saint who has attained release from the cycle of birth and death) primarily for oneself. For the latter, by contrast, even an ordinary sentient being is capable of undertaking the long and arduous career of a *bodhisattva* by generating *bodhicitta* and finally becoming a *buddha* (just like the historical Buddha himself), primarily for the sake of many other sentient beings. In sum, a person who possesses or has generated *bodhicitta* is considered to be a *bodhisattva*, and the form of Buddhism concerned with the theory and practice of a *bodhisattva* is known as Mahāyāna. The idea of *bodhicitta* in the sense of the resolve to become a *buddha* is hence the bedrock of Mahāyāna, and is what distinguishes a *bodhisattva*

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[1] *Byang sems bstod pa* 331:

byang chub sems la ma brten par ||
sangs rgyas ma byon mi 'byon zhing ||
'byon par mi 'gyur de yi phyir ||
rtag tu gus pas 'grogs par 'os ||.

Cf. the English translation in SPARHAM 1999: 135.

from a *śrāvaka*, Mahāyāna from non-Mahāyāna. It is presupposed by all forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism including Vajrayāna ('Diamond Vehicle'), or tantric Mahāyāna.

Multiple internal and external factors must have contributed to the formation and further development of the concept of *bodhicitta*. The psychological need of the Buddhists to make up in one way or another for the demise of the historical Buddha may have been one of the principal internal factors that contributed to the formation of the idea of the resolve to become a *buddha*. Such an idea would not have lacked the doctrinal justification or legitimisation that it needed, for the non-Mahāyāna sources seem to abound in doctrinal elements that could easily be used to underpin the concept of *bodhicitta*. In its early phase of development, the idea of generating *bodhicitta* probably meant only the initial resolve to become a *buddha*, a momentous decision made by an aspirant seeking Buddhahood (*buddhatva*). This was seen as an indispensable but not necessarily a sufficient condition for the attainment of Buddhahood. However, gradually the idea came to encompass the entire theory and practice of a *bodhisattva* and to be considered not only a necessary but in fact a sufficient condition for such an attainment. In the course of time, even the true reality that a *bodhisattva* or *buddha* experiences as a spiritual event, the meditative insight or gnosis by means of which the true reality is experienced, and all conceivable resources or means—be they psycho-physiological, visual, verbal, or visional impulses that could be employed for becoming a *buddha*—came to be regarded as *bodhicitta*. It is this idea as found explicated in Indian and Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism that the present study seeks to examine.

The concept of *bodhicitta*, regardless of its type, invariably involves in one way or another the idea of becoming a *buddha*. This in turn involves a host of other concepts pertaining to Buddhology (i.e. the theory of the Buddha or a *buddha*), soteriology (i.e. the theory of salvation), ontology (i.e. the theory of being or reality as such), epistemology (i.e. the general theory of knowledge)—particularly gnoseology (i.e. the theory of *jñāna* 'liberating insight')[2]—and axiology (i.e. the theory of values, primarily ethicality or morality), all of which are, unsurprisingly, conceived of differently in different Buddhist systems and scriptures. The heterogeneity of the strands of Mahāyāna Buddhism that explicitly or implicitly endorse one or more types of *bodhicitta*, the diversity of the concepts of Buddhology, soteriology, ontology, epistemology, gnoseology, and axiology proposed in them, and the divergence and convergence of these strands and ideas make a thematic study of the *bodhicitta* concept a daunting task.

What I shall attempt in this chapter is to provide a general introduction to the concept of *bodhicitta* by considering the idea of becoming a *buddha* against the backdrop of the relevant Buddhological, soteriological, ontological, epistemological-gnoseological, and axiological concepts of Mahāyāna Buddhism. I shall, in the process, be trying to bring the major themes addressed in this book under the umbrella of these concepts.

2. Buddhology

The idea of the resolve to become a *buddha* inevitably raises the Buddhological question as to what or who a *buddha* is, or rather who the historical Buddha was, for the concept of the historical Buddha seems to be the point of departure for all matters pertaining to Buddhology in all strands of Buddhism. One of the questions that we never seem to stop asking is who or what a *buddha* is. According to the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, one of the earliest Buddhist sources, the

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[2] The use of the term gnosis here is not intended in any way to link the Buddhist concept of *jñāna* with the concept of gnosis in Gnosticism. See SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 35–35 (particularly n. 49), where problems of comparativism (i.e. drawing comparisons between Mahāyāna and Gnosticism and Manichaeism) are discussed. The case of certain concepts clustering around the notion of what I call 'physiological *bodhicitta*' is mentioned there as one example.

Buddha, upon being asked whether he was a god, some kind of celestial being, demon, or human being, answered:[3]

> Just as a blue, red, or white lotus, having sprouted in water, having grown up in water, and having risen above the water, stands unstained by water, even so do I, born in the world and grown up in the world, and having overcome the world, dwell unstained by the world.[4] Understand that I am a *buddha*.

The Buddha wanted us to understand him as a *buddha*, an 'Awakened One,' and not less and not more.[5] The notion of the Buddha found in various schools and strands of Buddhism is, of course, by no means uniform. Perhaps the only consensus within Buddhology among all forms of Buddhism at all times is the appearance of a phenomenon that we call 'the historical Buddha.' It is, however, the reflections upon and dissent over the nature of the Buddha, the teacher (*śāstṛ: ston pa*); the spatial domain (*sthāna: gnas*) and temporal dimension (*kāla: dus*) of his existence, appearance, activities, and influence; his assembly (*pariṣad: 'khor*) and teachings (*dharma: chos*); and the substratum, nature, and scope of the Buddha's body (*kāya: sku*), speech (*vāc: gsung*), mind (*citta: thugs*), qualities (*guṇa: yon tan*), and salvific activities (*karman: phrin las*) that make Buddhology a fascinatingly complex topic. Several studies devoted to various Buddhological themes have appeared in recent years.[6] I do not, however, intend to probe into the overall subject matter of Buddhology, a theme as complex and wide-ranging as the history and doctrine of Buddhism itself, but merely to touch upon some aspects of Buddhology which I believe are relevant to the study of the *bodhicitta* concept.

Several Buddhological themes, particularly those related to the notions of the historical Buddha, are directly or indirectly addressed in this book. In chapter three, I discuss a number of issues surrounding the historical Buddha and the aftermath of his demise, with the aim of providing possible historical and doctrinal background to the *bodhicitta* concept. I attempt to show how his demise could have created an emotional vacuum among his followers (particularly his lay disciples) and subsequent measures that could be read as ways to fill this emotional gap. One of these subsequent measures could have been to embrace the idea of becoming a *buddha* oneself. As sources of doctrinal justification or legitimisation, I discuss the ideas of a *buddha* as a discoverer and proclaimer of the perpetual true reality; the plurality of *buddha*s; the resolve made by previous *buddha*s to become *buddha*s; the altruism of the historical Buddha; and the prerequisites for becoming a *buddha* as spelled out in non/pre-Mahāyāna sources. The fourth chapter seeks to explore the idea of the major events of the Buddha's career, namely, the initial resolve to become a *buddha* purportedly made by him in one of his previous existences; his striving to become a *buddha*; and the time and place of his becoming a *buddha*. I also briefly discuss whether the historical Buddha has been

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[3] See GETHIN 1998: 29; DE JONG 1979: 27; NORMAN 1983: 67.

[4] See also the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 1.14c (p. 8.3): *jaleruhaṃ vā salile na lipyase*. Later on the analogy of a lotus growing in mud and yet remaining unsullied by it is applied also to *bodhisattva*s. See, for example, *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 89:

> *sems can bskyab pa'i bsam pa can* ||
> *de dag srid pa'i 'dam skyes kyang* ||
> *de byung nyid pas ma gos pa* ||
> *chu yi padma'i 'dab ma bzhin* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 63.

[5] The term *buddha* was, to be sure, used by many religions of the Buddha's time; see NAKAMURA 1980: 83.

[6] See, for example, GRIFFITHS 1994; WEBER 1994; MAKRANSKY 1997; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c; VETTER 2000; STEINKELLNER 2000; and the several related contributions in SCHMIDT-LEUKEL 1998. See also LOPEZ 2005. For a study of traditional Buddhology in its manifold and complex forms as presented by the eleventh-century Tibetan scholar Rong-zom-pa with special reference to the controversy surrounding the existence of gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*) at the stage of a *buddha*, see ALMOGI 2006.

retrospectively conceived of as a 'king-like' or 'herdsman-like' *bodhisattva*, that is, whether his intention was to become a *buddha* prior to other sentient beings or only after them. Some of the possible theoretical reflections on Buddhology in Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna are also discussed in chapter seven, where I show, for instance, that the body of the Buddha, once thought of as 'stinking,' gradually began to be seen as pure, luminous, and adamantine.

Let us first of all consider the term *buddha* itself. It hardly bears mentioning that *buddha* means 'Awakened One' and that 'awakening' (*bodhi*, a verbal noun which, like the noun *buddha*, is derived from √*budh*) is a metaphor for 'eye-opening' comprehension or realisation.[7] It has been noted that the term *buddha* is also used in the Jaina scriptures to designate an insightful person.[8] In the Indo-Tibetan Buddhist tradition it is customary to explain the term as 'one who has awakened from the sleep of disorientation' (*mohanidrā: gti mug gi gnyid*) or 'sleep of ignorance' (*avidyānidrā: ma rig pa'i gnyid*).[9] The term, according to Candrakīrti and others, can be used to designate all three types of Buddhist saints, namely, *śrāvaka* saints, *pratyekabuddhas*, and *buddhas* (or, to be precise, *samyaksaṃbuddhas*).[10] A *pratyekabuddha* is explicitly referred to as a 'middling *buddha*' (*sangs rgyas 'bring*), and thus, analogously, a *śrāvaka* saint and a *buddha* may be described as 'minor' and 'major' *buddhas*, respectively. According to the eleventh-century Tibetan scholar Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (or Rong-zom-pa), however, the term is applicable to a *pratyekabuddha*, a *bodhisattva* of the tenth stage, and a *samyaksaṃbuddha*.[11]

Usually a *buddha* is described, as in the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā*, as one who has known all that is worth knowing, meditatively accomplished all that is worth meditating on, and eliminated all that is worth eliminating.[12] The idea of the Buddha or a *buddha* as a person who is wide awake from the sleep of ignorance—that is, a *buddha* of spiritual realisation—seems to be, however, if the fundamental, not the only type of *buddha* found in Mahāyāna

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[7] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 8 "Ebendeshalb heißt er *buddha*, 'der Erwachte'. Erwachen (*bodhi*, das Verbalnomen zu *buddha*) ist eine Metapher für 'augenöffnendes' Erkennen, Begreifen." See also Sthiramati *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, fol. 200a3–5; D, fol. 170a4–5; S, vol. 72, pp. 413.16–414.1): *'di ltar sangs rgyas zhes bya ba yang ji snyed du yod pa'i chos thams cad kyi don phyin ci ma log par thugs su chud pa la* [las P] *sangs rgyas zhes bya ste | de bas na sā lu ljang pa'i mdo las kyang | de la sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das gang zhe na | gang gis chos thams cad thugs su chud pa'i phyir | sangs rgyas zhes bya ste | de dang 'phags pa'i chos kyi sku dang shes rab kyi spyan gyis byang chub byed pa dang slob pa dang mi slob pas* [= pa'i] *chos gzigs so zhes gsungs so* ||. Cf. also the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fol. 254a1–2; D, fol. 43a6–7):
byang chub sus kyang ma byin te ||
gang gis kyang ni bzung ba med ||
bdag gi chos rnams yongs shes pas ||
sangs rgyas la ni sangs rgyas brjod ||.

[8] See NAKAMURA 1980: 60; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 8, n. 15; NAKAMURA 2000: 168, 338.

[9] Candrakīrti, *Triśaraṇasaptati* 2–4. For the text and a translation, see SORENSEN 1986: 14–17. See also *sGra sbyor bam gnyis*, no. 1. Cf. *Acintyastava* 41:
tat tattvaṃ paramārtho 'pi tathatā dravyam iṣyate |
bhūtaṃ tad avisaṃvādi tadbodhād buddha ucyate ||.
See LINDTNER 1997: 24 (Tibetan text), 25 (English translation).

[10] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 3.18–20): *sangs rgyas kyi sgra 'di sangs rgyas kyi de nyid nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas dang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gsum car la yang 'jug ste |*.

[11] Rong-zom-pa, *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 62b1–5; B, p. 93.7–13).

[12] Kamalaśīla, *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* ad 3612–3619 (vol. 2, p. 784.26–27)
abhijñātam abhijñeyaṃ bhāvanīyaṃ ca bhāvitam |
prahātavyaṃ [a] *prahīṇaṃ ca tena buddho nirucyate ||*.
For an English translation, see JHA 1937/39: 1567. [a] The edition has *ca* here.

sources. For example, we come across ten types of *buddha*s in the *Lokottaraparivarta* of the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*,[13] where they are considered to be the ten worthy things to be discovered (*rjes su rtogs par bya ba: anugantavya*)[14] by *bodhisattva*s. The ten may be rendered tentatively as follows: (1) a *buddha* who is totally awakened (*mngon par byang chub pa'i sangs rgyas*), (2) a *buddha* who is [awakened in virtue of his] aspirational wishes (*smon lam gyi sangs rgyas*), (3) a *buddha* [awakened in virtue of] the maturation of karma (*las rnam par smin pa'i sangs rgyas*), (4) a *buddha* [awakened in virtue of] the empowerment [of other *buddhas*] (*byin gyis brlabs pa'i sangs rgyas*), (5) a *buddha* who has manifested [in a certain animate or inanimate form or being] (*sprul pa'i sangs rgyas*), (6) a *buddha* [in the absolute sense of] *dharmadhātu* (*chos kyi dbyings kyi sangs rgyas*), (7) a *buddha* [inherent in or envisioned by] the mind [of sentient beings] (*sems kyi sangs rgyas*), (8) a *buddha* [envisioned through] meditative concentration (*ting nge 'dzin gyi sangs rgyas*), (9) a *buddha* by nature (*rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas*), and (10) a *buddha* [fashioned] according to one's inclination (*bsam pa ji tla ba'i sangs rgyas*).

Nāgamitra in his *Kāyatrayāvatāramukha*[15] offers his own interpretation of these ten kinds of *buddhas*. For him, the first set of five pertains to the conventional *kāya*s, namely, the two kinds of *rūpakāya* (i.e. the *nirmāṇakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya*), and the second set of five to the absolute *kāya*, namely, the *dharmakāya*. This understanding is shared by Jñānacandra in his commentary on the *Kāyatrayāvatāramukha* called the *Kāyatrayavṛtti*. He, however, maintains that all of the first set of five refers to both the *nirmāṇakāya* and *saṃbhogakāya* except for the third in the list (i.e. *las rnam par smin pa'i sangs rgyas*), which cannot apply to *saṃbhogakāya*.[16] Clearly the idea that a *saṃbhogakāya* should be regarded as the result of karmic maturation must have been unacceptable for him.

The ten types of *buddha* found in the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* have obviously been interpreted in the light of the idea of a *buddha* of spiritual attainment. A similar list and explanation of ten types of *buddha* can be found in the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*,[17] which is cited, for instance, in the *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma*[18] and in the *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭīkā*.[19]

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[13] *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (T, vol. *nga*, fol. 203b1–4; D, vol. *ga*, fol. 153b4–6): *kye rgyal ba'i sras bcu po 'di dag ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi sangs rgyas bstan pa rjes su rtogs par bya ste | bcu gang zhe na | 'di ltar* [1] *mngon par byang chub pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [2] *smon lam gyi sangs rgyas dang |* [3] *las rnam par smyin pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [4] *byin gyis brlabs pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [5] *sprul pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [6] *chos kyi dbyings kyi sangs rgyas dang |* [7] *sems kyi sangs rgyas dang |* [8] *ting nge 'dzin gyi sangs rgyas dang |* [9] *rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas dang |* [10] *bsam pa ji lta ba'i sangs rgyas so || kye rgyal ba'i sras bcu po de dag ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi sangs rgyas bstan pa rjes su rtogs par bya ba rnams so ||*. Cf. Jñānacandra's *Kāyatrayavṛtti* (P, fols. 35b8–36a3; D, fol. 32a4–6; S, vol. 63, p. 78.4–11), where this passage has been cited.

[14] *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 7463.

[15] Nāgamitra, *Kāyatrayāvatāramukha* (P, fol. 7a7–8; D, fol. 6b2–4; S, vol. 63, p. 14.6– 8):

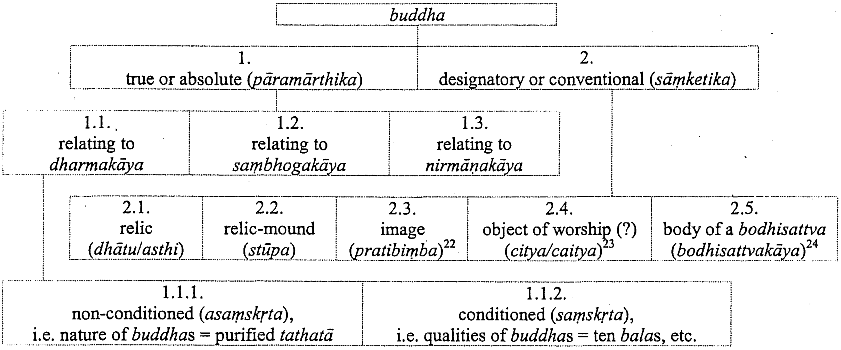
sangs rgyas mtshan nyid las brtsams nas ||
'jig rten 'das shes [D zhes] *bya ba yi ||*
mdo las sangs rgyas bstan mdzad pa ||
kun rdzob dang ni don dam 'dod ||
tshig ni lnga dang lnga dag gis ||
go rim [DC rims] *bzhin du de rig bya ||*
sku gnyis po ni dang pos [po'i N] *bstan ||*
gnyis pa yis ni gsum pa bstan ||.

[16] Jñānacandra, *Kāyatrayavṛtti* (P, fol. 36a3–8; D, fol. 32a6–b2; S, vol. 63, pp. 78.11–79.3).

[17] *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fols. 205a2–206b4; D, fols. 10a4–11a6).

[18] *bKa' yang dag pa'i tshad ma* (P, fol. 87a7–b8; D, fol. 192a4–b3; S, vol. 115, pp. 511.21–513.3). The source, however, is given there as a certain *Chos kun 'gro ba'i mdo*.

Daśabalaśrīmitra (ca. twelfth or thirteenth century), in his *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*,[20] subclassifies *buddha* in yet a different manner, namely, into true or absolute (*pāramārthika*) and designatory or conventional (*sāṃketika*). As we shall see in chapter eight, on the traditional classification of *bodhicitta*, he also categorises *dharma* and *saṃgha* in a similar way. His classification of *buddha* may be summarised in a tabular form as follows:[21]



The types of *buddha* listed by Daśabalaśrīmitra are more or less clear, except for the distinction called for between *stūpa* and *caitya*, assuming that the Tibetan reading *tsi tya* (without any variant) points to *citya* or *caitya*. One wonders, though, whether it should rather read *citta*, which is not inconceivable, given the concept of *sems kyi sangs rgyas* found in the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (no. 7). Perhaps *pratibimba* means any representation of a *buddha*, including statues or footprints. The author may not have intended a mentally pictured or meditatively experienced *buddha*, as described, for example, in the *Bhadrapālasūtra* or *Pratyutpannabuddhasaṃmukhāvasthitasamādhisūtra*. In any case, the types of *buddha* listed by Daśabalaśrīmitra are quite noteworthy for both historical and doctrinal reasons. Historically, the notions of a *buddha* discussed here can perhaps be best understood on the basis of various approaches taken by Buddhists to compensate for the absence of the historical Buddha, to which we shall return in chapter three.[25]

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[19] *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgītiṭīkā* (P, fols. 152a5–153a8; D, fols. 131a6–132a6; S, vol. 32, pp. 346.12–349.6).

[20] For information on this author and work, see MARTIN 2006, s.v. Daśabalaśrīmitra.

[21] Daśabalaśrīmitra, *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (P, fols. 76b8–77a7; D, fol. 168a2–6; S, vol. 63, pp. 441.19–442.16): *de la sangs rgyas gnyis ni 'di lta ste | don dam pa* [add. pa D] *dang | brdar btags* [brtags P] *pa'o || de la dang po ni gsum ste | 'di lta ste | chos kyi sku'i bdag nyid dang longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku'i* [om. D] *bdag nyid dang | sprul pa'i* [pa P] *sku'i bdag nyid do || de la chos kyi sku'i bdag nyid la gnyis ni 'di lta ste | 'dus ma byas dang | 'dus byas so || ... brdar btags* [brtags P] *pa'i sangs rgyas kyang rnam pa bzhi ni 'di lta ste | ring bsrel dang | mchod rten dang | sangs rgyas kyi gzugs brnyan dang | tsi tya'o || byang chub sems dpa'i sku dang lnga yin no zhes byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa pa smra'o ||*.

[22] Note the expression *stūpabimbāni* recorded in *BHSD*, s.v. *stūpa*.

[23] See *MW*, s.v. *citya* and *caitya*; *BHSD*, s.v. *caitya*.

[24] Daśabalaśrīmitra states that the body of a *bodhisattva* is posited as the fifth kind of designatory *buddha* by the proponents of the Bodhisattvayāna (*bodhisattvayānika*). He himself was reportedly affiliated to the Abhayagiri tradition (a Theravāda school). See MARTIN 2006, s.v. Daśabalaśrīmitra.

In the Tibetan Buddhist context, it is worth looking at what Rong-zom-pa has to say about the various types of *buddhas*. He alludes to three kinds in his *lTa 'grel*, which figure in a purely tantric context, during his exposition of the philosophical view (*lta ba: darśana*) of the Mahāyoga. His explanation may be summarised in the following tabular form:

buddha		
1. a *buddha* by nature (*rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas*), i.e. a sentient being	2. a *buddha* in virtue of realisation (*rtogs pa'i sangs rgyas*), i.e. a yogin on the spiritual path	3. a *buddha* in virtue of attainment (*grub pa'i sangs rgyas*), i.e. a yogin who has attained the spiritual goal

1. a *buddha* by nature		
1.1. the [complex of elemental] causes of one's birth [envisioned during conception as] a *buddha* (*skye ba rgyu'i sangs rgyas*)	1.2. the bases of one's birth [viewed during conception as] a *buddha* (*skye ba rten pa'i sangs rgyas*)	1.3. the attained birth (or ensuing body) [viewed as the body of] a *buddha* (*skye ba mngon par grub pa'i sangs rgyas*)

As an aid to the understanding of some of the unusual expressions found here, a translation of the pertinent passage is attempted as follows:[26]

> The philosophical view (*lta ba: darśana*) of the Mahāyoga: All phenomena are viewed as [already] awakened (*sangs rgyas pa: buddha*) in [the domain of] {the spontaneously attained} reflectional (or representational) *maṇḍala* (*gzugs brnyan gyi dkyil 'khor*). A *buddha* is said to be of three kinds: [1] a *buddha* by nature (*rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas*), [2] a *buddha* by realisation (*rtogs pa'i sangs rgyas*), and [3] a *buddha* by attainment (*grub pa'i sangs rgyas*). [1] A *buddha* by nature is the sentient being itself, which is said to be [of three kinds in accordance with its] three states or circumstances: [1.1] The [complex of elemental] causes of one's birth [envisioned during conception as a] *buddha* (*skye ba rgyu'i sangs rgyas*), [1.2] the bases of one's birth [viewed as a] *buddha* (*skye ba rten pa'i sangs rgyas*), and [1.3] the attained birth (or ensuing body) [viewed as the body of] a *buddha* (*skye ba mngon par grub pa'i sangs rgyas*). [1.1] The [complex of elemental] causes of one's birth envisioned during conception as] a *buddha* means that when the seeds (i.e. sperm and ovum) of the parents, the cause of a sentient being's body being formed, are taken possession of by the element of consciousness (*rnam par shes pa'i khams: vijñānadhātu*) [and] when all the intellectual-emotional defilements (*nyon mongs pa: kleśa*), the psycho-physiological complex (*phung po: skandha*), and the sense fields (*skye mched: āyatana*) exist in [their] incipient and elemental states, they can be viewed as being [already] awakened in the [domain] of the complete divine *maṇḍala*. [1.2] The bases of one's birth [viewed during conception as] a *buddha* means that all the physiological and

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[25] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 12–15. The possibility of a connection among the individual approaches is not ruled out (*ibid.*, 12, n. 32).

[26] *lTa 'grel* (A, fols. 251b4–252a4; B, p. 334.10–24): *rnal 'byor* ['byord B] *chen po'i lta ba la | chos thams cad {lhun gyis grub pa'i} gzugs brnyan gyi dkyil 'khor du sangs rgyas par lta ba la | sangs rgyas kyi bye brag gsum du smra ste |* [1] *rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas dang |* [2] *rtogs pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [3] *grub pa'i sangs rgyas so ||* [1] *de la rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas ni | sems can nyid yin te* [om. A] *| de yang gnas skabs gsum du smra ste |* [1.1] *skye ba rgyu'i sangs rgyas dang |* [1.2] *skye ba rten pa'i sangs rgyas dang |* [1.3] *skye ba mngon par grub pa'i sangs rgyas so ||* [1.1] *de la skye ba rgyu'i sangs rgyas ni | sems can gyi lus 'grub pa'i rgyu | pha ma gnyis kyi sa bon | rnam par shes pa'i khams kyis bzung ba'i dus na | nyon mongs pa* [pa' B] *dang phung po* [po' B] *dang skye mched thams cad kyí* [= om.?] *sa bon dang khams kyi rang bzhin du gnas pa'i dus na | de nyid yongs su rdzogs pa'i lha'i dkyil 'khor du sangs rgyas par lta'o ||* [1.2] *skye ba rten pa'i sangs rgyas ni | pha ma gnyís kyi lus dang sems kyi khams thams cad lha'i dkyil 'khor du grub par lta'o ||* [1.3] *skye ba mngon par grub pa'i sangs rgyas ni | rang gi lus mngon par grub pa* [pa' A] *'di* ['di' B] *nyid | de lta bu'i tshul du lta ba'o ||* [2] *rtogs pa'i sangs rgyas ni | de ltar rtogs pa'í rig 'dzin* ['dzín B] *gyi sa la gnas pa' rnams so ||* [3] *grub pa'i sangs rgyas ni* [ní A] *de nyid mngon du gyur* [gyurd A] *pa'o || 'di' rnams kyang rang bzhin dang gnas skabs kyi bye brag du* [= tu] *'dod do ||*. See also *ibid.* (A, fol. 254a3–4; B, p. 337.6–8).

> psychical elements of [one's] parents are envisioned as being attained in the form of a divine *maṇḍala*. [1.3] The attained birth (or ensuing body) [viewed as the body of] a *buddha* means that the very coming into existence of one's body is [viewed] in that manner (i.e. as the coming into existence of a *buddha*'s body). [2] Those who are *buddha*s in virtue of realisation are those who abide at the stage of knowledge-bearers (*rig pa 'dzin pa: vidyādhara*), that is, who, in doing so, have realised [that all phenomena are awakened in the domain of the divine *maṇḍala*]. [3] A *buddha* by attainment (*grub pa'i sangs rgyas*) is one who has actualised that (i.e. the realisation that all phenomena are already awakened in the domain of the divine *maṇḍala*). These [types of *buddha*], it can be maintained, differ in terms of nature and circumstances (or states).

Although the author does not make this explicit, one is tempted to interpret the three kinds of *buddha* mentioned here as pertaining to *buddha*s on the three levels of (a) cause (*rgyu*) or basis (*gzhi*), namely, the state of still being a sentient being, (b) path (*lam*), and (c) result or goal (*'bras bu*), respectively. Interestingly, the author, while describing one who is a *buddha* by nature (*rang bzhin gyi sangs rgyas*), does not allude to the idea of an ontological *buddha* but merely to the meditative visualisation associated with the so-called tantric practices of the generation phase (*bskyed pa'i rim pa: utpattikrama*) and completion phase (*rdzogs pa'i rim pa: niṣpannakrama*) of the Mahāyoga system. The idea of the three types (or rather states) of a *buddha* by nature may convey the impression that it concerns the actual process of conception and birth of a person, and presupposes the capacity of a Mahāyoga practitioner to remain conscious of these processes. Yet none of these, in my view, could have been the intent of the author.[27] The process of conception and birth of a person here should thus be understood as the enacting of the events of conception and birth meditatively, by mimicking those of a fully awakened *buddha* as a form of mental training (*blo sbyong ba*) so as to realise and become accustomed to the fact that there is no phenomenon that is not awakened (*sangs ma rgyas pa'i chos*).

I would suggest that the various types of *buddha*s may be classified as: (a) historical (i.e. the Buddha Śākyamuni), (b) mythical (e.g. Dīpaṃkara, who is said to have lived on earth, like Śākyamuni himself), (c) celestial or transcendental (e.g. Amitābha, who is said to reside in the paradise-like realm of Sukhāvatī, or the Medicine Buddha), (d) gnoseological (i.e. *nirvikalpajñāna*,[28] *advayajñāna*, etc.), (e) ontological (i.e. *dharmatā*,[29] *dharmadhātu*, *bhūtakoṭi*, *śūnyatā*, *tathāgatagarbha*, etc.), (f) symbolical or representational (i.e. physical symbols or representations, such as relics and footprints of the historical Buddha; verbal symbols or representations, such as letters and *mantra*s; and mentally envisaged *buddha*s, i.e. through *samādhi*), (g) manifested or emanated (i.e. as animate beings, such as *bodhisattva*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, *śrāvaka*s, kings, teachers, hunters, prostitutes, and animals, or as inanimate objects, such as bridges and islands). One also finds the idea of a *buddha* manifesting himself as *dharma* and the *saṃgha*; *dharma* manifesting itself as a *buddha* and the *saṃgha*; or the *saṃgha* manifesting itself as a *buddha* and *dharma*.[30]

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[27] It is said that only a *buddha* (i.e. *saṃbuddha*) is conscious while entering, residing in, and exiting in the womb of his mother. A *pratyekabuddha* is said to be conscious when entering and residing but not when exiting, and a *cakravartin* ('universal monarch') only when entering. See the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 128.24–27).

[28] Dignāga, *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha* (as cited in STCHERBATSKY 1932: 537, n. 6): *prajñāpāramitā jñānam advayam sa tathāgataḥ*. For further information on the *Prajñāpāramitāpiṇḍārtha*, see MARTIN 2006, s.v. Navaśloka.

[29] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 239cd (p. 296): *sarvadharmāvabodhena cittaṃ buddham vadāmy aham* ||. For an English translation, see SUZUKI 1932: 245. Cf. the term *dharmatābuddha* (*chos nyid kyi sangs rgyas*) also found in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (*TSD*, s.v. *chos nyid kyi sangs rgyas*). The following famous verse from the *Vajracchedikāsūtra*, as cited in the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 79), may also be mentioned:

> *dharmato buddhā draṣṭavyā dharmakāyā hi nāyakāḥ* |
> *dharmatā cāpy avijñeyā na sā śakyā vijānitum* ||.

More studies will be required in order to determine the interrelationship among these concepts and to sort them out according to their different historical and doctrinal layers, if such is possible at all. It is conceivable that one type of *buddha* may have been juxtaposed to or superimposed on another type of *buddha*. But as I noted above, we can at least state, both historically and doctrinally, that the idea of the historical Buddha Gautama (or Śākyamuni) is the point of departure for the idea of all other types of *buddhas*. From a historical perspective, no Buddhist school of thought could ignore or detach itself from the historical Buddha, irrespective of how much it may have doctrinally digressed from early Buddhist thought, for doing so would have undermined its own roots.[31] To be sure, any given school of Buddhist thought—be it Mahāyāna or non-Mahāyāna, tantric or non-tantric Mahāyāna—may have rejected others' perception of the historical Buddha or relativised his role, but it would never have ignored the historical Buddha himself. For example, although the rDzogs-chen tradition of the rNying-ma school may give the impression that it has little to do with or say about the historical Buddha, it nevertheless sees the Buddha Śākyamuni as a *nirmāṇakāya* of the Ur-Buddha Samantabhadra.[32] The various schools of Buddhist thought were all but bound to accept and explain the phenomenon called the historical Buddha, and this has resulted in multifarious Buddhological concepts.

For the question of how one becomes a *buddha*, the concepts of gnoseological and ontological *buddhas* seem to be particularly significant. As paralleled in the case of the typology of *bodhicitta* (which we shall address in chapter seven), one can become a *buddha*, like the historical Buddha himself, by generating (or by revealing) the gnoseological *buddha*, and thereby gain full and direct access to the ontological *buddha*. The rest can be seen as factors conducive to the process of becoming a *buddha*. It is thus understandable why many tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources assert that the quest for Buddhahood is a journey within one's psycho-physiological complex, one's own mind, for it is there and there alone that a *buddha* can either be generated or exposed. For example, the *Atyayajñānasūtra* states:[33]

> The mind is the cause of the arising of gnosis (i.e. the gnoseological *buddha*);
> Do not seek a *buddha* elsewhere!

Likewise, the *Hevajratantra* states:[34]

> Nowhere else in the spheres of the world

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[30] Rong-zom-pa, *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 11a4–b1; B, p. 37.14–19). See also ALMOGI 2006: 463 (text) and 310–311 (translation).

[31] The Tibetan Bon religion, if regarded as de facto a form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, may be an exception (although it is said to have its own explanation of the Buddha Śākyamuni).

[32] Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer (1308–1364), *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. 1, p. 24.4–6): *de yang thog mtha' med pa'i dus su mngon par byang chub pa'i mgon po 'di ni | chos kyi sku'i gnas skabs na gnyis su med pa'i ye shes de nyid ston pa kun tu bzang po zhes bya'o || longs spyod rdzogs pa sku'i gnas skabs na rigs lnga'i sangs rgyas zhes bya'o || sprul pa sku'i gnas skabs na thub pa bcom ldan 'das zhes bya'o ||*.

[33] *Atyayajñānasūtra*, as cited by Prajñāsamudra in his *Atyayajñānasūtravyākhyāna* (P, fol. 208b8; D, fol. 173a6; S, vol. 67, p. 453.3–4):

> *sems ni ye shes 'byung ba'i rgyu ||*
> *sangs rgyas gzhan du ma tshol cig ||*.

See also *ibid.* (P, fol. 208a8–b3; D, fol. 173a1–2; S, vol. 67, p. 452.6–11). The *Atyayajñānasūtra* itself does not seem to have survived.

[34] *Hevajratantra* 2.4.75:

> *na buddho labhyate 'nyatra lokadhātuṣu kutracit |*
> *cittam eva hi saṃbuddho na buddho 'nyatra darśitaḥ ||*.

See also *ibid.* 2.4.69:

> *sattvā buddhā eva kiṃ tu āgantukamalāvṛtāḥ ||*
> *tasyāpakarṣanāt sattvā buddhā eva na saṃśayaḥ ||*.

Cf. *ibid.* 2.4.73a: *abuddho nāsti sattvaikaḥ.*

Can one obtain a *buddha*.
Mind itself is a perfect *buddha*;
No *buddha* has been exhibited elsewhere.

This idea is echoed also in the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, one of the most important *tantra*s of the rNying-ma school:[35]

A perfect *buddha* cannot be obtained
From anywhere else within the four times and ten directions.
Mind itself is a perfect *buddha*.
Do not seek a *buddha* somewhere else!

In short, as propagated in these and similar sources, mind is already a *buddha* (by 'nature'); mind is the cause of a *buddha* (by 'nurture'). Becoming a *buddha* means generating or unfolding a *buddha* from within, from one's own mind.

3. Buddhist Soteriology

In order to make sense of Mahāyāna soteriology, according to which the highest salvific goal is Buddhahood, it is perhaps worthwhile to look at the basic tenets of Buddhist soteriology in general. We might question the wisdom of employing the term 'soteriology' in the Buddhist context, particularly if we recall its Greek etymological roots *sōtēr* ('saviour') and *sōzein* ('to save'),[36] and the possible connotations of the term used in theology. Here as elsewhere, however, we should, like Tibetan Buddhist exegetes and logicians,[37] be aware of the limitations of etymology. Buddhism in general does not embrace the idea of an external saviour, but if we understand soteriology as a theory or plan of salvation, we cannot deny that it, like any other religion, does have its own such notions. There are a host of words used in Buddhism that more or less convey the meaning of salvation, such as release (*mukti: grol ba*), complete release (*vimukti: rnam par grol ba*), deliverance (*mokṣa: thar pa*), complete deliverance (*vimokṣa: rnam par thar pa*), awakening (*bodhi: byang chub*), complete awakening (*saṃbodhi: rdzogs pa'i byang chub*), perfect complete awakening (*samyaksaṃbodhi: yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub*; *abhisaṃbodhi: mngon par rdzogs pa'i byang chub*), emancipation (*apavarga: byang grol*), purification (*vyavadāna: rnam par byang ba*), cessation (*nirodha: 'gog pa*), and extinction (*nirvāṇa: mya ngan las 'das pa*) (i.e. of the fire of *saṃsāra*).

(a) *Emic* and *Etic* Perceptions of Buddhism

Almost a century ago the famous Belgian Buddhologist Louis de La Vallée Poussin, even as he was aware of the risks of general definition, ventured to define Buddhism as 'a discipline

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[35] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 121a5; D, fol. 123b2):
dus bzhi phyogs bcu gang nas kyang ||
rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnyed mi 'gyur ||
sems nyid rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas te ||
sangs rgyas gzhan na [nas D] *ma tshol cig* ||.

Cf. *Dohāgīti* 71 (SNELLGROVE 1954: 233); *Kurukullākalpa* 2.10:
cetasā sarvabuddhatvaṃ cetasaiva vimucyate |
cetasā mokṣate bandhaś cetasā muktimān bhavet ||.

[36] *Webster's*, s.vv. soteriology and soterial.

[37] One Tibetan exegetic or hermeneutic maxim runs as follows: *sgra bshad pa la khyab pa med* || (lit. "There is no [logical] pervasion (*khyab pa: vyāpti*) in an etymological explanation (*sgra bshad* or *nges tshig: nirukti*) [of a word]." This means that in a debate or a dialogue the proponent or opponent cannot count on defending or refuting a thesis on the basis of the etymology of some given term, for etymologies are often inadequate as definitions.

of salvation,' a definition obviously approved by a host of other prominent Buddhologists.[38] Indeed, the various notions of Buddhology and Buddhist physiology, psychology, ontology, epistemology, gnoseology, axiology, cosmogony, cosmology, mythology, and eschatology (here in the sense of the belief concerning the ultimate destiny of the external and internal worlds—the *bhājanaloka* ('receptacle world') and *sattvaloka* ('world of sentient beings')—in Buddhism)[39] ultimately make sense only in the context of Buddhist soteriology. In particular, there seems to be no way to understand the idea of becoming a *buddha* without setting it within the context of Mahāyāna soteriology, which in turn revolves around the *bodhicitta* concept.

If we were to ask Buddhist scholars of various traditions to explain the teachings of the Buddha (*buddhaśāsana: sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa*) in a nutshell (i.e. just in one verse), we would probably hear the following verse recited (transmitted with slight variations in the *Udānavarga*, *Prātimokṣasūtra*, and *Dharmapada*):[40]

> The avoidance of all unwholesome deeds,
> The accumulation of all wholesome deeds,
> The purification of one's own mind—
> This is the doctrine of the Buddha.

Although the verse occurs in texts representing a rather conservative strand of Buddhism, I would argue that it is the foundation and nucleus of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna spirituality as well. The sublime doctrine or the doctrine of the sublime ones, or even the eternally (valid) doctrine (*saddharma: dam pa'i chos*), as Buddhist teachings are often described, is primarily defined by its ability to alleviate the suffering and discontent of sentient beings and purify their intellectual-emotional defilements, as the following verse states:[41]

> That which eliminates all suffering or discontent (*duḥkha*) and all obscurations (*āvaraṇa*)
> Is the sublime doctrine (*saddharma*).

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[38] LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1917: 1; cf. DE JONG 1979: 50: "La Vallée Poussin has defined Buddhism as Nirvāṇa-mysticism. No better definition can be given." FRAUWALLNER 1956: 1: "The Buddha himself had admittedly taught exclusively a salvific doctrine, and in regard to the philosophical questions of his time he hardly took any stance" (*Der Buddha selbst hatte zwar ausschließlich eine Erlösungslehre verkündet und zu den philosophischen Fragen seiner Zeit kaum Stellung genommen*). See also *ibid.* 9; STCHERBATSKY 1932: 6: "It (i.e. Buddhism) is a doctrine of salvation."

[39] It has been pointed that "the overriding focus of Buddhist doctrine in soteriological concerns ultimately brought even its eschatology within the purview of soteriology; and it is apparently for this reason that the demise of the dharma was defined in terms of the *nirvedhabhāgīya*-s" (BUSWELL 1997: 598).

[40] *Udānavarga* 28.1:

> *sarvapāpasyākaraṇaṃ kuśalasyopasampadaḥ* |
> *svacittaparyavadanam etad buddhasya śāsanam* ||.

For an English translation of the corresponding verse from the *Prātimokṣasūtra* of the Mahāsāṃghikas and Mūlasarvāstivādins, see PREBISH 1975: 110–111. The source of the verse is identified in the *lTa phreng* attributed to Padmasambhava as the Vinaya, and is cited there as a scriptural source justifying the austerities (*tapas: dka' thub*) of *śrāvaka*s. For Rong-zom-pa's commentary on the verse, see his *lTa 'grel* (A, fols. 262b4–264a1; B, pp. 347.5–348.12). For the *Dhammapada* version of the verse, see, for example, GETHIN 2004b: 190. The popularity of the verse makes it impossible to indicate all the primary and secondary sources.

[41] An unidentified verse (cited, for example, in the *Bu ston chos 'byung*, p. 11.15–16; *Co ne bstan dkar*, p. 39.5–6):

> *sdug bsngal dag ni thams cad dang* ||
> *sgrib kun sel byed dam pa'i chos* ||.

Cf. *Maitreyavyākaraṇa* (LÉVI 1932: 387; MAJUMDAR 1959: 19): *deśayiṣyati saddharmaṃ sarvaduḥkhāpahaṃ śivam* |; *Ratnāvalī* 1.39a: *sarvaduḥkhakṣayaṃ dharmaṃ* (Tib. *sdug bsngal thams cad zad pa yi* || *chos....*); *Acintyastava* 51cd: *deśayām āsa saddharmaṃ sarvadṛṣṭicikitsakam* ||.

Śākyaprabha in his *Prabhāvatī*, a commentary on the *Mūlasarvāstivādiśrāmaṇerakārikā*,[42] describes the Buddha's teachings as follows:[43]

The wise ones realise that [those teachings]
That are well endowed, [namely,] with three seals,[44] teach three trainings (*śikṣātraya*),[45]
And are wholesome in the beginning, middle, and end
Are words of the Buddha (*buddhavacana*).

According to the Madhyamaka scholar Āryadeva, the doctrines of the Buddha are in sum the doctrine of non-violence (*ahiṃsā: 'tshe ba med pa*) and of emptiness (*śūnyatā: stong pa nyid*), which, according to Candrakīrti are meant to lead one to the attainment of a higher destination (*svarga: mtho ris*; *sugati: bde 'gro*) and (final) emancipation (*apavarga: byang grol*), respectively.[46] Tantric Mahāyāna scriptures, such as the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra*, seem to have their own perception of the Buddhist doctrine.[47]

The classification of *saddharma* under two headings, scriptural (*āgama: lung*) and realisation (*adhigama: rtogs pa*), is witnessed in *Abhidharmakośa* 8.39ab, which is a *locus classicus* for any Tibetan Buddhist scholar dealing with the theme.[48] According to the *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā*, ascribed to Asaṅga by the Tibetan tradition, the (Buddhist) doctrine is of two kinds, namely, the doctrine of instruction (*deśanādharma: bstan pa'i chos*)

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[42] A Sanskrit manuscript of the *Prabhāvatī* is reported to be extant (MARTIN 2006, s.v. Śākyaprabha).

[43] Śākyaprabha, *Prabhāvatī* (P, fol. 188b2–3; D, fol. 161b5; S, vol. 93, pp. 417.21–418.2)
phyag rgya gsum dang yang dag ldan ||
bslab pa gsum ni rab ston cing ||
thog ma bar dang mthar dge ba ||
sangs rgyas gsung du mkhas pas rtogs [rtog N] ||.
In the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 33.6–7), the first and second *pāda*s are inverted.

[44] The 'three seals' alluded to here are: (1) All phenomena are characterised by the absence of a self (*nairātmya*). (2) All conditioned phenomena are momentary. (3) *Nirvāṇa* is characterised by quiescence. See the *Prabhāvatī* (omitted in P; D, fol. 161b3; S, vol. 93, p. 417.15–17):
chos rnams thams cad bdag med de ||
'dus byas thams cad skad cig ma ||
mya ngan 'das zhi de dag ni ||
chos kyi phyag rgya mtshan nyid gsum ||.

[45] *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 929–932: *adhiśīla*, *adhicitta*, and *adhiprajñā*.

[46] *Catuḥśataka* 12.23 (LANG 1986: 116; TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 55):
dharmaṃ samāsato 'hiṃsāṃ varṇayanti tathāgatāḥ |
śūnyatām eva nirvāṇaṃ kevalaṃ tad ihobhayam ||
For English translations, see LANG 1986: 117 and TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 1, pp. 132–133. Cf. also *Ratnāvalī* 1.10.

[47] See, for example, the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra* (cited in DASGUPTA 1958: 93, n. 2 according to the *Advayavajrasaṃgraha*):
śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ yatra cittaṃ prabhāvyate |
so hi buddhasya dharmasya saṃghasyā'pi hi deśanā ||.
For the Tibetan translation of the verse, see the *Ḍākinīvajrapañjaratantra* (T, fol. 184b2; D, fols. 54b7–55a1):
stong pa snying rje tha dad med ||
gang du sems ni rab bsgoms pa ||
'di ni sangs rgyas chos dang ni ||
dge 'dun gyi yang bstan pa'o ||.

[48] *Abhidharmakośa* 8.39ab: *saddharmo dvividhaḥ śāstur āgamādhigamātmakaḥ* |. See also the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 459.10): *tatrāgamaḥ sūtravinayābhidharmā adhigamo bodhipakṣyā ity eṣa dvividhaḥ saddharmaḥ* |. For an English translation, see PRUDEN 1988–90: 1281. The two types of *dharma* are also briefly described in SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 29.

and the doctrine of realisation (*adhigamadharma: rtogs pa'i chos*).[49] The two, therefore, correspond to the theoretical and practical aspects of Buddhist soteriology. This distinction can be useful for relieving or reducing the tension that seems to exist between theory-oriented and praxis-oriented Buddhists in real life. If the *āgama* were self-sufficient *adhigama* would be superfluous, and vice versa, but for Buddhists no *saddharma* can be said to be superfluous. Although theoretical learning is never conceived of as a substitute for (or alternative to) practical realisation, the former is certainly a prerequisite for the latter. Being unduly indisposed to one of the two may lead to the shunning of the *saddharma*, and thereby to retracting the commitment one made while taking refuge in the Three Jewels, and also to violating the *bodhisattva* vow, which from the Buddhist perspective would be like a patient shunning life-saving medicine. We may regard Buddhism as a philosophy or religion (as a religion of reason or of faith; of intellectualism or of mysticism),[50] but one thing seems to be clear: it is in the end, from both *emic* and *etic* perspectives, a discipline meant to lead one to salvation. Because of its extreme emphasis on the role of the mind, it may justifiably also be called a religion of the mind.[51]

(b) The Fundamental Features of Buddhist Soteriology

The nature of salvation and those for whose sake one is supposed to seek it is what divides Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna. Generally speaking, the Mahāyāna notion of salvation is universal in its scope, while the non-Mahāyāna notion is personal, although both aspects of universality and individuality of salvation may be found in both traditions. Even in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna, one's salvific breakthrough needs to be made by oneself (regardless of the degree of others' help) and is thus individualistic; and even in the non-Mahāyāna tradition the prospects of salvation are, in principle, not limited in regard to time, place, or person (except perhaps according to the *agotraka* theory of the Yogācāra school). The following verse represents the fundamental outlook of Buddhist soteriology:[52]

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[49] *Ratnagotravibhāgavyākhyā* (pp. 18.14–19.1): *dvividho dharmaḥ | deśanādharmo 'dhigamadharmaś ca | tatra deśanādharmaḥ sūtrādideśanāyā nāmapadavyañjanakāyasaṃgṛhītaḥ | sa ca mārgābhisamayaparyavasānatvāt kolopama ity uktaḥ | adhigamadharmo hetuphalabhedena dvividhaḥ | yad uta mārgasatyaṃ nirodhasatyaṃ ca |*. For an English translation, see TAKASAKI 1966: 182.

[50] On the difficulty of employing the term 'mysticism' in the Buddhist context, see SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 58.

[51] See, for example, *Catuḥśataka* 12.19 (LANG 1986: 116; TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 51):

shā kya gos med bram ze ste ||
gsum po rnam kyi'ang chos yid dang ||
mig dang rna ba yis 'dzin pa ||
de'i phyir thub pa'i gzhung lugs phra ||.

For an English translation, see LANG 1986: 116. See also TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 1, pp. 130–131. Cf. *Suhṛllekha* 117cd:

khyod kyi thugs dul mdzod cig bcom ldan gyis ||
sems ni chos kyi rtsa ba lags par gsungs ||.

For English translations, see JAMSPAL 1978: 64 and KAWAMURA 1975: 88.

[52] See the verse cited in Prajñāvarman's *Udānavargavivaraṇa* (P, vol. *du*, fol. 83a7–8; D, vol. *tu*, fol. 72b5–6; S, vol. 83, p. 188.13–15; BALK 1984: 98):

thub rnams chu yis sdig pa 'khru bar mi mdzad cing ||
'gro ba'i sdug bsngal phyag gis kyang ni sel mi mdzad ||
bdag gis gzhan la rtogs [rtog DC] *pa spos pa ma yin te ||*
chos nyid zhi ba gsung zhing rab tu sgrub pa yin ||.

This verse is often cited, though with slight variations. See, for example, the *mChims chen* (p. 8.23–25), *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 24b1–2), and *sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel* (p. 245.15–17). The *mChims chen* cites *Udānavarga* 12.10 preceded by the phrase 'from the *Udānavarga*' (*ched du brjod pa'i tshoms las*). This is followed by the citation of our verse which is introduced by the phrase 'in the commentary on it' (*de'i 'grel par*). 'The commentary on it'

Sages (*muni: thub pa*) neither cleanse evil deeds (*pāpa: sdig pa*) with water,
Nor do [they] eliminate the sufferings of living beings manually,
Nor do they transfer [their] realisation to others.
[They] bring about [salvific release] by teaching [them] true reality, which is characterised by quiescence.

The Buddha is said to have taught:[53]

I [can merely] show you the means of salvific release;
[Your] salvific release depends on yourselves. Endeavour [accordingly]!

That one is primarily responsible for one's salvation is made clear also by Nāgārjuna.[54] In the Tibetan Buddhist tradition, it is said that a thousand *buddhas* are helpless when it comes to rescuing one sentient being from falling into lower existences.[55] That the *saddharma* takes clear precedence in Buddhism over persons, including even *buddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, or gurus, is perhaps crucial for understanding the spirit of Buddhist soteriology. It is, as the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* states, not sentient beings who rescue or protect the Dharma but the Dharma that protects them.[56]

The Buddhist notion of *curatio et salvatio* ('healing and salvation') in the broadest sense of the term is a fascinating theme which cannot be discussed here. What may be merely stated in general is that the *saddharma* has often been seen as medicine, and that as with any medication, there are risks involved. Probably the eleventh-century Tibetan teacher sGam-po-pa had this in mind when he stated:[57]

Dharma, if not practised in conformance with the Dharma, could be a cause of [one's] going to lower destinations.

And the Tibetan scholar dPal-sprul 'Jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po (1808–1887) must have been thinking of the people's growing resistance to Dharma when he wrote the following:[58]

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evidently does not mean Prajñāvarman's commentary on that specific verse (i.e. *Udānavarga* 12.10), as has been understood in LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2000: 384, n. 101, but rather the *Udānavarga* commentary in general, for the pertinent verse can be found in the commentary on the *Anityavarga* (i.e. *Udānavarga* 1) and not the *Mārgavarga* (i.e. *Udānavarga* 12).

[53] See the famous (but not yet identified) citation in Klong-chen-pa's *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, p. 261.1):
ngas ni khyed la thar pa'i thabs bstan gyis ||
thar pa rang la rag las brtson par gyis ||.
See also the *sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel* (p. 245.13–14) by mKhan-po Kun-bzang-dpal-ldan or Kun-dpal (1872–1943). Cf. LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1917: 155: "Buddhas do not liberate their fellow creatures. A Buddha is only a preacher, and he teaches men how to liberate themselves."

[54] *Suhṛllekha* 52:
thar pa bdag la rag las 'di la ni ||
gzhan gyis grogs bgyid ci yang ma mchis pas ||
thos dang tshul khrims bsam gtan ldan pa yis ||
bden pa rnam pa bzhi la 'bad par mdzod ||.
For English translations, see JAMSPAL 1978: 31 and KAWAMURA 1975: 48.

[55] The adage runs as follows: *sems can gcig ngan song du 'gro ba la sangs rgyas stong yang 'u thug.* I have not been able to trace the source of this statement. However, the idea itself can be found in Gro-lung-pa's *bsTan rim chen mo* (fols. 5a1, 41b5–6).

[56] *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fol. 264b4; D, fol. 50b3): *chos ni sems can rnams kyis srung* [brung T] *ba ma yin gyi chos kyis sems can rnams srung ba ste* |.

[57] *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 6a6–b1): *mnyam med dwags pos* | *«chos chos bzhin ma spyad na* | *chos kyis slar ngan song du 'gro ba'i rgyu byed* |*» ces pa ltar....*

[58] *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 244b6):
sdig can chos kyis thul kyang chos dred chos kyis mi thul ||
gyong po snum gyis thul kyang mar lkog snum gyis mi thul ||.

A sinner (or malefactor) can be disciplined by the Dharma, but one who is resistant to the Dharma cannot be disciplined by the Dharma.
A hardened [piece of leather] can be made supple with oil, but a butter [container made of] leather cannot be made supple with oil.

(c) The Mahāyāna Perception of the Quintessence of Buddhist Teachings

In what has all but become a cliché, several tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources state that 84,000 sets of doctrine (*caturaśītisahasradharmaskandha: chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong*) have been taught by the Buddha as antidotes for the 84,000 intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa: nyon mongs pa*)—21,000 sets as antidotes for desire (*rāga: 'dod chags*), 21,000 for hatred (*dveṣa: zhe sdang*), 21,000 for disorientation (*moha: gti mug*), and 21,000 for counteracting all three equally. This idea can be found, for example, in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*,[59] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (to which we shall return briefly in chapter five),[60] and *Kun byed rgyal po*, a rDzogs-chen *tantra*.[61] According to dPal-sprul, the quintessence of all these is *bodhicitta*:[62]

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[59] The *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* is cited by sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs in his *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 143a4; D, fol. 239a6; S, vol. 115, p. 652.19–11): *'dod chags la* [om. PN] *spyod pa nyi khri chig stong de bzhin du zhe sdang dang* [dad P] *gti mug dang cha mnyam la spyod pa ste | spyir brgyad khri bzhi stong ngo ||*. The number 84,000 here refers to types of persons (*gang zag*). Cf. *ibid.* (P, fol. 143a2; D, fol. 239a4; S, vol. 115, p. 652.3–4): *mdor na chos kyi phung po brgyad khri bzhi stong bstan pa ni tshig 'bru zhes bya'o ||*. See also the *Vikurvāṇarājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 351b1–7; D, fol. 199a5–b2) and the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 332.1–3). The *Dhāraṇīśvararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* is cited in the latter. Cf. the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 197b3–7; D, fol. 134a5–7), which states that the number 84,000 was taught by the Buddha only provisionally and that in fact there is no limit.

[60] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 111a3–5; D, fol. 113a3–4).

[61] *Kun byed rgyal po* (P, fol. 15b3–6; D, fols. 15b5–16a1):
'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug gsum byung ste ||
de 'dul ba yi gnyen por gsungs pa ni ||
chos kyi sgo mo brgyad khri bzhi stong ste || ...
'dod chags zhe sdang gti mug rnam gsum byung ||
de dag 'dul ba'i gnyen por sde snod gsum ||
'dod chags 'dul ba'i gnyen por gsungs pa ni ||
'dul ba nyi khri chig stong gsungs pa yin ||
gti mug 'dul ba'i gnyen por gsungs pa ni ||
mdo sde'i sde snod nyi khri chig stong gsungs ||
zhe sdang 'dul ba'i gnyen por gsungs pa ni ||
mngon pa'i sde snod nyi khri chig stong gsungs ||
dug gsum cha mnyam 'dul ba'i gnyen po ru ||
sde snod gsum las nyi khri chig stong gsungs ||
spyi ru brgyad khri bzhi stong gsungs pa yang ||
dug gsum gnyen [snyen P] *pos 'dul phyir gsung pa yin ||*.

The expression *caturaśītisahasradharmaskandha* can be found elsewhere in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources. See, for example, *TSD*, s.v. *chos kyi phung po*, where the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and *Vimalaprabhā* are referred to. In the *Abhidharmakośa*, however, the number of *dharmaskandha*s is put at 80,000. See *Abhidharmakośa* 1.25ab: *dharmaskandhasahasrāṇi yāny aśītiṃ jagau muniḥ |*; *ibid.* 1.26cd: *caritapratipakṣas tu dharmaskandho 'nuvarṇitaḥ ||*; *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 17.18–19): *evaṃ tu varṇayanty aśītiś caritasahasrāṇi satvānām | rāgadveṣamohamānādicaritabhedena | teṣāṃ pratipakṣeṇa bhagavatāśītir dharmaskandhasahasrāṇy uktāni |*. For an English translation, see PRUDEN 1988–90: 86–87.

[62] *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 171a4–b2): *de lta bu'i byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa 'di ni | rgyal bas chos kyi sgo mo brgyad khri bzhi stong gsungs pa thams cad kyi snying po dril dril ba | yod na des chog | med na thabs 'chags kyi'* [= chag gi] *gdams pa | nad brgya sman gcig | sman dkar po chig thub lta bu yin | gzhan tshogs bsags pa | sgrib pa sbyang ba | lha bsgom pa | sngags bzla ba la sogs chos nyams su len pa thams cad kyang byang chub kyi sems yid bzhin gyi nor bu 'di rgyud la skye ba'i thabs tsam du nyams su len pa yin gyi |*

> This generation of *bodhicitta* is the *crème de la crème* of 84,000 salvific means or practices (*chos kyi sgo mo*) taught by the Victorious One.[63] It is an instruction the presence of which [causes the *bodhisattva* practice to] be self-sufficient, [and] the absence of which [causes it to] be impoverished. It is like a panacea, a single medicine for a hundred ills. All other spiritual practices, such as the gathering of [the two] accumulations (i.e. *puṇyasaṃbhāra* and *jñānasaṃbhāra*), [those aimed at] the purification of obscurations, meditation on deities, and recitation of *mantra*s, are carried out simply as means of [encouraging] the arising of this wish-fulfilling jewel, *bodhicitta*, in [one's mental] continuum. Without [this] reliance on *bodhicitta*, none of the individual paths could [bring about] the attainment of the rank of perfect Buddhahood. But if *bodhicitta* has arisen in [one's mental] continuum, whatever spiritual practice one engages in will cause the rank of perfect Buddhahood to be attained.

Indeed *bodhicitta* is regarded in several Mahāyāna scriptures as the *causa sine qua non* of becoming a *buddha*, as will become clearer in chapter five. The *Kuśalamūlasaṃparigrahasūtra*, for instance, states:[64]

> O Ajita, it is as follows: For instance, without butter (*ghṛta*) the essence of melted butter (*ghṛtamaṇḍa*) would cease to exist. Similarly, O Ajita, without the generation of *bodhicitta* a *tathāgata* would not come into being.

According to Śāntideva, the doctrine of *bodhicitta* is the fresh butter (*navanīta: mar gyi nying khu*) extracted by churning the (thickened) milk of *saddharma* (*saddharmakṣīra: dam chos 'o ma*).[65]

(d) Buddhist Soteriological Models and Goals

In chapter five I discuss the Mahāyāna view of the various models of mundane and supramundane vehicles or paths (*yāna: theg pa*) that are said to lead sentient beings to the desired non-soteriological and soteriological goals. There I also point out that the diversity of soteriological models and goals are conceived of as being due to the diversity of sentient beings' spiritual and non-spiritual dispositions. Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa* and Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* clearly delineate three types of persons (*skyes bu gsum*) and their corresponding soteriological and non-soteriological aspirations—a scheme well grounded in earlier Indian sources.[66] The most modest type of person merely aspires to secure a happy future state of existence in *saṃsāra*; the mediocre type aspires to depart from *saṃsāra* (or

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byang chub kyi sems la ma bsten par rang rang so so'i lam gyis rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi go 'phang thob par mi nus | byang chub kyi sems 'di rgyud la skyes na chos gang bsgrub thams cad rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas kyi go 'phang thob pa'i rgyur 'gro ba yin....

[63] By his choice of the expression *snying po dril dril ba*, the author certainly means to say that *bodhicitta* is not just the essence but the essence of all essences of the 84,000 salvific means taught by the Buddha. See also the *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 200b3–4): *des na rgyal bas chos kyi sgo mo brgyad khri bzhi stong gsungs pa thams cad kyang | byang chub kyi sems stong nyid snying rje'i snying po can 'di rgyud la skye ba'i thabs su gsungs pa yin ||*.

[64] *Kuśalamūlasaṃparigrahasūtra* (T, fol. 73a2–3; D, fol. 50b5–6): *ma pham pa 'di lta ste | dper na mar med pas mar gyi snying khu rgyun chad par 'gyur ba de bzhin du | ma pham pa byang chub tu sems bskyed pa med par | de bzhin gshegs pa mngon par grub par mi 'gyur ro ||*. This is also cited by sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs in his *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 267b5–6; D, fol. 354a5; S, vol. 115, p. 921.6–8).

[65] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3.31cd:

saddharmakṣīramathanān navanītaṃ samutthitaṃ ||.

For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 22.

[66] *Bodhipathapradīpa* 2–5. For texts and translations, see EIMER 1978: 104–106; SHERBURNE 2000: 4–5. See also Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (fols. 58a3–65b1). For an English translation, see LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2000: 129–141.

attain the state of *nirvāṇa*) as soon as possible; and the magnificent type aspires to become a *buddha* for the benefit of oneself and others by striking a delicate and precarious balance between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, a balancing act that a *bodhisattva* performs on a single pivotal point, namely, *bodhicitta*, characterised by *upāya* (or *karuṇā*) and *prajñā*.

bSod-nams-rtse-mo (1142–1182) in his *rGyud sde spyi rnam* presents four Buddhist soteriological models (*tshul*) according to Mahāyāna sources,[67] namely, those that propose (1) three soteriological paths and three soteriological goals, (2) one soteriological path and three soteriological goals, (3) one soteriological path and one soteriological goal, and (4) three soteriological paths and one soteriological goal. Glo-bo-mkhan-chen bSod-nams-lhun-grub (1456–1532), in setting forth the exegetical methods (*bshad thabs*) he employs upon Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan's (1182–1251) *Thub pa dgongs gsal*,[68] provides some additional information on systems and scriptures that propose these four soteriological models:

(1) According to the three-path-and-three-goal model, there are three separate (and independent) paths, namely, Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Bodhisattvayāna/Buddhayāna (which we shall re-encounter in chapter five), and three separate corresponding soteriological goals, namely, *śrāvakabodhi*, *pratyekabodhi*, and *buddhabodhi*[69]/*samyaksaṃbodhi*, which should be sought after by three types of persons (those endowed with the spiritual disposition of a *śrāvaka*, *pratyekabuddha*, and *bodhisattva*, respectively). A person whose spiritual disposition is not determined or fixed (*aniyatagotraka*) may try treading one of the paths. According to this model, for someone with no spiritual disposition (*agotraka*), trying to tread any of the three soteriological paths would be a labour lost. This soteriological model is said to have been advocated by Yogācāra teachers, such as Asaṅga, on the inspiration of such scriptures as the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*.

(2) The one-path-and-three-goal model has the seekers of salvation passing through a single gateway in order to reach their respective soteriological goals. This single passage is termed the gate of emancipation without a second (*advitīyaśivadvāra: gnyis pa med pa'i zhi sgo*),[70] usually meant in the sense of direct meditative insight into true reality, and this latter often equated with the non-self or absence of self (*nairātmya*). For Mañjuśrīmitra, as we shall see in chapter five, *bodhicitta* (in its ontological sense) is itself de facto an *advitīyaśivadvāra*. This model is said to have been accepted by Candrakīrti and other proponents of Madhyamaka (i.e. Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka) on the basis of the explicit purport of the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures.

(3) The position and proponents of the one-path-and-one-goal model remain obscure. bSod-nams-rtse-mo does not identify any of its advocates, although he himself holds that it and the fourth model are similar in essence (*ngo bo mtshungs pa*) and tenable (*'thad*).[71] Glo-bo-mkhan-chen reports that according to earlier teachers (*snga rabs pa*), this model was proposed by Byang-chub-sems-dpa'-gcig-pur-smra-ba in line with scriptures such as the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*. Although Rong-zom-pa did not discuss the soteriological model of the

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[67] bSod-nams-rtse-mo, *rGyud sde spyi rnam* (p. 15.1–2): *spyi don gsum pa khyad par du 'phags pa de la dbye na bzhi ste | lam gsum la 'bras bu gsum 'dod pa dang | lam gcig la 'bras bu gsum 'dod pa dang | lam gcig la 'bras bu gcig 'dod pa dang | lam gsum la 'bras bu gcig 'dod pa'o ||*.

[68] Glo-bo-mkhan-chen, *bShad thabs lam bzang* (pp. 199.18–200.15).

[69] See *TSD*, s.vv. *nyan thos kyi byang chub*, *rang sangs rgyas kyi byang chub*, and *sangs rgyas kyi byang chub*.

[70] See below n. 95.

[71] *rGyud sde spyi rnam* (pp. 15.2–16.1).

gCig-pur-smra-ba (*Ekatvavāda) school, he did explain some of its fundamental tenets.[72] Based on his explanation, we can perhaps assume that this school would have compared sentient beings to gold in its unrefined state and *buddha*s to gold in its refined state, and pointed out they are actually, therefore, two forms of the same element. There is thus only one path, namely, the process of purification; and one goal, namely, the purified state.

(4) The three-path-and-one-goal model is said to have been proposed by teachers such as Virūpa on the authority of scriptures such as the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. One might get the impression that this model proposes three equally valid (but separate) paths to the same goal—like three ways of getting to the top of a triangular pyramid. Yet what is actually intended here is the soteriological model of the Tathāgatagarbha school: A *śrāvaka* and a *pratyekabuddha* would walk their respective paths or ride their respective vehicles up until a certain point, but finally they, too, will have to join the *bodhisattva*s and proceed on until they all become *buddha*s.[73]

(e) Two Mahāyāna Soteriological Models of Becoming a *Buddha*

The type of *buddha* presupposed by a system or scripture determines the model followed for becoming a *buddha*. One can find several less common Mahāyāna methods of becoming a *buddha* (some of them closely related or even overlapping), particularly in tantric scriptures—such as those of paying homage or offering to the *buddha*s,[74] coming into contact with *mantra*s,[75] visualising *buddha*s through the *samādhi* of a *buddha*,[76] uniting with all *buddha*s

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[72] See the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fols. 27b2–28a5, 37b1–4; B, pp. 445.16–446.11, 456.10–19), where some of the positions of gCig-pur-smra-ba are described. The gCig-pur-smra-ba, according to these descriptions, is obviously a certain school of Mahāyāna (probably an offshoot of Yogācāra) thought, which postulates a single cognitive element (*shes pa'i khams gcig*) or a single cognitive nature (*shes pa'i ngo bo nyid gcig*) and is contrasted with what one might call the mainstream Yogācāra school, which postulates eight perceptual-conceptual apparatuses (*rnam par shes pa tshogs brgyad*).

[73] In this regard, it is worth considering the attempts made by traditional Chinese Buddhist scholars to classify the most important Mahāyāna scriptures according to doctrinal hierarchy or profundity, and in terms of soteriological models of simultaneism or gradualism as presented in KAN'NO 2000. A scheme called the 'five-period classification' (*wushi jiaopan*) was devised during the period of the North-South dynasties in China (very likely by Huiguan, a disciple of Kumārajīva). According to this classification, for example, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* was accorded a higher status than the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, whereas it was subordinated to the *Avataṃsakasūtra* and *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*. The *Avataṃsakasūtra* is said to propose a soteriology of simultaneism, and the other works a soteriology of gradualism. This scheme was later refuted by the so-called Three Great Masters of the Sui, namely, Jingying Huiyuan (523–592), Zhiyi (538–598), and Jizang (549–623), according to whom Mahāyāna scriptures do not differ in how they reveal ultimate reality. See also the small Zen story narrated by Deninger-Polzer in BSTEH 2000: 273 (cf. 280), which seems to encapsulate the soteriological model followed in Zen Buddhism.

[74] *Kurukullākalpa* 2.7:

buddhebhyo manasā deyā buddhatvaphalakāṃkṣiṇā |
anena sarvabuddhatvaṃ vidyādharaḥ samaśnute ||.

See also the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (HORIUCHI 1983: 290):

sarvabuddhamahāpuṇyakāyavākcittavajrajam |
anumodanapūjātmā buddhatvaṃ kṣipram āpnuyāt ||.

The Tibetan translation (T, fol. 354b2–3; D, fol. 44b4) reads:

sangs rgyas thams cad bsod nams che ||
sku gsung thugs ni [kyi T] *rdo rje skyes* ||
rjes su yi rang bas mchod na ||
myur du sangs rgyas 'thob [thob T] *par 'gyur* ||.

[75] *Kurukullākalpa* 2.47:

siddhe sūte ca saṃsṛṣṭo yathā svarṇo bhaven nidhiḥ |
siddhamantreṇa saṃsṛṣṭo buddhakāyā hi mantriṇaḥ ||.

(and thereby becoming equal with them),[77] and practising *buddha* recollection (*buddhānusmṛti*).[78] The various models can all be perhaps subsumed under one of two models, what I call the 'generation model' and the 'revelation model,' which, borrowing from Seyfort Ruegg, could also be termed the 'nurture model' and the 'nature model,' respectively.[79] Refuting theories that are based on one soteriological model by appealing to presuppositions of another has been one of the major methodological problems within the Tibetan Buddhist traditions. Recognising the fact that different theories presuppose different soteriological models may help us to better our understanding of the controversies surrounding the issues of gradualism (*rim gyis pa*) versus simultaneism (*cig char ba*)[80] and intrinsic (*rang stong*) versus extrinsic emptiness (*gzhan stong*)—issues that are crucial to Indo-Tibetan Buddhism.

According to the generation model, becoming a *buddha* means generating the two (or more) *buddha* bodies (*kāya*) by means of the so-called two accumulations, namely, the accumulation of beneficial resources (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) and the accumulation of gnosis (*jñānasaṃbhāra*). The former is said to bring forth the physical bodies (*rūpakāya*), and the latter the body of true reality (*dharmakāya*). Tibetan Buddhist scholars often cite Nāgārjuna to authenticate this idea.[81] Usually a *buddha* (or perhaps, here, the Buddha) is regarded as the

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[76] *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (HORIUCHI 1983: 138):
buddhabimbamayaṃ sarvam adhimucya khadhātuṣu |
'*sarvabuddhasamādhiṃ tu*'[a] *buddhatvāya bhaviṣyati* ||. [a] Perhaps read °*dhis tu*?
The Tibetan translation (T, fol. 335a1–2; D, fol. 29b2) reads:
nam mkha'i dbyings [dbyibs T] *ni thams cad du* ||
sangs rgyas gzugs su dmigs nas ni ||
sangs rgyas kun gyi ting 'dzin las ||
sangs rgyas nyid du 'grub par 'gyur ||.

[77] *Buddhasamāyogatantra*-1 (T, fol. 289b3–4; D, fol. 188b4–5):
sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam sbyor bas ||
sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam par 'gyur ||
sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam pas na ||
sangs rgyas thams cad rab tu 'grub ['gyur T] ||.
See also *ibid.* (T, fol. 294b1–2; D, fol. 192b2). For an explanation of this verse, see Rong-zom-pa's *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 140a4–b6; B, pp. 613.10–614.4).

[78] *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (HORIUCHI 1983: 149): *buddhānusmṛtisaṃsiddhaḥ śīghraṃ buddhatvam āpnuyāt* ||. The Tibetan translation (T, fol. 336b1; D, fol. 30b4–5) reads:
sangs rgyas rjes su dran grub pa ||
sangs rgyas nyid du myur du 'gyur ||.

[79] Note that only the terms 'nurture' and 'nature' (i.e. without the word 'model') are employed by him (SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 3).

[80] For studies on the sudden and gradual approaches to awakening in Tibetan Buddhism, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1989; JACKSON 1994; VAN SCHAIK 2004: 11–19; 71–127. For discussions of the same topic in the context of Chinese Buddhism, see GREGORY 1987.

[81] *Ratnāvalī* 3.12–13 (no Sanskrit text extant):
sangs rgyas rnams kyi gzugs sku ni ||
bsod nams tshogs las 'byung ba ste ||
chos kyi sku ni mdor bsdu na ||
rgyal po ye shes tshogs las 'khrungs ||
de lta bas nas tshogs 'di gnyis ||
sangs rgyas nyid ni thob pa'i rgyu ||
de ltar mdor na bsod nams dang ||
ye ses 'di ni rtag brten mdzod ||.
See also *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 60:

father of the *bodhisattvas* (*pitā bodhisattvānām: byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi yab*),[82] and a *bodhisattva* as a *buddha*'s son or offspring (*jinaputra: rgyal ba'i sras*;[83] *jināṅkura: rgyal ba'i myu gu*; *buddhātmaja/buddhaputra: sangs rgyas kyi sras*[84]). In contrast to a *śrāvaka* or a *pratyekabuddha*, who are sometimes pejoratively referred to as the *buddha*'s illegitimate sons, a *bodhisattva* is regarded as a *buddha*'s legitimate son (*jinaurasa: rgyal ba'i thugs kyi sras*).[85] Occasionally, however, a *buddha* is said to be born from a *bodhisattva*.[86] It is also worth recollecting here that in the Prajñāpāramitā literature, Prajñāpāramitā herself is regarded as the mother of all *buddhas* (*jinajananī: rgyal ba'i yum*) and other Buddhist saints.[87]

The revelation model is based on the presupposition that sentient beings are by nature *buddhas* and that the spiritual practices such as those included in the two accumulations merely serve to reveal their true nature. Under this model, the distinctions among a normal *sattva*, *bodhisattva*, and (anachronistically) *vajrasattva* (i.e. *buddha*) are not essential ones, but ones that are based merely on the absence or extent of adventitious impurities (*āgantukamala: glo bur gyi dri ma*).[88] This model is propagated by specific strands of Mahāyāna, such as the Tathāgatagarbha tradition, and by most Vajrayāna systems. The question as to which model the Madhyamaka school follows would be answered differently by different Tibetan Madhyamaka commentators. These two soteriological models were recognised in Tibet already in the eleventh century, for example, by Rong-zom-pa. He himself followed the revelation model, but did not regard it as necessarily contradictory to the

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dge ba 'di yis skye bo kun ||
bsod nams ye shes tshogs bsags te ||
bsod nams ye shes las byung ba'i ||
dam pa gnyis ni thob par shog ||.

82 *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 385.

83 At what juncture or stage a person can be called a *rgyal ba'i sras* (or *bodhisattva*), that is, the *rgyal ba'i sras* threshold (*rgyal sras kyi sa mtshams*), is a contested issue in Tibet. Śāntideva (*Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.9; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 5–6) and others take the position that one is born into the Sugata's family the very first moment one generates *bodhicitta*, even though one has yet to attain the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*). According to another school of thought represented by Candrakīrti (*Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.5cd), however, a person can become a *bodhisattva* only upon reaching the *darśanamārga*. Tibetan exegetes have attempted to reconcile the two positions. One way is to assume that Śāntideva was employing the conventional *bodhicitta* as the criterion for Bodhisattvahood, whereas Candrakīrti absolute *bodhicitta*. Interestingly, these two (apparently) divergent criteria had already been observed (and even harmonised) by Rong-zom-pa, who also explained that in the tantric system a person obtains the appellation *rgyal ba'i sras* upon receiving *abhiṣeka* and becomes one in fact upon becoming a *vidyādhara*. See the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 143a2–4; B, p. 178.7–12): *de la rgyal ba'i sras zhes bya ba'i ming gang du thob pa ni | theg pa chen po spyi las | bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems bskyed nas rgyal ba'i sras su ming 'thob bo zhes grags so || bden pa mthong nas dngos gzhi 'thob bo zhes grags so || de bzhin du gsang sngags kyi tshul las kyang | dbang thob nas rgyal ba'i sras zhes bya ba'i ming 'thob pas | rig pa 'dzin par 'gyur nas rgyal ba'i sras nyid du gyur pa yin no ||.*

84 See *TSD*, s.vv. *sras*, *sras po*, and *sangs rgyas sras*.

85 *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 641. See also *TSD*, s.v. *thugs kyi sras*.

86 Candrakīrti (*Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, pp. 4.10–6.6) resorts to logical reasoning (*yukti*) and authoritative scriptures (*āgama*) to establish that a *buddha* arises from a *bodhisattva*.

87 See, for example, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (p. 6.2). Cf. the opening verse of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*.

88 See, for example, *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.47:
aśuddho 'śuddhaśuddho 'tha suviśuddho yathākramam |
sattvadhātur iti prokto bodhisattvas tathāgataḥ ||.
For an English translation, see TAKASAKI 1966: 230–231.

generation model. In commenting on the generation of *bodhicitta* in the second chapter of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, Rong-zom-pa explains that although sentient beings are in reality *buddhas*, they do not realise it, and hence need to generate the two kinds of *bodhicitta*. Nonetheless, aware of the logic that if something is already inherently existent it cannot be generated, he explains that the process of generating *bodhicitta* mentioned in the **Guhyagarbhatantra* is merely a revelatory condition and not a generating cause.[89] Therefore, for him, the two accumulations merely illuminate but do not generate Buddhahood.[90] For Rong-zom-pa there is hence no actual contradiction between the two soteriological models, since the generation model, which is, strictly speaking, based on the principle of causes and conditions, is in conformity with the manner in which things appear to sentient beings.[91] This soteriological model automatically implies that the ground (*gzhi*), path (*lam*), and result (*'bras bu*) cannot actually be distinguished. The very ground is taken as the path, and the result does not transcend the ground.[92]

4. Ontology

The various Buddhist notions of ontology, a term I use here in the sense of a theory of being or reality as such, are of direct relevance to the study of *bodhicitta* and the concept of becoming a *buddha*, for in Buddhism a salvific breakthrough (including the becoming of a *buddha*) is only possible by gaining direct cognitive access to true reality. As I try to show in chapter three, it is this idea that seems to explain not only the existence and appearance of the historical Buddha but also to doctrinally justify the concept of multiple *buddhas* and support the theory of oneself becoming a *buddha*. The idea of an ontological *buddha* that we have just been considering and that of ontological *bodhicitta* (which we shall dwell on in chapter seven,

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[89] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 92a4–6; B, p. 124.1–4): "According to the popular general [system of Mahāyāna], the 'generation of the resolve to [strive for] awakening' (*bodhicittotpāda*) is considered to be the generation of insight (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) in [one's] mental continuum, in reliance upon [one's own] spiritual disposition (*gotra*) and upon the strength of a spiritual friend (*kalyāṇamitra*). However, here [in this system, the generation of *bodhicitta*] is considered merely a revelatory condition of reality, which is primordial. Thus the expression 'primordially awakened mind' has been used" (*de yang thun mong du grags pa ni rigs dang bshes gnyen gyi stobs la brten nas | shes rab dang snying rje rgyud la bskyed pa ni byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa zhes 'dod de | 'dir ni ye nas yin pa'i don gsal bar byed pa'i rkyen tsam du 'dod de | de'i phyir ye nas sangs rgyas pa'i sems zhe smos pa yin no ||*).

[90] *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 24a4–5; B, pp. 441.24–442.2): *bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs kyis lus dang spyod yul yongs su dag pa 'dzin cing snang ba'i rgyu dang rkyen du 'gyur ba ni bden mod kyi | snang ba'i dngos gzhi'i rgyu ni ma yin no ||*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 25b3–4; B, p. 443.11–13): *de bas na bsod nams kyi las kyang snang ba dag par byed pa'i rkyen yin yang | dngos gzhi'i rgyu dang rkyen ni ma yin no || ye shes kyi tshogs kyang ma yin te |*.

[91] *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 111a1–3; B, pp. 536.24–537.2): *de la theg pa 'og ma ba'i tshul las rgyu 'bras kyi tshul de skad du bshad pa de dag kyang | 'gro ba rnams la 'phrul bar snang bar 'gyur ba'i rgyur bshad pa ni 'gal ba myed de | rgyu rkyen sgyu ma las 'bras bu sgyu mar snang ba 'grub pa'i phyir ro || 'on kyang 'gro' ba'i don du snang ba rnams kyang | de dag kho na la rag las pa'ang ma yin te | rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul la de dag bkag pa'ang myed de | thabs rgya mtsho bsam gyis mi khyab pa'i mthus snang ba rgya mtsho 'byung ba zad do || 'on kyang sangs rgyas kyi yon tan thams cad ni | byang chub sems kyi mthu las brtsal ba myed par 'byung ste | de yang rang bzhin dang mngon du 'gyur pa'i mthu'o ||*.

[92] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 165b2–4; B, pp. 201.24–202.3): *sangs rgyas sa'i chos thams cad kyang 'di'i gnas skabs su gzhi dang lam dang 'bras bu'i chos rnams rang bzhin bye brag tu gyur pa med de | gzhi nyid lam du byas pa yin la | 'bras bu gzhi las khyad par 'phags pa med pas | 'di ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi gsang ba'i man ngag nges pa'i don mthar thug pa yin no zhes bstan no ||*. See also the *Ratnavṛkṣa* (P, fol. 19a4–5; D, fol. 16b6–7; S, vol. 20, p. 38.18–19): ... *byang chub dang lam yang gsal ba dang mi gsal ba'i gnas skabs su gdags pa'o ||*.

where I also discuss synonyms and near synonyms of the term), along with positive-mystical and negative-intellectualist perceptions of ontological reality, seem to be particularly relevant to understanding what it means to become a *buddha*. They are also, in my view, a key to the understanding of such tantric concepts as Vajrasattva, the Primordial Buddha Samantabhadra, Hevajra, and Kālacakra, for part of the significance of these deities seemingly always lies in the ontological *buddha* or ontological *bodhicitta*. Mahāyāna ontology, despite its soteriological neutrality (it tilts neither to *saṃsāra* nor *nirvāṇa*), is of utmost soteriological relevance, since it is nescience or cognisance of true reality, the core of that ontology, that results in a state of bondage or release.

While various Buddhist systems and scriptures may disagree on the nature of ontological reality, they all seem to agree on its perpetual existence; and the idea that the true reality of phenomena exists and endures independently of the appearance of a *buddha* runs like a thread throughout the various Buddhist systems and scriptures.[93] Generally speaking, the principle of dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) is what is meant by true reality, and the direct realisation of it is, as we shall see below, seeing the Dharma and hence also the *buddhas*.[94] For most Buddhists (except perhaps for the Vātsīputrīyas or Pudgalavādins), true reality, through the realisation of which one attains salvation, is the non-essentiality or selflessness (*nairātmya*) of the person (*pudgala*) and of phenomena (*dharma*), and is called the one and only entrance gate to salvation.[95] Another designation for true reality is emptiness (*śūnyatā*), which is doubtless, in one form or another, universally acceptable to Buddhist traditions. It is also said that seeing *śūnyatā* is seeing a *buddha*. As we shall see in chapter seven, there are several synonyms of ontological reality, the most important being the ontological *buddha* and *bodhicitta*. However, the demarcation between *bodhi*, *citta*, *bodhicitta*, and *buddha* seems to dissolve on the ontological level. In Mahāyāna sources, one often encounters attempts to reduce everything to one level. Thus, one particularly interesting aspect of the concept of becoming a *buddha* is that all phenomena, including sentient beings and *buddhas*, are levelled out onto a common plane.[96] This is perhaps justified if we understand, as Āryadeva did, that the emptiness of one is the emptiness of all.[97]

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[93] See chapter three, n. 24.

[94] *Suhṛllekha* 112.

[95] *Catuḥśataka* 12.13 (LANG 1986: 114; TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 39; SUZUKI 1994: 268):
advitīyaṃ śivadvāraṃ kudṛṣṭīnāṃ bhayaṅkaram |
viṣayaḥ sarvabuddhānām iti nairātmyam ucyate ||.
For English translations, see LANG 1986 115 and TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 1, p. 126). Candrakīrti, *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 39; SUZUKI 1994: 268): *yad advitīyaṃ śivadvāraṃ tan nairātmyam* |. See also the *TSD* (s.v. *zhi ba'i sgo*), where references from the *Tattvasaṃgraha* and *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* are provided.

[96] See, for example, *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, verse no. 9 (TUCCI 1956: 201):
svabhāvena na cotpannā nirvṛtāś ca na tattvataḥ |
yathākāśaṃ tathā buddhāḥ sattvāś caivaikalakṣaṇāḥ ||.
For an English translation, see TUCCI 1956: 205. Cf. also *Acintyastava* 42:
buddhānāṃ sattvadhātoś ca tenābhinnatvam arthataḥ |
ātmanaś ca pareṣāṃ ca samatā tena te matā ||.
For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 27.

[97] *Catuḥśataka* 8.16 (LANG 1986: 82):
bhāvasyaikasya yo draṣṭā draṣṭā sarvasya sa smṛtaḥ |
ekasya śūnyatā yaiva saiva sarvasya śūnyatā ||.
For an English translation, see LANG 1986: 83.

5. Buddhist Epistemology and Gnoseology

This study deals in part, both directly and indirectly, with a number of issues pertaining to Buddhist epistemology and gnoseology, particularly in chapter seven, where I present a typology of *bodhicitta*. My main concern is, however, not Buddhist epistemology (i.e. a theory of knowledge) per se but the underlying epistemological foundations and presuppositions of Buddhist soteriology. Gnoseology, here primarily in the sense of a theory of meditative insight or gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*) within the Buddhist context, may simply be understood as a kind of 'higher epistemology.' In a certain way, if one were to make a distinction between mind (*citta: sems*; *manas: yid*; *vijñāna: rnam par shes pa*) and gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*), as is done, for example, in some Mahāyāna and rDzogs-chen sources, epistemology may be said to encompass the theory of knowledge mediated by the mind, and gnoseology a theory of transcendental knowledge, or gnosis. Soteriologically, as the concept of the four types of reliance (*pratisaraṇa: rton pa*)[98] suggests, gnosis is clearly ranked higher than the mind. For a seeker of salvation within Buddhism, the cognitive acuteness of mind is certainly a valuable asset, but it can never take the place and role of gnosis, for the only way to experience ontological *buddha*, *nirvāṇa*, *bodhi*, or *bodhicitta* in the form of a spiritual event is through gnoseological *buddha*, *nirvāṇa*, *bodhi*, or *bodhicitta*.

The actual spiritual breakthrough in Buddhism is an intellectual event, inasmuch as a direct cognitive insight is called for, not a physiological or emotional one. We need, then, to ponder the role of cognisance and nescience, the presence and absence of knowledge, within the mechanism of bondage and release. According to Āryadeva, for instance, disorientation (*moha: gti mug*) or ignorance pervades all other *kleśa*s, even as the tactile sense faculty (*kāyendriya*) pervades the entire body. Hence, all *kleśa*s can be destroyed by destroying *moha*.[99] For Āryadeva, *moha* represents not only a hindrance to *mokṣa* but also to higher mundane existence.[100] The idea that there is no salvation without the cognition of true reality (i.e., here, *śūnyatā*), is explicated also in the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* and *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā*.[101]

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[98] *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 1545–1549.

[99] *Catuḥśataka* 6.10 (LANG 1986: 66):
lus la lus dbang ji bzhin du ||
gti mug kun la gnas 'gyur te ||
de phyir nyon mongs thams cad kyang ||
gti mug bcom pas bcom par 'gyur ||.
For an English translation, see LANG 1986: 67.

[100] *Catuḥśataka* 12.10 (LANG 1986: 112; TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 2, p. 31; SUZUKI 1994: 260):
vighnaṃ tattvasya yaḥ kuryād vṛto mohena kenacit |
kalyāṇādhigatis tasya nāsti mokṣe tu kā kathā ||.
For English translations, see LANG 1986: 113 and TILLEMANS 1990: vol. 1, p. 124. Cf. *Ratnāvālī* 2.22:
durjñātena tathānena vināśam adhigacchati |
samyagjñātena tu sukhaṃ bodhiṃ cāpnoty anuttarām ||.

[101] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 72:
gang dag stong nyid mi shes pa ||
de dag thar pa'i rten ma yin ||
'gro drug srid pa'i btson rar ni ||
rmongs pa de dag 'khor bar 'gyur ||.
For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 69. Cf. *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 4:
yod pas rnam par mi grol te ||
med pas srid pa 'di las min ||
dngos dang dngos med yongs shes pas ||
bdag nyid chen po rnam par grol ||.

Saṃsāra is conceived of as rotating on a single axle, namely, nescience (expressible in a number of ways). Ignorance is ultimately responsible for the evolution and dissolution of the world, which consists of the mundane setting (*snod*) and its inhabitants (*bcud*), along with the intellectual-emotional defilements and their undesirable consequences, such as misery and discontentment. The uncontrollable rotation of the wheel of existence (*bhavacakra: srid pa'i 'khor lo*) can be brought to a momentous halt by putting its axle, ignorance, out of action. In other words, the seemingly formidable and everlasting complex of *saṃsāra* can be dismantled, like a house of cards, by undermining nescience. All the remaining work is like clearing up the rubble.

Ultimately, correct perception is the only possible antidote for misperception; and bondage (*bandha: bcing ba*), caused by misperception, can only be eliminated or brought to cessation—the actual release (*mokṣa/mukti: grol ba*)—by correct perception. This notion of release upon seeing true reality (*satyadarśana*) is found in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources.[102] According to Rong-zom-pa, the idea of release upon seeing true reality is common to all Buddhist systems.[103] Dharmakīrti, too, states that one becomes realised upon seeing emptiness.[104] For Nāgārjuna, there are three ways of dealing with phenomena such as visible objects. It is not by being attached to or detached from them that one is released but by knowing their nature.[105] According to Āryadeva, the seed of existence ceases sprouting upon one's seeing the non-existence of a substantial self (or phenomena).[106] Similarly, Śāntideva states that *kleśa*s are weaklings to be annihilated by *prajñā*'s (mere) glance.[107] The *Vajraḍākinīguhyatantra* states:[108]

> Upon realising [the nature of] one's mind oneself,
> [One realises that every] sentient being has primordially been a *buddha*.

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[102] See, for example, *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 70:
> *bde ba'i sems ni zhi ba nyid* ||
> *sems zhi ba ni rmongs mi 'gyur* ||
> *rmongs med de nyid rtogs pa ste* ||
> *de nyid rtogs pas grol thob 'gyur* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 57. Cf. chapter seven, n. 11.

[103] Rong-zom-pa, *bDen gnyis 'jog tshul* (A, fols. 163b6–164a1; B, p. 32.6–8): *'di ltar nyan thos kyi theg pa nas gzhi bzung nas | rdzogs pa chen po'i mthar thug gi bar du | gang zhig yang dag pa'i don mthong na rnam par grol lo zhes thun mong du grags pa yin la* |.

[104] For references, see chapter seven, n. 10.

[105] *Yuktiṣaṣṭikā* 55:
> *bālāḥ sajjanti rūpeṣu vairāgyaṃ yānti madhyamāḥ* |
> *svabhāvajñā vimucyante rūpasyottamabuddhayaḥ* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 91.

[106] *Catuḥśataka* 14.25 (LANG 1986: 134):
> *srid pa'i sa bon rnam shes te* ||
> *yul rnams de yi spyod yul lo* ||
> *yul la bdag med mthong na ni* ||
> *srid pa'i sa bon 'gag par 'gyur* ||.

For an English translation, see LANG 1986: 135.

[107] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.46d: *kleśāḥ prajñādṛṣṭisādhyā varākāḥ* ||. CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 29 "The defilements are weaklings to be subdued by wisdom's glare." See also the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 47.9–10).

[108] *Vajraḍākinīguhyatantra* (T, fol. 16a4–5; D, fol. 231a3):
> *rang sems rang gis rtogs pa na* ||
> *sems can gdod nas sangs rgyas so* ||.

It is also stated that one who sees dependent origination sees the Dharma, and one who sees the Dharma sees the Buddha.[109] A rNying-ma *tantra* entitled the *'Jig rten snang byed* similarly states that one who sees emptiness sees what one calls a *buddha* (or perhaps the Buddha).[110] In short, one could perhaps, following Rong-zom-pa, say that the nature of [one's] mind—as it [really] is (*sems kyi rang bzhin ji lta ba*)—is the fundamental, actual [being] of all *buddhas* (*sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dngos gzhi*), and one who sees it sees the faces of all *buddhas* (*sangs rgyas kun gyi zhal mthong*).[111]

6. Buddhist Axiology

Regardless of the kind of soteriological model presupposed, it is clear that salvific success in general and becoming a *buddha* in particular rest on certain sets of *modi operandi* and *modi vivendi*. Chapters nine, ten, and eleven are devoted mainly to ethical-moral aspects of *bodhicitta*, namely, its cultivation, preservation, and restoration, respectively. In the belief that an understanding of Buddhist axiology (particularly of ethics and morality)[112] is crucial for our understanding of Buddhist soteriology, I shall attempt here to consider some aspects of Buddhist axiology in the context of the three vows (*trisaṃvara: sdom pa gsum*), namely, the *prātimokṣa*, *bodhisattva*, and *mantra* vows.[113] A detailed analysis of the various tantric and non-tantric vows and their intricate relationship is, of course, beyond the scope of this study. For present purposes, I avail myself mainly of two sources, namely, the *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (perhaps falsely ascribed to Atiśa) and Rong-zom-pa's *dKon mchog 'grel*, which are very probably some of the earliest sources that deal exhaustively with the matter and have not yet been studied. I shall, however, concentrate on those passages that deal with distinctions among the three vows, and it is hoped that the attempted translations will enable us to gain an idea of how the ethical-moral disciplines of all three vehicles (i.e. Śrāvakayāna, Pāramitāyāna, and Vajrayāna) stand in relation to each other.

(a) The Three-Vow Scheme

In Tibet it is said:[114]

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[109] *Śālistambasūtra* (SCHOENING 1995: 392). The Sanskrit text of this famous statement is transmitted in commentaries such as Yaśomitra's *Abhidharmakośavyākhyā* and Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (*ibid.* 701–702): *yo bhikṣavaḥ pratītyasamutpādaṃ paśyati sa dharmaṃ paśyati | yo dharmaṃ paśyati sa buddhaṃ paśyati* |. See also NAKAMURA 1980: 65: "Buddha is the one who sees *dharma*." For the Pāli version of this statement, see GETHIN 2004a: 535–536.

[110] *'Jig rten snang byed* (p. 923.5):
stong pa nyid kyi don rtogs na ||
sangs rgyas sangs rgyas mthong ba yin ||.

[111] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 162a1–3; B, p. 198.5–10).

[112] The term 'axiology' is lexically defined as "the theory and study of values, primarily of intrinsic values (as those in ethics, aesthetics, and religion) but also of instrumental values (as those in economics) particularly with reference to the manner in which they can be known or experienced, their nature and kinds, and their ontological status" (*Webster's*, s.v. axiology; cf. *HWP*, s.vv. Axiologie and Wertphilosophie). It is also defined as "the philosophical study of goodness, or value, in the widest sense of these terms" (*EB*, s.v. axiology). Thus the term 'axiology' can be used fruitfully in the Buddhist context, mainly, to be sure, in the sense of the Buddhist theory of ethical and moral values.

[113] At least two major publications on the study of the three-vow theories in Tibetan Buddhism are available: RHOTON 2002 & SOBISCH 2002.

> The root of [the Buddhist] doctrine is Vinaya (i.e. as representative of Śrāvakayāna). The essence of [the Buddhist] doctrine is Pāramitā[yāna]. The quintessence of [the Buddhist] doctrine is Mantra[yāna].

This conventional formulation reflects the true spirit of Buddhist theory and practice among Tibetan Buddhists. The underlying axiological concepts of these three systems are encapsulated in the three vows. The term *saṃvara* may be translated as 'restraint,' 'discipline,' or 'vow.' The most conservative conception of the *trisaṃvara* seems to be that involving the restraint of body (*kāyasaṃvara: lus kyi sdom pa*), restraint of speech (*vāksaṃvara: ngag gi sdom pa*), and restraint of mind (*manaḥsaṃvara: yid kyi sdom pa*).[115] In the *Abhidharmakośa* and its commentaries, one finds the concept of three kinds of *saṃvara*, namely, *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, *dhyānasaṃvara*, and *anāsravasaṃvara*.[116] There is yet another useful categorisation of *śīla*, found (at least explicitly) only in Tibetan sources, namely, (a) ethical-moral discipline [motivated by the desire for] protection (*'jigs skyob kyi tshul khrims*), (b) ethical-moral discipline [motivated by] desirable [worldly] rewards (*legs smon gyi tshul khrims*), and (c) ethical-moral discipline [motivated by the sense of] renunciation (*nges 'byung gi tshul khrims*).[117] These are also called vows (i.e. *'jigs skyob kyi sdom pa*, *legs smon gyi sdom pa*, and *nges 'byung gi sdom pa*).[118] The last kind of *śīla* or *saṃvara* is identical with the *prātimokṣasaṃvara*, which is said to be exclusively Buddhist and relevant to a person's salvific aspirations. It is said that an apparent *prātimokṣasaṃvara* would only then become an authentic one when a genuine sense of renunciation arises. Based on the solid ground of higher ethical-moral discipline (*adhiśīla*), the aspirant may develop higher meditative concentration (*adhisamādhi*) and higher insight (*adhiprajñā*), and finally he or she may indeed attain *nirvāṇa* or Arhatship.

But what if one's aim is not merely the attainment of *nirvāṇa* or Arhatship, but Buddhahood itself? Some Mahāyāna sources state that the *prātimokṣasaṃvara* does not meet the aspirations of a *bodhisattva*. Indeed we can see that the scope of *śīla* has been extended in Mahāyāna Buddhism. The old *prātimokṣasaṃvara* is subsumed under what is called *saṃvaraśīla*, while *kuśaladharmasaṃgrāhakaśīla* and *sattvārthakriyāśīla*[119] enter as new elements. The idea is that it is not enough to merely refrain from unwholesome deeds. A *bodhisattva* ought to gather wholesome deeds as well, and actively help other sentient beings. From this perspective, the *bodhisattva*'s ethical-moral discipline does not undermine or replace the *śrāvaka*'s ethical-moral discipline but rather augments it. The ethical-moral discipline of a *bodhisattva* in turn undergoes further augmentation in tantric Mahāyāna.

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[114] *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 473.10–11): *bstan pa'i rtsa ba 'dul ba yin | bstan pa'i snying po phar phyin yin | bstan pa'i nying khu gsang sngags yin....*

[115] See the citation in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 208.21–22):
kāyena saṃvaraḥ sādhu sādhu vācā 'tha saṃvaraḥ |
manasā saṃvaraḥ sādhu sādhu sarvatra saṃvaraḥ ||.
For an English translation, see PRUDEN 1988–90: 586. See *ibid.* 716, n. 77, where the sources of this verse are identified as the *Saṃyuktāgama*, *Dharmapada*, and *Udānavarga*.

[116] See SOBISCH 2002: 9–10.

[117] *mTsho ṭīk* (p. 18.6–7). Note the expression *nairyāṇikaṃ śīlam* (*nges par 'byin pa'i tshul khrims*) in *TSD*, s.v. *nges par 'byin pa*.

[118] The expressions *'jigs skyob kyi sdom pa*, *legs smon gyi sdom pa*, and *nges 'byung gi sdom pa*, and the respective motivations, namely, *'jig skyob kyi bsam pa*, *legs smon gyi bsam pa*, and *nges 'byung gi bsam pa*, are used in the *mTsho ṭīk* (p. 70.14–21).

[119] *TSD*, s.v. *tshul khrims rnam pa gsum*.

(b) Comparing and Contrasting the Three Vows

The *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* provides thirteen distinctions among the three vows:[120]

> [1] Of these [three vows],[121] the *prātimokṣa* vow accentuates the [adoption and abandonment of] wholesome and unwholesome actions. The *sūtra* (i.e. *bodhisattva*) vow accentuates compassion. The *mantra* vow accentuates the indivisibility of body (*kāya*), speech (*vāc*), and mind (*citta*). [2] The *prātimokṣa* vow arises from the firm resolve [to strive] for *nirvāṇa*. The *bodhisattva* vow arises from excellent altruistic inclination (*adhyāśaya*). The *mantra* vow arises from *bodhicittavajra*. [3] The *prātimokṣa* vow is [characterised by] seven [kinds of] abandonment.[122] The *bodhisattva* vow is [characterised by] ten [kinds of] abandonment. The *mantra* vow is [characterised by] one [kind of] abandonment. [4] In the *prātimokṣa* treatises, both types of reproachable [deeds] (*avadya*) are mentioned. In the *bodhisattva* treatises, only those [deeds] reproachable by nature (*prakṛtisāvadya*) are mentioned.[123] In the tantric treatises, neither of the two terms is mentioned. [5] The *prātimokṣa* vow, it is maintained, really exists. The *bodhisattva* vow, it is maintained, exists only nominally. In the *mantra* context, neither of the two terms is mentioned. [6] The *śrāvaka* vow is [said to] possess many impediments. The *bodhisattva* vow is [said to] possess a few impediments. No impediments are explicated in [the context of] the *mantra* vow. [7] There is no prospect of retaking the first vow if the *pārājika* offence has occurred. There is the prospect of retaking the middle vow [even] if the *pārājika* offence has

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[120] *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (P, fols. 258b4–259a8; D, fols. 48a6–49a2; S, vol. 41, pp. 701.1–702.14): [1] *de la so sor* [so PN] *thar pa'i sdom pa ni* | *las dge sdig gtsor ston to* || *mdo sde'i sdom pa ni snying rje gtsor ston to* || *gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni sku gsung thugs kyi mi phyed pa gtsor ston to* [no P] || [2] *de* [add. de PN] *la so sor thar pa'i sdom pa ni mya ngan las 'das pa'i bsam pa brtan po las skye'o* || *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni lhag pa'i bsam pa bzang po las skye'o* || *gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni rdo rje byang chub kyi sems las skye'o* || [3] *de la so sor* [so PN] *thar pa'i sdom pa ni spong ba bdun no* || *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni spong ba bcu'o* || *sngags kyi sdom pa ni spong ba gcig go* || [4] *so sor* [so P] *thar pa'i gzhung du ni kha na ma tho ba gnyi ga brjod do* || *byang chub sems dpa'i gzhung du ni rang bzhin 'ba' zhig brjod do* || *sngags kyi gzhung du ni de gnyi ga'i tha snyad ma brjod do* || [5] *yang so sor* [so PN] *thar pa'i sdom pa ni rdzas kyi bdag nyid du yod par 'dod do* || *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni brtag* [= btags] *pa tsam du yod par 'dod do* || *sngags su ni de gnyi ga'i tha snyad ma brjod do* || [6] *yang nyan thos kyi sdom pa la bar chad kyi chos mang du yod do* || *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa la bar chad kyi chos nyung zad cig* [gcig PN] *go* || *sngags kyi sdom pa la ni bar chad kyi chos bshad pa* [om. P] *med do* || [7] *yang sdom pa dang po la ni pham pa byung na phyis blang ba'i skal ba med do* || *bar ma la ni pham pa byung na phyis blang ba'i skal ba yod do* || *tha ma ni rdo rje byang chub kyi sems dang ldan na nyams pa med do* || [8] *de la sdom* [snyom D] *pa dang po la ni mkhan po dang slob dpon dgos so* || *bar ma'i sdom pa la ni bla ma gcig pu'am* [po'am N] *yang na med pa'o* || *tha ma de la ni bzhi ste* | [a] *bla ma'i zhal nas byung ba'i dbang dang* | [b] *ye shes lha'i byin gyi rlabs kyi dbang dang* | [c] *rdo rje mkha' 'gro mas lung bstan pa'i dbang dang* | [d] *rang nyid kyi sems kyi rtsal gyis thob pa'i dbang dang ngo* || [9] *yang snga ma ni gzhan la gnod pa byed pa las ldog go* || *bar ma ni de'i steng du gzhan la phan 'dogs pa'o* || *phyi ma ni de'i steng du sangs rgyas kyi mdzad spyod nyams su len pa'o* || [10] *yang dang po'i sdom pa ni dgra bcom pa rnams kyi rjes su slob pa'o* || *bar ma'i sdom pa ni sngon gyi byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi rjes su slob pa'o* || *sngags kyi sdom pa ni sangs rgyas rnams kyi rjes su slob pa'o* || [11] *yang dang po'i sdom pa ni bdag 'ba' zhig gi don to* [no P] || *bar ma'i sdom pa ni gzhan 'ba' zhig gi don to* [no P] || *phyi ma'i sdom pa ni gnyi ga'i don to* || [12] *yang dang po'i sdom pa ni ji srid 'tsho'i bar du mnos* [gnos PN] *so* || *bar ma'i sdom pa ni snying po byang chub kyi* [kyis P] *bar du'o* || *phyi ma'i sdom pa ni nam mkha'* [ka' P] *ji srid gnas kyi bar du'o* || [13] *sdom pa dang po'i 'bras bu ni mya ngan las 'das pa gnyis so* || *bar ma'i 'bras bu ni sa bcu'am sa bcu gcig pa'o* || *tha ma'i 'bras bu ni sa bcu gnyis pa'o* ||.

[121] The remaining occurrences of the particles *de la* and *yang* in these passages will not be translated. They will be expressed as units of enumeration.

[122] See the *mTsho ṭīk* (pp. 30.23–31.2).

[123] Two kinds of actions are often mentioned, namely, those that are objectionable or reproachable (*sāvadya: kha na ma tho ba dang bcas pa*) and those that are unobjectionable or irreproachable (*anavadya: kha na ma tho ba med pa*). Those that are reproachable are further subdivided into two kinds, namely, those that are by nature unwholesome and thus by nature reproachable (*prakṛtisāvadya: rang bzhin gyi kha na ma tho ba*), and those that are reproachable by agreement/convention (*prajñaptisāvadya: bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba*) or reproachable in virtue of prohibition or decree (*pratikṣepaṇasāvadya*, also rendered into Tibetan as *bcas pa'i kha na ma tho ba*).

occurred. The last vow does not degenerate if [it is] endowed with *bodhicittavajra*. [8] For [the assumption of] the first vow, a preceptor (*upādhyāya*) and a teacher (*ācārya*) are required. For [the assumption of] the middle vow, only one or no master (*guru*) is required. For [the assumption of] the last vow, there are four [kinds]: [a] an empowerment that has come into being verbally from a master, [b] an empowerment [received] through the power of a deity endowed with gnosis, [c] an empowerment [received] through the prophecy of a Vajraḍākinī, and [d] the empowerment received on the strength of one's own mental capacity. [9] The former [vow] is characterised by avoiding causing harm to others. The middle [vow] is, in addition, [characterised by] benefiting others. The last [vow] is, in addition, [characterised by] engagement in the activities of a *buddha*. [10] The first vow is [tailored] to the practices of *arhat*s. The middle vow is [tailored] to the practices of past *bodhisattva*s. The *mantra* vow is [tailored] to the practices of *buddha*s. [11] The first vow [aims at achieving] one's own benefit alone. The middle vow [aims at achieving] others' benefit alone. The last vow [aims at achieving] the benefit of both. [12] The first vow is conferred [and persists] as long as one lives. The middle vow [persists] until [one arrives at] the seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*, i.e. the spot under the Bodhi tree). The last vow [persists] as long as space prevails. [13] The result of the first vow is the two kinds of *nirvāṇa* (i.e. *sopadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* and *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). The result of the middle vow is the ten stages [of a *bodhisattva*] or the eleventh stage (i.e. *buddhabhūmi*). The result of the last vow is the twelfth stage.[124]

The distinguishing features of the three vows as summarised in the *lTa 'grel* are as follows:[125]

> [1] In brief, the *śrāvaka* vow [is characterised] by the refraining from inflicting injury on sentient beings. The *bodhisattva* vow [is characterised] by the engagement in benefiting sentient beings in addition to refraining from inflicting injury on them. The tantric vow [is characterised] by the conduct of engaging in benefiting sentient beings in addition to refraining from inflicting injury on them, by practising the activities of a *tathāgata*. [2] Moreover, for the *śrāvaka* vow, it is the conscious thought (*'du shes*) and the actual [act] (*dngos gzhi*) that are held to be of prime [importance]. For the *bodhisattva* vow, it is compassion (*karuṇā*) that is held to be of prime [importance]. For the tantric vow, it is insight (*prajñā*) that is held to be of prime [importance]. [3]. Furthermore, *śrāvaka*s follow the former noble *arhat*s. *Bodhisattva*s follow *bodhisattva*s who are at high stages (*bhūmi*). Tantric [practitioners] follow the *tathāgata*s themselves. One could go on [in this way] extensively.

The *dKon mchog 'grel* states that the triad of view, conduct, and assistance (*lta spyod grogs gsum*) are said to be common to all vehicles. The view (*lta ba*) is equated with *adhiprajñāśikṣā*, conduct (*spyod pa*) with *adhicittaśikṣā*, and assistance (*grogs*) with *adhiśīlaśikṣā*. These three differ depending on the type of vehicle.[126] The work goes on to

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[124] According to Rong-zom-pa, the concept of the twelve *bhūmi*s occurs in the *Vajrahṛdayālaṃkāratantra*. However, unlike the author of the *Saṃvarasaṃgraha*, who seems to suggest here that the result of the tantric vow is different from and superior to that of the *bodhisattva* vow, Rong-zom-pa (like many other Indian and Tibetan scholars) holds that the ultimate goal of both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna is Buddhahood and that there cannot be a *bhūmi* superior to the *buddhabhūmi*. The twelve *bhūmi*s in the *Vajrahṛdayālaṃkāratantra*, according to him, refer to different aspects of the *buddhabhūmi* itself, namely, the five *kāyas/kula*s (*sku/rigs lnga*), five *jñāna*s (*ye shes lnga*), *upāya* (*thabs*), and *prajñā* (*shes rab*). For details, see his *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 154b5–155a5; B, pp. 190.18–191.6) and *lTa 'grel* (A, fols. 260b1–261a6; B, pp. 344.17–345.16).

[125] *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 265b2–266a1; B, p. 350.2–12): [1] *mdor bsdu' na nyan thos kyi sdom pa ni | sems can la gnod par sbyor ba las log pa'o || byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni | sems can la gnod par sbyor ba las log gi steng du yang | sems can la phan 'dogs pa la zhugs pa'o || gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni | sems can la gnod par sbyor ba las log cing phan 'dogs pa la zhugs pa de yang | de bzhin gshegs pa'i mdzad spyod nyams su blangs te spyod pa'o ||* [2] *gzhan yang nyan thos kyi sdom pa ni | 'du shes dang dngos gzhi'i sgo nas gtso' bo yin par 'dod do || byang chub sems dpa' ni snying rje gtso' bo yin par 'dod do || gsang sngags kyi ni shes rab gtso' bo yin par 'dod do ||* [3] *gzhan yang nyan thos kyi ni sngon gyi 'phags pa dgra bcom pa rnams kyi rjes su bslab pa'o || byang chub sems dpa' ni sa chen po la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi rjes su bslab pa'o || gsang sngags kyi ni de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyi rjes su slob pa'o || ha cang spros pas chog go ||*.

[126] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 199a6–b2; B, p. 236.8–12).

show how the tantric commitment excels the *bodhisattva* vow in seven ways, and the *bodhisattva* vow in turn excels the *prātimokṣa* vow in the same number of ways. The seven ways in which the *bodhisattva* vow excels the *prātimokṣa* vow are as follows:[127]

> Only the distinction in terms of assistance need be stated here. This is how the *bodhisattva* vow excels the *prātimokṣa* vow of the *śrāvakas* in the context of the non-tantric vehicles. The marks [of distinction] are infinite, but nonetheless, just as [Mahāyāna is] known to excel [Śrāvakayāna] by seven kinds of greatness,[128] so does [the *bodhisattva* vow] excel [the *prātimokṣa* vow] in the following seven ways]: [1] Just as the greatness of [Mahāyāna's] object (*ālambanamahattva*)[129] is characterised by the profundity and vastness of the object it seeks to appropriate, so is [that of] the accompanying *bodhisattva* vow [characterised by] the profundity and vastness [of its object of appropriation]; [it] is not an object [that can be fathomed by] disputants,[130] and goes beyond the domain of numerical figures. [2] Just as the greatness of practice (*pratipattimahattva*) [is characterised by] the fulfilment of one's own objectives and those of others, so is [that of] the accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow [characterised by everything that] is of use in achieving all [these] objectives. [3] Just as the greatness of gnosis (*jñānamahattva*) [is characterised by] the realisation that all phenomena are selfless, so is the accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow in total harmony with the non-essentiality of phenomena (*dharmanairātmya*). [4] Just as the greatness of expedient means (*upāyakauśalyamahattva*) [is characterised by] the fixation on neither of the two [extremes of] *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, so is the accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow a factor conducive to the non-fixation on the two extremes.[131] [5] Just as the greatness of activity (*karmamahattva*) [is characterised by] the purification of the *buddha* realms and the ripening of sentient beings, so is the accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow [characterised by] the non-deterioration of these [activities]. [6] Just as the greatness of diligence (*vīryamahattva*) [is characterised by] the non-abandonment of perseverance for the sake of just one sentient being so long as *saṃsāra* [exists], so is the accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow imbued with that [kind of diligence]. [7] Just as the greatness of attainment (*samudāgamamahattva*) [is characterised by] the perfection of the qualities of *buddhas*, so does [its] accompanying [*bodhisattva*] vow exist

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[127] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 199b2–200b1; B, pp. 236.12–237.10): *grogs kyi khyad par tsam zhig 'dir brjod par bya ste | de la mtshan nyid kyi theg pa'i gnas skabs su nyan thos kyi so sor thar pa'i sdom pa las | byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ji ltar 'phags pa ni | sgo mtha' yas kyang chen po rnam pa bdun gyi sgo nas 'phags par grags pa de bzhin du 'phags pa ste |* [1] *'di ltar dmigs pa chen po zab cing rgya che ba'i don la dmigs pa bzhin du | de'i grogs su gyur pa byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'ang zab cing rgya che ba yin te | rtog ge ba rnams kyi yul ma yin zhing grangs kyi spyod yul las 'das pa yin no ||* [2] *sgrub pa chen po bdag dang gzhan gyi don sgrub par byed pa bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang don ma lus pa sgrub par byed pa la phan par byed pa rnams yin no ||* [3] *ye shes chen po chos thams cad la bdag med par rtogs pa bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang chos bdag med pa dang mi 'gal ba kho na yin no ||* [4] *thabs chen po 'khor ba dang mya ngan las 'das pa gnyis ka la mi gnas pa yin pa bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang mtha' gnyis la mi gnas pa'i yan lag sgrub pa nyid yin no ||* [5] *las chen po sangs rgyas kyi zhing yongs su dag par bya ba dang | sems can yongs su smin par byed pa de bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang de dag las yongs su nyams par mi 'gyur ba yin no ||* [6] *brtson 'grus chen pos sems can gcig gi don ched du yang 'khor ba ji srid bar brtson pa mi 'dor ba yin pa bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang de nyid kyis yongs su zin pa yin no ||* [7] *yang dag par grub pa chen po sangs rgyas rnams kyi chos yongs su rdzogs pa yin pa bzhin du | grogs kyi sdom pa'ang yon tan gyi chos ji snyed pa mngon par sgrub par byed pa'i rkyen nye bar gnas pa sha stag ste | de'i phyir byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni zab cing gting dpag dka' ba'o || rgya che zhing grangs las 'das pa'o || blo gros chung ba dang snying stobs chung ba rnams kyi yul ma yin no || de bas na byang chub sems dpa'i yon tan nyan thos las khyad par du 'phags pa'i grangs dang tshad gzung bar mi nus mod kyi | re zhig yul gyi sgo nas mdor bsdu na 'di dag tsam du 'du ru rung bar shes par bya'o ||*.

[128] For the seven kinds of greatness of Mahāyāna, see *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 19.59–60. Cf. chapter five, nn. 107 & 109.

[129] Probably to be equated with greatness of scriptures (*dharmamahattva*).

[130] Cf. *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 1.17.

[131] The exact meaning of this sentence is not quite clear.

exclusively as a factor conducing to all possible aspects of good qualities. Therefore, the *bodhisattva* vow is profound and [its] depth difficult to fathom. It is vast and immeasurable. It is not a domain for [people with] meagre intellect and meagre courage. Thus, although one cannot measure the number and mass of the qualities of *bodhisattva*s [in virtue of which they] excel the *śrāvaka*s, if one provisionally summarises [them] according to [their] objects [of appropriation and so forth, it] should be known that they come under precisely these [seven kinds of greatness].

It is quite clear that Rong-zom-pa has used the seven kinds of greatness of Mahāyāna found in Indian sources such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* to define the difference between the *bodhisattva* and *prātimokṣa* vows. However, it is not clear whether this was his own inspired idea or whether he had inherited it from his predecessors. (At least some Tibetan scholars, such as Kong-sprul Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (1813–1899), seem to take it as the former.[132]) Rong-zom-pa then goes on to show how the *mantra* vow, too, excels the *bodhisattva* and *prātimokṣa* vows in seven ways. But this is not done on the basis of the seven kinds of greatness found in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. He has used a passage from the nineteenth chapter of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* on *samaya* as his textual basis.[133] The seven distinctions that he draws are as follows:[134]

Similarly, one cannot count and express [the ways] the tantric *samaya* [is superior] to the *bodhisattva* vow, because [the tantric *samaya*] is much more profound and vast [than the *bodhisattva* vow]. For the moment, it will be shown here in brief that [the tantric *samaya* excels the *bodhisattva* vow] in seven ways. What are the seven? [1] [Persons who adhere to *samaya* possess] qualities that are spontaneously attained without effort, for [they] are sealed with the seal of Samantabhadra. [2] [They possess] superb power and empowerment, for [they] are

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[132] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 393.31–32:)
theg chen 'og ma'i bslab gzhi mtha' dag las ||
che ba bdun gyis 'phags pa rong zom bzhed ||.

[133] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 128b1–3; D, fol. 130a6–b1):
[1] *gzhan yang rgyal mchog kun bzang gi* ||
thams cad ma lus phyag rgya yi ||
sgrub byed dam pa ma lus 'grub ||
[2] *de la sogs pa mtha' yas mchog* ||
rgyal ba'i rigs mchog 'dzin pa de ||
'jig rten gtso dang 'khor gyis bkur ||
[3] *dam pa mchog dang dam pa yis* ||
sras dang spun dgongs [dgong P] *byin gyis rlob* ||
[4] *bde* [bder P] *gshegs nyid kyi yul la bzhugs* ||
[5] *'jigs med kun du* [= tu] *bzang por sbyor* ||
[6] *ji bzhin nyid dang 'dul ba'i thabs* ||
ji snyed sdom pa bsam yas pa ||
ma lus rnam dag lhun gyis grub ||
[7] *nyams na bskangs pas rdzogs pa dang* ||
de la sogs te mtha' yas mchog ||.

[134] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 200b1–201a2; B, p. 237.11–24): *de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa las gsang sngags kyi dam tshig cis 'phags pa'i khyad par rnams kyang bgrang zhing brjod par mi nus te* | *de las kyang ches zab cing rgya che ba'i phyir ro* || *de la re zhig mdor bsdu na khyad par rnam pa bdun gyis 'phags par bstan te* | *bdun gang zhe na* | [1] *kun tu bzang po'i phyag rgyas btab pas yon tan btsal* [= rtsol] *ba med par lhun gyis grub pa dang* | [2] *'jig rten gyi gtso bo lha chen po rnams dang de'i 'khor ma mo dang* | *mkha' 'gro ma rnams kyis bkur gnas dam par mthong bas mthu dang byin rlabs khyad par du 'phags pa dang* | [3] *sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyis nye ba'i sras dang spun du dgongs pas thugs rje'i byin rlabs myur du 'byung ba dang* | [4] *de bzhin gshegs pa nyid dang spyod yul mthun pas spyod yul khyad par du 'phags pa dang* | [5] *chos thams cad kun tu bzang po'i zhing du sbyor bas 'jigs pa dang bag tsha ba thams cad med pa dang* | [6] *bkri ba dang nges pa'i don du gsungs pa'i sdom pa ji snyed pa thams cad kyang rang bzhin lhun gyis grub par 'dus pa dang* | [7] *nyams par gyur kyang bskang ba'i thabs yod pa ste* | *de ltar rnam pa bdun la sogs pa'i yon tan mtha' yas pas khyad par 'phags so* [pa B] *zhes sbyar ro* ||.

> regarded as sublime objects of reverence by the lords of the world (*lokajyeṣṭha*), [namely,] the great deities and their retinues, the *mātṛkās* and *ḍākinīs*.[135] [3] [They] rapidly acquire the empowerment of compassion, for [they] are regarded by *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* as [their] intimate sons and brothers. [4] [They range over] a superb [domain of conduct], for [their conduct] corresponds to the domain of conduct of the *tathāgatas*. [5] [They] are without any fear and anxiety whatsoever, for [they see that] all phenomena are one with the realm of Samantabhadra. [6] All vows (*saṃvara*) that have been taught in either a provisional or definitive sense are naturally and spontaneously included [in the *samaya* of this tantric system]. [7] Even when [the *samaya*] has deteriorated, there is a method of retrieving [it]. In this way, one should understand by implication (lit. 'apply' or 'employ') that [the tantric *samaya*] excels [the *bodhisattva* vow] by an infinite number of qualities, such as these seven kinds [of excellence].[136]

The idea of taking the pertinent verses of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* as a basis for distinguishing the *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows seems to be Rong-zom-pa's own. Each of these seven points are explained in great detail in the *dKon mchog 'grel*. Since it is in these explanations that we can best see how the three vows are contrasted, we shall consider each of the explanations in turn. The explanation of the first point is as follows:[137]

> [1] How are [the observer of *samaya*] sealed with the seal of Samantabhadra? The *śrāvakas* are those who are born from the mouth (*mukhato jātaḥ*)[138] of *tathāgatas* and are not [those who possess] the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) to become *samyaksaṃbuddhas*, and are hence not sealed by the seal of the *buddhas* but merely sealed by the seal of the empowerment of *buddhas*. The *bodhisattvas*, [on the contrary,] it is taught in the *sūtras*, are sealed by one or three seals, for they are going to become *tathāgatas*, but nonetheless no seal of spontaneous attainment is commonly known [among them], and hence [it is] maintained that [they] realise the result with effort, in virtue of [their] spiritual disposition. [According to] the highest (*niruttara*) tantric system, [the observer of *samaya*] is said to be sealed with the seal of Samantabhadra, since there is no phenomenon that is not primordially awakened in the adamantine *maṇḍala* of [awakened] body, speech, and mind. Therefore, all qualities of the greatness of the result are [said to be] effortlessly and spontaneously attained.

The following explanation is given of the second point:[139]

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[135] The Tibetan syntax seems to suggest that both *mātṛkās* and *ḍākinīs* are retinues of the great deities. I am not sure if this is factually correct. For the term *mātṛkā*, see *TSD*, s.v. *ma mo*, and for a discussion of the term *ḍākinī*, see ENGLISH 2002: 397–398, n. 67.

[136] This passage has also been cited in the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 349.1–11).

[137] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 201a2–b1; B, pp. 237.24–238.9): *de la ji ltar kun tu bzang po'i phyag rgyas btab ce na | de la nyan thos rnams ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i zhal las skyes pa ste | yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams su 'gyur ba'i rigs ma yin pas sangs rgyas nyid kyi phyag rgyas ma btab kyi | byin gyi brlabs kyi phyag rgyas btab pa tsam mo || byang chub sems dpa' rnams ni de bzhin gshegs pa nyid du 'gyur ba'i phyir | phyag rgya gcig dang gsum gyis btab par mdo sde nyid las gsungs mod kyi | 'on kyang lhun gyis grub pa'i phyag rgya thun mong du ma grags pas | rigs las rtsol bas 'bras bu mngon par 'grub* [grub B] *par 'dod pa yin no || gsang sngags bla na med pa'i* [pas A] *chos thams cad ye nas sku gsung thugs rdo rje'i dkyil 'khor du sangs ma rgyas pa 'ga' yang med pas kun tu bzang po'i phyag rgyas btab ces bya ste || de bas na 'bras bu che ba'i yon tan thams cad rtsol ba med par lhun gyis grub pa yin no ||*.

[138] Usually an epithet of *śrāvaka*, but evidently also of a *bodhisattva*; see *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 643, and *TSD*, s.v. *zhal nas skyes pa*. In the Tibetan translations of the *Madhyamakāvatāra* and *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, the term used is *gsung skyes* (in verses). See, for example, *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.8, 2.7, 6.225. See also the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 341.18–19): *bde bar gshegs pa'i gsung las skyes pa rnams te nyan thos rnams so zhes bya ba'i don to ||*.

[139] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 201b1–202a1; B, p. 238.9–22): *gnyis pa 'jig rten pa'i gtso bo dang 'khor rnams kyis bkur gnas dam par gyur pa ni | nyan thos rnams kyang tshangs pa dang brgya byin la sogs pa rnams kyi bkur gnas yin yang sangs rgyas bzhin du bkur ba ni ma yin no || byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyang de bas ches bkur ba yin mod kyi sangs rgyas bzhin du ni bkur ba ma yin no || yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas rnams ni*

> The second [point], being the sublime reverential object of the lords of the world and [their] retinues: Although *śrāvaka*s are also reverential objects of [the lords of the world], such as Brahmā and Śakra, they are not revered like the *buddha*s. Although *bodhisattva*s are revered much more than them (i.e. *śrāvaka*s), they are not revered like the *buddha*s. *Samyaksaṃbuddha*s are to be highly revered. In the same way, people who observe the vow of conduct in their [respective] domains are also seen as reverential objects in a hierarchical order by the guardians who protect the Doctrine (*dharmapāla*); that is, those upholding the vow of conduct in the domain of *śrāvaka*s are regarded as reverential objects but are not honoured (*dam par* [*byed*]) [like those abiding by the *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows]. In the same way, those upholding the vow of conduct in the domain of *bodhisattva*s are honoured more but not as highly [those abiding by the *mantra* vows]. In the same way, those upholding the vow of conduct in the domain of *buddha*s are most highly honoured. Hence all [deities] have committed themselves to follow [their] instructions and to honour [them] as ornaments of [their] crowns. Therefore, on account of their (i.e. the deities') assistance (*sāhāyaka*),[140] the power and empowerment [of those upholding the tantric vow] greatly excel [those of the others].

The third distinction is explained thus:[141]

> The third [point], namely, being regarded by *buddha*s and *bodhisattva*s as [their] intimate sons and brothers: If a son endowed with the major and minor marks [of a great being] is born to a universal monarch, [the father] thinks: "This [child] is going to be a universal monarch." Similarly, if a person endowed with the marks of a vow (*śikṣā*) that accords with the intent and conduct of *buddha*s appears, [the *tathāgata*s] think: "This [person] is upholding the line of the *tathāgata*s." On account of this, empowerment will occur soon. An alternative [explanation would be]: Just as a reflection appears in clear water to one who is endowed with pure perception, noble conduct, and the power [of] an accompanying vow, the empowerment of the *buddha*s and *bodhisattva*s occur naturally and swiftly. For this reason [those upholding the tantric vow] are designated so.

Concerning the fourth point, Rong-zom-pa states:[142]

> The fourth [point], a superb domain of conduct: The domain or object of appropriation (i.e. of the upholder of the *mantra* vow) is the domain of the conduct of a *tathāgata*; that is, [a *tathāgata*,] while abiding in the conduct of non-adoption and non-abandonment (all phenomena being primordially pure), does not disrupt the continuity of activities for the benefit of sentient

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mchog tu bkur bar bya ba yin te | de bzhin du de rnams kyi spyod yul la zhugs pa'i sdom pa can gyi skye bo rnams la yang | chos skyong ba'i srung ma rnams kyis bkur gnas rim par mthong bar 'gyur te | nyan thos kyi spyod yul la zhugs pa'i sdom pa 'dzin pa rnams la yang bkur gnas su byed kyang dam par ni ma yin no || de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa'i spyod yul la zhugs pa'i sdom pa 'dzin pa rnams la yang de bas dam par byed cing | ches dam par byed pa ni ma yin no || de bzhin du sangs rgyas kyi spyod yul la zhugs pa'i sdom pa 'dzin pa rnams la ni ches dam par byed par 'gyur bas | kun kyang bka' nyan cing spyi gtsug rgyan du bkur bar dam bcas pas | de bas na de dag gi stong [stongs A] *grogs kyi dbang gis mthu dang byin rlabs lhag par 'phags par 'gyur ro ||.*

140 *TSD*, s.v. *stong grogs*; JÄSCHKE 1881, s.v. *stong grogs.*

141 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 202a1–5; B, pp. 238.23–239.7): *gsum pa sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpas nye ba'i sras dang spun du dgongs pa ni | ji ltar 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po la mtshan dang dpe byad dang ldan pa'i bu skyes par gyur na | 'di las 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po nyid 'byung ngo snyam du dgongs pa bzhin du | sangs rgyas nyid kyi dgongs spyod dang mthun pa'i bslab pa'i mtshan dang ldan pa'i gang zag byung na 'di ni de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyi gdung nye bar 'dzin pa'o || zhes dgongs pa'i dbang gis byin rlabs myur du 'byung ngo || rnam pa gcig tu chu dwangs pa la gzugs brnyan 'byung ba bzhin du | dmigs pa dag pa dang spyod pa 'phags pa dang | grogs kyi sdom pa nus pa dang ldan pa can la rang bzhin gyis sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa'i byin rlabs myur ba nyid du 'byung bas de* ['de B] *skad ces bya'o ||.*

142 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 202a5–b2; B, p. 239.7–14): *bzhi pa spyod yul khyad par du 'phags pa ni | gsang sngags kyi spyod yul dang dmigs pa ni de bzhin gshegs pa nyid kyi spyod yul te | 'di ltar chos thams cad gdod ma nas rnam par dag pas blang dor med pa'i spyod pa la gnas bzhin du | sems can gyi don yang gzugs kyi sku rnam pa gnyis kyi sgo nas mdzad pa rgyun mi gcod pa 'di ni spyod yul gcig la mthun par zhugs pa yin no || sdom pa gzhan ni de ltar ma yin te | sngon gyi 'phags pa dgra bcom pa rnams kyi rjes su slob pa dang | sa chen po la gnas pa'i byang chub sems dpa' chen po rnams kyi rjes su slob pa yin no ||.*

beings by means of [his] two kinds of corporeal bodies (*rūpakāya*). He (i.e. the upholder of the *mantra* vow) is one who ranges over a domain of conduct identical [with that of a *tathāgata*] and has entered into [it] in a similar manner. The [upholders of the other two] vows are not so. [The upholder of the *prātimokṣa* vow] follows the ancient noble *arhat*s. [The upholder of the *bodhisattva* vow] follows the great *bodhisattva*s at high [spiritual] stages.

The fifth point is demonstrated with striking examples:[143]

The fifth [point,] being without anxiety for any phenomena, [which are seen as being] one with the realm of Samantabhadra: All phenomena of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* are the realms of Samantabhadra, since [they are] primordially pure and thus there is nothing to be eliminated or abandoned. One who has realised this and does not waver mentally from this [insight] is not apprehensive of the pain [or suffering] of *saṃsāra*. For example, (a) if a person being swept away by a huge river happens to come across a boat, [the following thought would occur to him]: "I will now find a way to get to dry land." And there being no danger from [or fear of] the water, [he] will be saved. (b) Someone dreams of being swept away by water, and [after a while] becomes slightly wakeful (lit. 'sleep having slightly become shallower'). If [he] happens to be conscious of the fact that it is a dream, although the watery apparitions have not withdrawn [yet], the following [thought will occur to him]: "This is [only] a dream. [I am] not really being swept away. This appearance will not occur once [I am] awake, and so the fear of dying by drowning (lit. 'water') will be averted." And thus courage will be summoned towards simply taking preparatory measures for waking up from sleep. Once [he] is awake, [he] will realise that there has neither been [an incident of] being swept away by river nor of being saved, nor will water appear to [his] perception. Similarly, those who have entered the path of the *śrāvaka*s are those who have come across a small boat. It is like a number of individuals who, accompanied by a few belongings, have been rescued [to] one shore and dwell [there]. Those who have entered the path of the *bodhisattva*s are like those who have come across a big ship. With many sentient beings and with a great purpose, [they] sail on luxuriously, thanks to the prosperity of the land.[144] Those who have entered the path of the Mantranaya are like those who have been slightly awake from the sleep in which [they dream of] being swept away by a river. [They are ones who feel] safe from [or reassured in the face of] the dangers of *saṃsāra*, for they have realised the non-duality of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. With great discriminating insight [they] make attempts merely to wake up. [They] do not make any effort to eliminate unfavourable factors or to rely on antidotes, but merely abide [in such a way that] their great attentiveness (*samprajanya*) does not dwindle.

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[143] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 202b2–203b1; B, pp. 239.14–240.11): *lnga pa chos thams cad kun tu bzang po'i zhing du sbyor bas bag tsha ba med pa ni | 'khor ba dang mya ngan las 'das pa'i chos thams cad ni gdod ma nas rnam par dag pas 'spang zhing'* [spangs shing A] *dor bar bya ba med pa'i phyir kun tu bzang po'i zhing yin no || 'di ltar rtogs shing blo gros 'di las mi g.yo ba ni 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal gyis bag tsha bar mi 'gyur te | dper na chu klung chen pos khyer ba'i mi dag gru gzings dang 'phrad par gyur na da ni bdag gis skam sa la phyin pa'i lam rnyed do snyam ste | chus 'jigs pa med cing dbugs phyin par 'gyur la | gang zhig rmi lam na chus khyer ba rmis pa las | gnyid cung zhig srab par gyur te | de nyid rmi lam yin par shes pa'i blo byung na chur snang ba ma log kyang 'di snyam du 'di ni rmi lam yin te dngos su khyer ba med do || snang ba 'di yang gnyid sad pa'i dus na mi 'byung ste | de bas na bdag chus 'chi ba'i dus byed pa'i 'jigs pa las log nas | gnyid sangs par bya ba'i sbyor ba tsam la snying stobs bskyed* [skyed A] *par 'gyur ro || des gnyid sad par gyur pa de'i tshe chus khyer ba med cing chu las thar pa med pa yang shes la chu yang mi snang ngo || de bzhin du nyan thos kyi lam du zhugs pa ni gru chung ngu dang 'phrad pa lta bu ste | gang zag 'ga' zhig dngos po chung ngu tsam dang 'grogs nas phyogs gcig tu thar bar byas te gnas pa lta bu'o || byang chub sems dpa'i lam du zhugs pa ni gru gzings chen po dang 'phrad pa dang 'dra ste | 'gro ba mang po dang bcas don chen po dang bcas nas yul khams bde bas rgyas par spyod do || gsang sngags kyi tshul gyi lam la zhugs pa ni rmi lam na chus khyer ba gnyid cung zad srab* [srabs A] *par 'gyur ba dang 'dra ste | 'khor ba dang mya ngan las 'das pa gnyis su med par rtogs pas 'khor ba'i 'jigs pa las dbugs phyin te | shes rab chen pos gnyid sad pa tsam la rtsol ba tsam byed do || de la mi mthun pa dang gnyen po spong ba dang bsten pa'i rtsol ba ni mi byed kyi | shes bzhin chen po las mi nyams pa tsam du gnas so ||*.

[144] It is not clear how *yul khams bde bas rgyas par spyod do* is to be understood. My translation is thus a mere attempt to make some sense of the phrase.

The sixth point is explained in brief as follows:[145]

> The sixth [point], the inclusion of all vows whatsoever: The *bodhisattva* vow is not included in and enhanced by the *prātimokṣa* vow of a *śrāvaka*. The *prātimokṣa* vow of a *śrāvaka* is included in and enhanced by the *bodhisattva* vow. Likewise, [the same] may be said of the tantric pledge. The manner in which these (i.e. the 'lower' vows) are included in and enhanced by [the 'higher' ones] have already been explained above extensively while demonstrating superiority.

The seventh and final point is explained as follows:[146]

> The seventh [point], the quality of [being able to] replenish the [*samaya*] if it has deteriorated: It is said that there is no means of restoring a *prātimokṣa* vow of a *śrāvaka* that has deteriorated on account of [his] attachment to phenomena as if they were substantial and the emphasis he places on entities through his physical and verbal activities. It is comparable to a broken clay vessel. As for the *bodhisattva* vow, it is said that on account of [a *bodhisattva*'s] non-attachment to phenomena taken [by others] to be substantial and the emphasis [he] places on the mind, even broken [vows] can be [restored and] enhanced by relying on a spiritual teacher. It is, for example, comparable to a skilled smith who can turn broken gold and silver vessels into vessels that are even superior to the [vessels that existed] before. As for the tantric pledge, it is said that deteriorated pledges can be revived and thus restored by oneself without having to rely on a spiritual teacher, given the realisation that all phenomena [are characterised by] great equanimity, the main thing being command over awareness of the illusion-like display [of phenomena]. For example, dented gold or silver vessels do not have to be made all over again by the smith. Depending on the extent of the dents, one can gradually repair [them] on the basis of one's own capacity, and [they] will be straightened out [and assume their] original shape. It occurs in some tantric systems that [a tantric practitioner] who has let [his *samaya*] deteriorate receives it [anew], as a [non-tantric] *bodhisattva* [receives] empowerments and pledges from a spiritual teacher by entering a *maṇḍala*. Such [procedures] are, however, merely taught in view of certain aspirants. Here, the former meaning [is preferred]. Therefore, these seven qualities [representative] of [the ability to] replenish [the *samaya*] if it has deteriorated are only a summary [listing]. It should be known by implication that extensive qualities such as these are limitless.

The gist of Buddhist axiological principles seems to be that according to the *prātimokṣa* vow, one tries to refrain from inflicting injury on other sentient beings; according the *bodhisattva* vow, one tries to benefit sentient beings, which presupposes that one has already refrained

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145 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 203b1–3; B, p. 240.11–16): *drug pa sdom pa ji snyed pa thams cad 'dus pa ni | nyan thos kyi so sor thar pa'i sdom pa'i nang du ni byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ma 'dus shing ma dag go || byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa'i nang du ni so sor thar pa'i sdom pa 'dus shing rnam par dag ste | de bzhin du gsang sngags kyi dam tshig la yang sbyar bar bya'o || de dag ji ltar 'dus shing rnam par dag pa'i tshul ni gong du che ba bstan pa'i skabs su rgyas par bshad pa nyid do ||* .

146 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 203b3–204a6; B, pp. 240.17–241.10): *bdun pa nyams pa bskangs* [bskang B] *na rdzogs pa'i yon tan ni | nyan thos kyi so sor thar pa'i sdom pa ni chos rnams la dngos por zhen pa'i dbang dang | lus ngag gi las kyi dngos po la gtso bor bzung* [gzung B] *ba yin pas nyams pa rnams slar gso ba'i thabs med de | rdza gyo mo chag pa dang 'dra bar 'byung ngo || byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa ni chos rnams la dngos por ma zhen pa'i dbang dang | sems gtso bor ston pas nyams pa rnams kyang dge ba'i bshes gnyen la brten nas shin tu lhag par byar rung ste | dper na gser dngul gyi snod chag ral du gyur na mgar ba mkhas pas snga ma las khyad par du 'phags pa'i snod dag kyang byar btub pa lta bu'o zhes 'byung ngo || gsang sngags kyi dam tshig ni chos thams cad mnyam pa chen por rtogs pa'i dbang dang | sgyu ma lta bu'i rol pa la rig pa rang dbang sgyur ba gtso bo yin pas dam tshig nyams pa rnams kyang dge ba'i bshes gnyen la brten mi dgos par bdag nyid kyis gsos pas skong bar 'gyur te | dper na gser dngul gyi snod zhom pa ni mgar bas gzhi nas bya mi dgos te | zhom pa che chung dang sbyar nas bdag nyid kyis rtsol bas rim pa bzhin bcos pas ji lta ba bzhin srongs par 'gyur ba bzhin no zhes 'byung ngo || gsang sngags kyi tshul kha cig las ni byang chub sems dpa' dang mthun par nyams pa rnams dge ba'i bshes gnyen las dkyil 'khor du zhugs shing dbang dang dam tshig nod par 'byung ste | 'di lta bu'ang gdul bya la la'i dbang du gsungs par zad do || 'dir ni don snga ma nyid de | de bas na nyams pa bskangs* [bskang B] *na rdzogs pa'i yon tan rnam pa bdun tsam ni mdor bsdus pa ste | de la sogs pa yon tan rgyas pa ni mtha' yas zhes sbyar ro ||.*

from inflicting injury on them; and that according to the *mantra* vow, one tries not only to refrain from inflicting injury on other sentient beings but also tries to actively benefit them, and that too in the manner of a *buddha*.

The question is how one is supposed to know what is really beneficial or detrimental. What if an action executed with benevolent intent turns out to be detrimental to the beneficiary. Is there not the risk of harming others, although one does something with the aim of sincerely wishing to benefit them? As far as I can gather from various sources, this risk will always remain. What a *bodhisattva* at the most can try to do is to minimise this risk by trying to maximise his compassion (*karuṇā*) and foresight or discriminating insight (*prajñā*). Not all *bodhisattva*s will have the same degree of *karuṇā* and *prajñā*. Each *bodhisattva* will make his own decisions. Hypothetically, for example, even if a *bodhisattva* endowed with intense *karuṇā* (which is by nature wholesome) but lacking adequate *prajñā* (but not on account of *moha*) were to perform an act that turns out to be detrimental to himself and others, he should be able to bear all the consequences. Because a *bodhisattva* dreads the sufferings of others, he would gladly and readily tread even the lowest depths of hell (*avīci: mnar med*), as explicated in the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* and *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.[147] The axiological principle is expressed by Nāgārjuna as follows: if it benefits, give even poison; if it does not benefit, do not give even medicine.[148] An attitude can be said to be ethically and morally right if it is characterised by benevolence, and wrong if it is characterised by malevolence; an action can be said to be ethically right if it is beneficial to others, and wrong if it is detrimental to others.[149]

One of the difficulties of *bodhisattva* ethics is: should and can someone who has taken the *bodhisattva* vow tolerate those who through maliciousness and perverse ideology perpetrate horrendous deeds? On the one hand, a *bodhisattva* is not supposed to regard even a single sentient being as his foe and thus make it an object of his aversion, for doing so would mean violation of the *bodhisattva* vow. On the other hand, how can a *bodhisattva* regard someone who perpetrates horrendous deeds out of sheer maliciousness or perverse ideologies as his friend? Would not a *bodhisattva*'s show of tolerance indicate his intellectual and emotional consent to such deeds and thereby make himself an accomplice of the perpetrators? Āryadeva seems to offer an answer to this predicament. According to him, just as a physician does not regard a patient possessed with a spirit (*bhūta: 'byung po*) as his foe, so sages regard

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[147] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 86:

gang zhig bsgom pas brtan pa ni ||
gzhan gyi sdug bsngal gyis bred nas ||
bsam gtan bde ba dor nas kyang ||
mnar med pa [= par?] *yang 'jug par 'gyur* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 61. See also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 8.107:

evaṃ bhāvitasaṃtānāḥ paraduḥkhasamapriyāḥ |
avīcim avagāhante haṃsāḥ padmavanaṃ yathā ||.

For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 97.

[148] *Ratnāvalī* 3.63–64:

gang la du ni phan 'gyur na ||
de la dug kyang sbyin par bgyi ||
kha zas mchog kyang mi phan na ||
de la de ni sbyin mi bgyi ||
sbrul gyis zin la ji lta bur ||
sor mo bcad la phan bshad pa ||
de bzhin thub pas gzhan phan pa ||
mi bde ba yang bya bar gsungs ||.

[149] *Ratnāvalī* 2.35cd:

paraikāntahitaṃ satyam ahitatvān mṛṣetarat ||.

intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa: nyon mongs pa*) as their foes, not those who possess them.[150]

A final question would be how much a *bodhisattva* should actively dedicate himself to the benefit of others. The answer would be 'to the best of one's capacity' (*yathāśaktyā yathābalam: ci nus ci lcogs kyis*), an expression used often in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. A *bodhisattva* is not culpable for not having done things that he is not capable of, very much according to the dictum: *Ad impossibile nemo obligatur* ("No one is obliged to do the impossible"). The conscience of individual *bodhisattva*s alone would stand witness to whether or not they indeed did their best.

7. Concluding Remarks

In conclusion, one could say that *bodhicitta* is all about becoming a *buddha*. Becoming a *buddha* in turn means directly experiencing the ontological *buddha*, true reality, by means of the gnoseological *buddha*, the profoundest meditative insight. For someone striving to become a *buddha*, any method or resource seems to be acceptable so long as he or she thinks and acts within the bounds of extraordinary *prajñā* and *karuṇā*.

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150 *Catuḥśataka* 5.9 (LANG 1986: 56):

> *khro yang 'byung pos bzung pa la* ||
> *sman pa 'khrug pa min pa ltar* ||
> *thub pa nyon mongs dgrar gzigs kyi* ||
> *nyon mongs dang 'brel gang zag min* ||.

For an English translation, see LANG 1986: 57. Cf. also the *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (P, fol. 106a2; D, fol. 96b7; S, vol. 60, p. 1163.5–7):

> *'di 'dir sems can skyon min gyi* ||
> *'di ni nyon mongs rnams skyon zhes* ||
> *rnam par dpyad nas mkhas pa rnams* ||
> *sems can dag la 'khrug mi byed* ||.

Chapter Two

Previous Studies on *Bodhicitta*

Should one initiate [something], one should initiate [it] with *bodhicitta*.
Should one reflect on [something], one should reflect on *bodhicitta*.
Should one analyse [something], one should analyse *bodhicitta*.
Should one investigate [something], one should investigate *bodhicitta*.

– Khu-nu Bla-ma, *Byang sems bstod pa*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

In this chapter, I attempt to review studies relating to *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* previously undertaken by modern scholars. For a number of reasons, however, my survey will not be comprehensive. In the first place, I have been selective in my choice of secondary literature, giving preference to books and articles which deal with *bodhicitta* as the main topic. Furthermore, several relevant studies by Japanese scholars will not be discussed because of either language barrier or inaccessibility. In spite of these restraints, I hope to provide a general review of the previous studies.

The notion of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda*, conceived as it was as the quintessence of Mahāyāna Buddhism, received great attention among traditional scholars. sGam-po-pa (1079–1153), the famous disciple of the Tibetan yogin Mi-la-ras-pa (1052–1135), for example, thought all Buddhist teachings to be somehow centred around *bodhicittotpāda*. He stated that some teachings deal with the foundations (meaning perhaps prerequisites) of *cittotpāda*, some with its object, some with its attributes, some with its observances, some with its benefits, and some with its results.[2] On the other hand, it received relatively less

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[1] *Byang sems bstod pa* 98:

brtsam na byang chub sems las brtsam ||
bsam na byang chub sems nyid bsam ||
dpyad na byang chub sems su dpyad ||
brtag na byang chub sems la brtag ||.

Cf. the English translation in SPARHAM 1999: 59.

[2] *Dwags po thar rgyan* (pp. 44.16–45.3): *de yang chos kha cig ni sems bskyed kyi rten | chos kha cig ni sems bskyed kyi dmigs pa | chos kha cig ni sems bskyed kyi chos | chos kha cig ni sems bskyed kyi bslab bya | chos kha*

attention among the first scholars of Buddhism in the West. Laurence Austine Waddell (1854–1939), for instance, whose work served as an authoritative source on Tibetan Buddhism for many years, did not even mention the word *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda*.[3] This discrepancy may be explained by the differences in attitude, interests, and priorities between traditional scholars and modern ones.[4] One of the reasons why the theory of *bodhicitta* has not received much attention among modern scholars seems to be the assumption that *bodhicitta* is of no philosophical interest.

This tendency, however, is changing. There is a growing interest in Buddhist ethical or moral philosophy, and thus also in the study of *bodhicitta*. Many scholars have noticed that the term *bodhicitta* is used with various meanings. To be precise, the concept of *bodhicitta* found in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna is not uniform within or between either of them.[5] But up to now no one has proposed a comprehensive scheme to explain these differences, and it is thus difficult to create a systematic, coherent picture of the previous studies relating to *bodhicitta*. I have devised a scheme (described in chapter seven) that I believe spans the entire spectrum of meaning expressed by *bodhicitta*. The five typologies proposed by me are: (a) ethico-spiritual, (b) gnoseological, (c) ontological, (d) psycho-physiological, and (e) semeiological. In my survey, I shall, whenever necessary, use these typologies to describe the types of *bodhicitta* studied by previous scholars.

2. The Early Western Knowledge of *Bodhicitta*

The concept of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* probably first became known to a European not through Sanskrit but through Tibetan sources. Francesco Orazio della Penna (1681–1745), an Italian Capuchin,[6] must have learned about *bodhicitta* from Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa's (1357–1419) famous *Lam rim chen mo*, which he translated.[7] As this translation has unfortunately not been preserved, we do not know how he actually treated the theme. Another Italian father, the Jesuit Ippolito Desideri (1684–1733), acquired during his five-year stay (1716–1721) in Lhasa an excellent knowledge of the Tibetan language and religion, and made excerpts of many Tibetan works starting with the *Lam rim chen mo*. It is possible that he also discussed the theory of *bodhicitta* in the third book of his *Relazione* (to which I have no access), which is said to be entirely devoted to a description of Tibetan religions.[8]

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cig ni sems bskyed kyi phan yon | chos kha cig ni sems bskyed kyi 'bras bu ste | theg pa chen po'i chos ṇi sems bskyed pa [= par/la?] *ma 'dus pa med do* ||.

[3] WADDELL 1895.

[4] Walpola Rahula, for example, complained that scholars tend to neglect the ethical aspect of Buddhist teachings: "Ethical Conduct (*Sīla*) is built on the vast conception of universal love and compassion for all living beings, on which the Buddha's teaching is based. It is regrettable that many scholars forget this great ideal of the Buddha's teaching, and indulge in only dry philosophical and metaphysical divagations when they talk and write about Buddhism" (RAHULA 1974: 46).

[5] NAKAMURA 1980: 323, n. 24.

[6] Della Penna was only one of the many eighteenth-century Capuchins and Jesuits who acquired good knowledge of Tibetan. He lived in Lhasa from 1716 to 1732 and compiled a Tibetan dictionary (35,000 words), which was later translated into English by F. C. G. Schroeter and published in Serampore in 1826 (DE JONG 1987a: 12).

[7] Della Penna's translation of the *Lam rim chen mo* is apparently mentioned (among his other writings) in his chronological summary of Tibetan history published by Antonio Giorgi in his *Alphabetum Tibetanum Missionum Apostolicarum Commodo Editum*, Rome, 1762 (DE JONG 1987a: 12).

The study of the Indian sources of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Sanskrit began in the West in 1837, when the Société Asiatique received from Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), who was then in Kathmandu, eighty-eight Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts. That same year, Eugène Burnouf (1801–1852) started reading the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, and in 1839 he completed a translation of it, which appeared only after his death.[9] This *sūtra* expounds the concept of 'one vehicle' (*ekayāna: theg pa gcig*) and one goal (i.e. Buddhahood). As a means of attaining this goal, the realisation of emptiness (*śūnyatā: stong pa nyid*) and the generation of *bodhicitta* are taught at the end of the fourth chapter.[10]

Unlike L. A. Waddell, Emil Schlagintweit (1835–1904), in his famous book *Buddhism in Tibet* (first published in 1863), does mention the idea of *bodhicitta* at least once, when discussing the so-called 'code of eight specific duties' drawn up for a more general Tibetan Buddhist public.[11] He based himself on Alexander Csoma de Körös (1784–1842), who in turn must have based himself on Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo*.

3. Monographs on the Study of *Bodhicitta*

I am aware of two monographs on *bodhicitta*: (a) *A Study of Bodhicitta* (in Japanese) by Taishū Tagami, published in 1990,[12] and (b) Francis Brassard's *The Concept of Bodhicitta in Śāntideva's Bodhicaryāvatāra*, published in 2000. Taishū Tagami (Komazawa University) has devoted much of his research life to the topic, and his monograph, which is an investigation into the origin and development of the *bodhicitta* concept, is the product of several years of study and his most important publication on the subject. His works are often mentioned by Hajime Nakamura in his book *Indian Buddhism* when referring to the concept of *bodhicitta*. Brassard's monograph is a study of the nature and function of *bodhicitta* and its relationship to the spiritual path as delineated by Śāntideva in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

(a) Taishū Tagami (1990)

On the basis of a summary and a detailed table of contents in English which Tagami helpfully provides,[13] I shall briefly describe the subject matter of his monograph here. The book contains eight chapters. In addition, there is a general introduction, conclusion, and appendix to the book followed by the summary and table of contents in English. In the introduction, the author discusses the problems connected with the study of *bodhicitta* and provides an outline of the eight chapters. Two important points are made in the first chapter with regard to non-Mahāyāna Buddhist *sūtras*: (a) several terms, such as *saṃvega*, which correspond to the term *bodhicitta*, are found in non-Mahāyāna *sūtras*, but their meanings and functions are different from those of the term *bodhicitta* found in Mahāyāna *sūtras*, and (b) terms such as *bodhicitta*

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[8] The manuscript of Desideri's work was discovered by C. Puini in 1875 but was published only in 1904. Luciano Petech and Giuseppe Tucci praised his study of Tibetan Buddhism as well in advance of his time (DE JONG 1987a: 13).

[9] DE JONG 1987a: 19.

[10] Otherwise the theory of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) seldom occurs in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*. There seems to be some disagreement regarding the relative chronology of the individual chapters of the *sūtra*. For details, see VETTER 2001: 82–87, where it is maintained that the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* represents a strand of 'Mahāyāna without Prajñāpāramitā.'

[11] SCHLAGINTWEIT 1863: 106: "To form in one's mind the resolution to strive to attain the highest degree of perfection, in order to be united with the supreme intelligence."

[12] I am grateful to Kazuo Kano (University of Kyoto/Hamburg) for presenting me a copy of this book.

[13] TAGAMI 1990: 519–532.

and *saṃbodhicitta* are not found in non-Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. Tagami regards the term *aññācitta* as the original word for what later came to be denoted by *bodhicitta*.[14] He thus maintains that the concept of *bodhicitta* (although not the term) was extant already in the non-Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. In the second chapter, Tagami discusses the term *bodhicitta* in Abhidharma literature. Although two of the three subheadings of this chapter refer to *mahābodhicitta* (in the *Prajñaptiśāstra*) and *bodhicitta* (in the *Mahāvibhāṣāśāstra*), it seems that these terms actually do not occur in the respective two works. Furthermore, Tagami states, the word *laukikāgratā* occurring in the *Jñānaprasthāna* is the corresponding Abhidharma term for *bodhicitta*. I, however, find this proposition very problematic.

The third chapter examines how *bodhicitta* figures in the *Mahāvastu*. The fourth chapter contains a discussion of the Chinese translations of the word *bodhicitta* by fifteen famous translators and an examination of the term *bodhicitta* in Sanskrit sources, namely, the *Vajracchedikā*, *Kāśyapaparivarta*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Sukhāvatīvyūha*, *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra*, *Daśabhūmikasūtra*, and *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. The fifth chapter presents the features and functions of *bodhicitta*. Among other things, Tagami proposes that *bodhicitta* has a function similar to that of a mnemonic formula (*dhāraṇī: gzungs sngags*). He also provides cases where *bodhicitta* is equated with emptiness (*śūnyatā: stong pa nyid*). The sixth chapter deals with the nature and development of the *bodhicitta* concept in some important Mahāyāna *sūtra*s. *Bodhicitta* is investigated there under the aspect of its being (a) an indispensable precondition for the revelation of the *buddhadhātu* or *tathāgatagarbha*, (b) an altruistic practice, (c) an equivalent of *śūnyatā*, and (d) an equivalent of *tathāgatadhātu*. The first two apparently correspond to what I call ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, and the latter two to ontological *bodhicitta*.

The seventh chapter presents the theory of *bodhicitta* according to various Mahāyāna *śāstra*s, such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. It also discusses the relationship between the theory of *bodhicitta* and that of the *tathāgatagarbha*. The eighth chapter discusses the place of *bodhicitta* within tantric Buddhism, mainly as exemplified in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*. In sum, Tagami comes to the following four conclusions: (1) The term *bodhicitta* is uniquely Buddhist but is not found in non-Mahāyāna sources. (2) The term found in non-Mahāyāna *sūtra*s for *bodhicitta* is *aññācitta*, and the corresponding non-Mahāyāna term used in Abhidharma sources is *laukikāgratā*. (3) The term *bodhicitta* according to the Mahāyāna scriptures means 'thought of Enlightenment' and not 'thought to Enlightenment.' (The difference between the two is, however, not quite clear to me. It may be that Tagami is making here a case for an ontological or gnoseological interpretation of *bodhicitta* (i.e. *citta* whose nature is characterised by *bodhi*) against an ethico-spiritual interpretation (i.e. *citta* that is directed towards the attainment of *bodhi*). (4) The function of *bodhicitta* is similar to that of a *dhāraṇī*.

(b) Francis Brassard (2000)

Francis Brassard, in attempting to understand the nature and function of *bodhicitta* in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, presents two opposing interpretations by Daisetz Teitaro Suzuki and Sangharakshita, compares and contrasts them, and then offers his own interpretation. According to him, Suzuki understood *bodhicitta* as an 'instigator of a brute force' which is

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[14] Also noted in NAKAMURA 1980: 70, n. 74. Cf. also *CPD*, s.vv. *aññācitta* and *abhiññācitta*. Note, however, that the *Śrāvakabhūmi* (p. 356.23) has *ājñācitta* (Tib. *kun shes par bya ba'i sems*). See also the *BHSD* (s.v. *ājñā*, which indicates the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as one of the sources), where the term has been translated as 'a mind disposed to perfect knowledge.' Presumably, the term *ājñācitta* will have to be examined in the light of the three undefiled faculties, namely, *ājñāsyāmīndriya* (*kun shes par byed pa'i dbang po*), *ājñendriya* (*kun shes pa'i dbang po*), and *ājñātāvīndriya* (*kun shes pa dang ldan pa'i dbang po*), which are among the twenty-two faculties (*indriya*) discussed in the *Abhidharmakośa* and elsewhere.

'totally devoid of knowledge' and as having a 'definitive conative connotation,' and thus he translated it as a 'desire for enlightenment.'[15] If this is indeed the case, Suzuki's notion of *bodhicitta* would not seem to fit into any of the five typologies of *bodhicitta* which I discuss in my work. Sangharakshita, on the other hand, interprets *bodhicitta* as a 'will to enlightenment,' or 'going for refuge,' and that too on a 'cosmic scale.' According to Brassard, Suzuki interpreted *bodhicitta* in 'conative,' 'purely motivational' and 'functional' terms, and Sangharakshita in 'metaphysical' ones. He himself goes on to interpret *bodhicitta* within what he calls a 'soteriological context,' which takes three aspects of *bodhicitta* (namely, 'functional,' 'metaphysical,' and 'ethical' ones) into consideration, as well as their role 'in the process of spiritual transformation.' *Bodhicitta*, in the context of the spiritual path, can, according to him, possibly assume three functions, that is, it can function as: (1) a 'desire for enlightenment,' where desire is an 'act of will,' and by extension a 'commitment,' (2) an 'object of concentration,' and (3) a 'basis for the cultivation of awareness.'[16]

4. Articles on *Bodhicitta*

Several articles that deal with *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* have appeared. In the following few paragraphs, I shall attempt to review some of the most important ones accessible to me.

(a) Kumatarō Kawada (1965)

In 1965 the Japanese scholar Kumatarō Kawada wrote an article in German about both the transcendent and immanent nature of *bodhicitta*. *Bodhicitta* is discussed there in a philosophical context under four points: (1) the problems related to the transcendent and immanent nature of *bodhicitta*, (2) the relation between *bodhicitta* and *dharmatā*, (3) methodological relativisation, and (4) concluding observations.

(1) Under the first point, Kawada states that the transcendent nature of *bodhicitta* is analysed in great detail and with great precision in both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna sources, thereby suggesting that *bodhicitta* as an idea is common to both the Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna systems. Kawada's assumption seems to be based on his usage of the term *bodhicitta* in a strictly 'gnoseological' sense, that is, as the gnosis of a *buddha*. In any case, the point he goes on to make is that although it might appear as if only the transcendent nature of *bodhicitta* is important in Buddhism, in reality immanence too figures in, if one but considers the concept of *apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*, which implies that one is able to transcend *saṃsāra* (or attain *nirvāṇa*) and yet remain within *saṃsāra* and continue carrying out salvific activities. Kawada also addresses the relationship between the transcendent and immanent nature of *bodhicitta*, viewing it as a problem that may be resolved in several ways. One of the ways to explain the link between transcendence and immanence is on the basis of the relationship between *bodhicitta* and the highest reality (*dharmatā*).

(2) Under the second point, he discusses three matters: (a) the notion that the highest truth or reality (*dharmatā*) is the 'master,' (b) the idea that one becomes awakened by gaining insight into the eternal *dharmatā*, and (c) the Buddhist claim of the absoluteness of truth. Under the first subpoint, he explains that a *buddha*, a *bodhisattva*, and *bodhicitta* are all dependent on the *dharmatā*, whereas the *dharmatā* is eternal and is independent of them. In other words, to use my typologies, 'gnoseological' *bodhicitta* and the beings who possess it are dependent on the 'ontological' one. Under the second subpoint, he argues that it is by gaining cognitive insight into the enduring *dharmatā* that one obtains *bodhicitta* (in its

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15 Cf. SINGH 1977: 31–32, where Suzuki's positions on *bodhicitta*, as found in his *Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism*, have been summarised.

16 BRASSARD 2000: 27.

'gnoseological' sense) and becomes awakened, and it is at this juncture that both the transcendent and immanent nature of *bodhicitta* can unfold. Under the third subpoint, he notes that Buddhism, like other religions and philosophies, lays claim to the absoluteness of truth.

(3) Since every philosophy and religion lays claim to absoluteness, it is, according to Kawada, methodologically sensible for each of them to transcend itself, find its own methods of putting itself into perspective, and scrutinise the claims regarding the universality of truth made by it and others; otherwise any mutual understanding among them would give way to narrow-minded mutual deprecation. For Buddhist philosophy, he recommends the transcendent and immanent nature of *bodhicitta* as a suitable and practical point of reference.

(4) In the concluding part of the article, he refers to the four kinds of *śraddhā* mentioned in the *Mahāyānaśraddhotpāda*, namely, those pertaining to the 'root' (called *paurāṇasthitidharmatā* in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*), Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha. According to him, for one who has only the last three in mind, the Three Jewels would remain only immanent, but for one who has all four in mind, the Three Jewels would be transcendent and immanent simultaneously.

(b) Lal Mani Joshi (1971)

The article by Lal Mani Joshi published in 1971 is one of the most useful on *bodhicitta*. By referring to a number of source texts including the *Vajradhvajasūtra*, *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, *Nairātmyaparipṛcchāsūtra*, *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, *Guhyasamājatantra*, *Hevajratantra*, *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, *Bodhicittotpādaśāstra* (attributed to one Vasubandhu), *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, *Dharmasaṃgraha* (attributed to Nāgārjuna), *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, First *Bhāvanākrama*, *Prajñopayaviniścayasiddhi* (by Anaṅgavajra), and *Jñānasiddhi* (by Indrabhūti), the author attempts a historical survey of the *bodhicitta* concept. He makes it clear that the concept does not occur in the early Pāli literature (i.e. in non-Mahāyāna Buddhism), whereas it is pervasive in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna. He refers to several aspects and types of *bodhicitta*, including its nature, subdivisions, causes, significance, and benefits, eulogies of it, and similes for it. Apart from the common meaning of *bodhicitta*, he refers to a 'highly philosophical and absolutistic' idea of *bodhicitta* (i.e. in the sense of what I call 'ontological' *bodhicitta*), the idea of Vajrasattva being *bodhicitta*, and the designation of the union of emptiness (*śūnyatā: stong pa nyid*) and compassion (*karuṇā: snying rje*), the union of insight (*prajñā: shes rab*) and efficient strategies (*upāya: thabs*), the fluids of virility (*śukra: khu ba*), and great bliss (*mahāsukha: bde ba chen po*) as *bodhicitta*. The various notions of *bodhicitta*, however, have not been placed by him into any historical or doctrinal context, and seem to stand isolated from each other.

(c) S. K. Nanayakkara (1971)

S. K. Nanayakkara's overview of *bodhicitta* in the *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism* published by the Government of Ceylon is one of the most informative such accounts that I have encountered. Nanayakkara maintains that *bodhicitta* is an important concept common to Theravāda (implicitly) and tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. He has also showed that in non-tantric Mahāyāna *bodhicitta* 'developed along both ethical and metaphysical lines,' and that in due course these two aspects were blended together. Further, he states that in tantric Mahāyāna *bodhicitta* came to be regarded as great bliss (*mahāsukha: bde ba chen po*). One of the strengths of this article is that it gives many important primary sources, which show the historical development of the concept of *bodhicitta*. However, Nanayakkara makes some problematic comparisons. For example, he states that in non-tantric Mahāyāna

bodhicitta was developed along 'pantheistic lines' and came to be 'analogous to the Brahman concept of the *Upaniṣads*.'[17]

(d) Lobsang Dargay (1981)

An article by Lobsang Dargay entitled "The View of Bodhicitta in Tibetan Buddhism" was published in 1981. In this article, Dargay—taking Tsong-kha-pa and Mi-pham rNam-rgyal-rgya-mtsho (1846–1912) as his test cases—demonstrated how Tibetan scholars attempted to harmonise the divergent views of *bodhicitta* found in Indian sources. As the basis for his discussion, he employed the commentaries on the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* by Tsong-kha-pa and Mi-pham.[18] He seems to have chosen these scholars as representatives of the youngest and the oldest schools of Tibetan Buddhism, respectively.

Three topics regarding *bodhicitta* are discussed: (1) the problem concerning the placement of *praṇidhicitta* ('the resolve to aspire') and *prasthānacitta* ('the resolve to set out') on the different levels of the *bodhisattva* paths, (2) conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*, and (3) the issue of whether *bodhicitta* is mind (*citta: sems*) or a mental factor (*caitta/caitasika: sems las byung ba*). Under the first point, Dargay addresses several issues. He notes that *prasthānacitta* is said to involve the practice of the six perfections (*pāramitā: pha rol tu phyin pa*) on the one hand, and to be already active at the intermediate level on the path of accumulation (*saṃbhāramārga: tshogs kyi lam*)—that is, while one is still an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana: so so/so 'i skye bo*)—on the other. Consequently, he raises the following questions: How can a *bodhisattva* who is still a *pṛthagjana* and who has no direct insight into true reality possess the perfection of insight (*prajñāpāramitā: shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa*)? Do *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* start simultaneously from the very beginning and continue until the very end, that is, the stage of a *buddha*? Or do they start and end at different levels of the *bodhisattva* path? Dargay shows that some Tibetan scholars leave some of these questions unresolved and that various other scholars, even within the same school, come up with different solutions. He shows, for example, that 'Jam-dbyangs-bzhad-pa (1648–1721), although a dGe-lugs-pa, deviates from Tsong-kha-pa, and that Mi-pham, although a rNying-ma-pa, deviates from 'Jigs-med-gling-pa (1729/30–1798). Dargay then goes on to present the explanations of conventional and absolute *bodhicitta* offered by Tsong-kha-pa and Mi-pham. The discussion of the third point is based mainly on Indian sources and ends with the conclusion that although Tibetans were aware of divergent Indian views on this issue, they held the view of Haribhadra (who flourished in the later part of the 8th century) and his disciples as authoritative.

(e) Gareth Sparham (1987)

Gareth Sparham's article "Background Material for the First of the Seventy Topics of Maitreya-nātha's *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*," which appeared in 1987, deals with the meaning of *cittotpāda* in *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 19–20. The aim of the article is to explain 'what *cittotpāda* is and how it is to be defined.' Sparham attempts to do this by (1) supplying the context of the verses in the Prajñāpāramitā tradition in general and in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* in particular, (2) explaining some of the metaphysical implications of the verses according to traditional exegesis, and (3) presenting translations of the pertinent commentaries on the verses, namely, Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka* and Tsong-kha-pa's *Legs bshad gser phreng*. The issue of whether *cittotpāda* is *citta* or *caitta* is also discussed in this context. Furthermore,

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[17] NANAYAKKARA 1971: 184.

[18] That is, Tsong-kha-pa's famous *Legs bshad gser phreng* and Mi-pham's *mNgon rtogs rgyan 'grel*.

according to him, all Indian and Tibetan Mahāyāna writers seem to agree that a fully qualified *cittotpāda* requires two objects of appropriation: (a) *bodhi*, which a *bodhisattva* hopes to attain, and (b) the benefit of other *sattvas*, which he hopes to accomplish. The first is seen as the means of achieving the second.

(f) Gareth Sparham (1992)

In 1992 Gareth Sparham wrote another article, entitled "Indian Altruism: A Study of the Terms *bodhicitta* and *cittotpāda*," in which he attempted to trace the origin of the *cittotpāda* doctrine and also to demonstrate how its origin differs from that of *bodhicitta*. He further goes on to differentiate the meanings of *bodhicitta*, *cittotpāda*, and *bodhicittotpāda*. According to him, the concept of *cittotpāda* can be traced in a later part of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (named by him the 'Origin-Passage'), which he cites, translates, and comments upon.[19] Noting that the Origin-Passage is corroborated by the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya*, he then makes the following observations:[20]

> Based on the Origin-Passage, *cittotpāda* was originally an attitude, construed out of the wilful manipulation of ideas or imagination, that welled up within the person banishing negativism and depression and inspiring further effort. In the earliest formulation of *cittotpāda* this uplifting of the heart was to be caused by thinking about living beings in a certain fashion: (a) imagining them to be relatives and (b) reflecting on the sameness of them and oneself. Such thoughts or ideas were to make bearable the difficult work of a *bodhisattva*. Although altruistic sentiments are clearly identifiable in the Origin-Passage there is no unequivocal altruistic message, in the sense of an exhortation urging the *bodhisattva* to make work for others his primary motivation.

It should be stated that although the Origin-Passage does use the expression *cittam utpādayitavyam* twice, the term *cittotpāda* itself does not occur there. This may be because the Origin-Passage indeed represents an early pre-terminological passage, that is, one where the technical term *cittotpāda* has not yet been fixed.[21] Sparham, however, seems to make no distinction between what one might call the pre-terminological *cittam utpādayitavyam* and the terminological word *cittotpāda*, and argues as though the latter can already be found in the Origin-Passage.

Next, Sparham distinguishes the terms *bodhicitta* and *cittotpāda*.[22] According to him, the component *citta* in *bodhicitta* refers to 'something more fundamental' (i.e. *prakṛtiś cittasya prabhāsvarā: sems kyi rang bzhin 'od gsal ba*), and the *bodhi* in *bodhicitta* to the 'Prajñāpāramitā herself.' On the other hand, *citta* in *cittotpāda* (which compound, according to him, occurs in the Origin-Passage) is understood as something that needs to be generated by a 'set of notions' (*saṃjñā: 'du shes*). He further states that the meaning of *cittotpāda* in the Origin-Passage underwent transformation and was later divided into conventional and ultimate *bodhicittotpāda*, as follows: Conventional *bodhicittotpāda* is 'concerned with conventional realities such as the needs of other living beings and the attainment of enlightenment,' whereas ultimate *bodhicittotpāda* is 'none other than the original *bodhicitta*' (i.e. 'the non-dual liberating vision and the ultimate reality called Prajñāpāramitā,' which I call 'gnoseological' and 'ontological' *bodhicitta*, respectively). According to Sparham,

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[19] SPARHAM 1992: 224–227.

[20] *Ibid.*, 227–228.

[21] This seems to be also the case with the technical term *bodhicitta*; that is, the terminological word *bodhicitta* was developed later from earlier pre-terminological expressions such as *bodhāya cittam utpadyate* to which I shall return later. Schmithausen pointed out to me that a similar case seemingly exists with regard to *satipaṭṭhāna* and *satim upaṭṭhapeti*.

[22] SPARHAM 1992: 228–230.

bodhicitta and *cittotpāda* were originally different in meaning, and later *bodhicitta* became more popular as a shortened form of *bodhicittotpāda*.

Sparham then goes on to discuss the lineage of the practice of the sameness of self and others (*parātmasamatā: bdag dang gzhan du mnyam pa*).[23] In this context, he, following La Vallée Poussin, makes the following two observations about the idea of *parātmasamatā* expressed by Śāntideva:[24] (1) 'self and other are ultimately undifferentiated,' and (2) 'empathy with the plight of others is natural because one shares feelings of happiness and sorrow in common with them.' The former is said to be a doctrine of the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, whereas the latter, which is not distinctly Buddhist, is said to be found in pre-Mahāyāna texts. The rest of the article makes an attempt to trace the so-called 'seven-point lineage' (*rgyu 'bras man ngag bdun*) recognised in Tibet and concludes with some remarks about the place of altruism in Mahāyāna Buddhism.[25] I shall return to this article by Sparham in chapter five, where I discuss some of the ideas presented by him in more detail.

5. Studies on *Bodhicitta* in Specific Canonical Works

Although it is beyond the scope of this study to undertake a survey of all editions, translations, and summaries of Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s dealing in one way or the other with the topic of *bodhicitta*, there exist several studies each of which makes a valuable contribution to understanding how *bodhicitta* is used in a specific work, and which should therefore be mentioned here, however briefly. Since numerous publications dealing with *bodhicitta* are in Japanese, I shall list here some of them, even though it has not been always possible to locate them or to assess them.

Ulrich Pagel has discussed *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* in his studies of the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka* published in 1994 and 1995. The idea that a *bodhisattva* becomes a *buddha* at the very instant *bodhicitta* is first generated—an idea found in the *Śatasāhasrikā*—has been noted by David Seyfort Ruegg.[26] Likewise the notion that a *bodhisattva* attains *vajropamasamādhi* immediately after the generation of *bodhicitta*, as stated in the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*, has also been pointed out by him.[27] In 1972 Taishū Tagami addressed the meaning of *upāya* and *cittotpāda* in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*.[28] The chapter on *bodhicittotpāda* and *vinayacitta* in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* was dealt with in a 1966 article by Yukinori Tokiya.[29] In 1993 Jens Braarvig discussed *prathamacittotpāda*, the first of the eighty 'inexhaustible factors' (*akṣaya: mi zad pa*), in his study of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*.[30] Just as lotuses grow in mud, so too does *bodhicitta* grow in the heap of intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa: nyon mongs pa*); this comparison, found in

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[23] *Ibid.*, 230–232.

[24] The expression *parātmasamatā* is used, for example, in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 7.16c.

[25] SPARHAM 1992: 233–236.

[26] SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 166–167.

[27] *Ibid.*, 167.

[28] Taishū Tagami, "Upāya and Cittotpāda in the Saddharmapuṇḍarīka-sūtra." *IBK* 20/2, 1972, pp. 807–810.

[29] Yukinori Tokiya, "On the Chapter '*Bodhicittotpāda* and *Vinayacitta*' in the *Daśabhūmikasūtra*." *IBK* 14/2, 1966, pp. 615–619.

[30] BRAARVIG 1993: vol. 1, 20–23 (text); vol. 2, 70–84 (translation). For Mi-pham's integration of the 'eighty inexhaustibles' with the twenty-two *cittotpāda*s, see KAWAMURA 1981: 131–145.

the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, is briefly mentioned by A. K. Warder.[31] The account of Māra's generation of *bodhicitta* found in the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra* has also drawn the attention of some scholars.[32] Chishō Namai wrote an article on *svacittādhiṣṭhāna*, treating it as an aspect of *bodhicitta* in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*,[33] and another on *bodhicittabhāvanā* in tantric Buddhism.[34] Warder has remarked that the main theme of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* is the quest for awakening, which begins with *bodhicitta*. He has also taken note of the numerous similes (involving such things as alchemy and a certain gem) used in that *sūtra* to describe *bodhicitta*.[35] For the entry *bodhicitta* in his *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Dictionary*, Franklin Edgerton has drawn on the *Mahāvyutpatti*, *Lalitavistarasūtra*, and *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*. In particular, he refers to the glorification of *bodhicitta* in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* in abbreviated form).[36]

Helmut Eimer, discussing the four *caryā*s and ten *bhūmi*s in the *Mahāvastu*, noted that the work belongs to a period during which the term *bodhicitta* was formed, and stated that the presentation of the *praṇidhicaryā* and *bhūmi*s in it reflects the actual meaning of *bodhicitta*, even though the latter has not yet become a fixed term.[37] The technical term *bodhicitta*, however, does occur in the *Mahāvastu*.[38] Seyfort Ruegg, referring to Demiéville, pointed out that the *bodhisattva*'s non-regression after the first generation of *bodhicitta* is mentioned in Saṃgharakṣa's supplement to the *Yogācārabhūmi*.[39] There exist two articles on *cittotpāda* in the *Yogācārabhūmi*, one published in 1971 by T. Tagami,[40] and the other in 1981 by K. Ozawa.[41] Summaries of the *cittotpāda* chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* have been made by several scholars.[42] Wogihara and Dutt's editions of the text have been valuable contributions as well.[43] The *cittotpāda* chapter of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was translated into Japanese by K. Sōma.[44] The edition and translation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and one of its

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[31] WARDER 1980: 399.

[32] SNELLGROVE 1987a: 65–66.

[33] Chishō Namai, "On svacittādhiṣṭhāna: An Aspect of bodhicitta in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*." *IBK* 43/2, 1995, pp. 876–868.

[34] NAMAI 1997. This article (pp. 660, n. 14; 668, n. 43) also alludes to another study by the same author entitled "Bodhaishinge ni kansuru ichi-kōsatsu" (A Study of the Bodhicittagāthā). *The Mikkyo Bunka,* 1970.

[35] WARDER 1980: 427–228.

[36] *BHSD*, s.v. *bodhicitta.*

[37] EIMER 1976: 16, n. 54, 97–110.

[38] *Mahāvastu* (vol. 2, pp. 282.17, 392.9).

[39] SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 151.

[40] Taishū Tagami, "On the Bodhicitta in the Yogācāra-bhūmi—Centering around the bodhisattva-bhūmi." *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Ronshū* 1, 1971, pp. 46–69.

[41] Kenju Ozawa, "On *Cittotpāda* in the *Yogācārabhūmi.*" *IBK* 30/1, 1981, pp. 281–285.

[42] BENDALL & LA VALLÉE POUSSIN 1905: 44–48 (summary by Bendall), 48–52 (notes by La Vallée Poussin). See also the *EoB* (pp. 234–235); *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (DUTT): 9–10; POTTER 1999: 416.

[43] WOGIHARA 1930–36 & DUTT 1966.

[44] Kazui Sōma, "Bonbunwayaku Bosatsuji Shusho no sho Hosshin no sho" [A Japanese Translation of the *Gotrapaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1) and the *Cittotpādapaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2)]. *Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū* ("Studies in Buddhism") 42, 1986, pp. 1–26.

commentaries published by Sylvain Lévi in 1907 and the edition and translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* published by Cecil Bendall and W. H. D. Rouse in 1922 should also be noted here. Deserving mention, too, in this context are a study of *cittotpāda* in the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* by Hirofumi Isoda, published in 1970,[45] and Naoya Funahashi's 1988 article on the *cittotpāda* chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.[46]

Takasaki, in his study of the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, has noted that the main theme of the **Mahāyānadharmadhātvaviśeṣaśāstra*, a small work attributed within the Chinese tradition to Sāramati, is *bodhicitta*, which is presented there under twelve points of view. The author takes it to be synonymous with *cittaprakṛti* and *tathāgatagarbha*.[47] Tagami, too, wrote an article on the concept of *bodhicitta* in the same text.[48] Another article in Japanese, by Kyōsen Itō, is about the meaning of *bodhicitta* and *tathāgatagarbha* in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*.[49] Tesshū Kaneko has studied *bodhicitta* in the context of Japanese Buddhism with special reference to the ninth consciousness (i.e. Paramārtha's *amalavijñāna*).[50] The *Bodhicittotpādaśāstra* attributed to one Vasubandhu, which must have been very popular in China, was studied by Bhadanta Santi Bhiksu[51] as well as by Shinten Sakai.[52] A study of the Chinese commentary on the *Bodhicittotpādaśāstra* by K. Yamaguchi appeared in 1949.[53] Peter Harvey also briefly discussed what I call 'ontological' *bodhicitta* in the context of the 'shining,' 'radiant,' or 'brightly shining' *citta* and *tathāgatagarbha*, alluding to several sources such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*.[54]

Of all works dealing with *bodhicitta*, Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* has received the greatest attention. One cannot possibly talk about *bodhicitta* without reference to it.[55] Furthermore, the ten kinds of *cittotpāda*, each linked with one of the ten *bhūmi*s and *pāramitā*s in the *Madhyamakāvatāra*, have been noted by Seyfort Ruegg.[56] The praise of

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45 Hirofumi Isoda, "A Study on Cittotpāda in the *Abhisamayālaṅkāra*." *IBK* 19/1, 1970, pp. 71–76.

46 Naoya Funahashi, "A Study on the *Cittotpāda* Chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*." *IBK* 37/1, 1988, pp. 43–49.

47 TAKASAKI 1966: 45–46.

48 Taishū Tagami, "On the Thought of Enlightenment (*bodhicitta*) in the *Mahāyānadharmadhātvaviśeṣaśāstra*." *Komazawa Daigaku Bukkyō Gakubu Kenkyū Kiyō* 44/1–1, 1986, pp. 418–432.

49 Kyōsen Itō, "Bodhicitta and the Meaning of Tathāgatagarbha in the Ratnagotra-mahāyāna-uttaratantra-śāstra." *Buzan Kyogaku Taikai Kiyo* 14, 1986, pp. 71–82 [not seen].

50 Tesshu Kaneko, "Study on Bodhicitta according to Hōchibō Shōshin: With Special Reference to the Ninth Consciousness." *Tendai Gakuhō* 26, 1984, pp. 154–157 [not seen].

51 Bhadanta Santi Bhikshu, *Bodhicittotpādasūtra-śāstra of Vas*[*u*]*bandhu*. In *Visva-Bharati: Annals BA*, vol. 2, 1949 [not seen; ref. according to CLAUSON 1952: 18, no. 171; POTTER 1970: 31, nos. 541, 543].

52 Shinten Sakai, "About the Bodhicittotpādaśāstra." *Mikkyo Bunka* (*Kyosan*) 2, 1947, pp. 1–5 [not seen; ref. according to POTTER 1970: 31, no. 542].

53 K. Yamaguchi, "A Study on an Old Manuscript of the Commentary to the *Bodhicittotpāda-śāstra*." *Bukkyō Shigaku* 1, 1949, pp. 70–80 [not seen; ref. according to CLAUSON 1952: 56, no. 541].

54 HARVEY 1995: 174–179.

55 The large number of translations into various Western languages is itself testimony to modern scholars' interest in the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. See, for example, the details provided in GÓMEZ 1999 and PFANDT 1986: 18–19. The extent of its use for thematic studies cannot, however, be assessed here.

56 SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 71, n. 229.

bodhicitta in the *Caryāgītikośa* has also drawn the attention of some scholars.[57] Along the same lines, Herbert Guenther wrote an article on the eulogising of *bodhicitta.*[58] It has been noted, too, that the fundamental idea of the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha* seems to be *citta* or *bodhicitta.*[59] The notion of *bodhicitta* in Kamalaśīla's First and Second *Bhāvanākrama* has been discussed briefly by both Tucci and Seyfort Ruegg.[60] An article in Japanese on the two kinds of *bodhicitta* in the *Bhāvanākrama* was published in 1988 by Morinobu Asano.[61] Similarly, Atiśa's excursus on *bodhicitta* in his *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa* was discussed by Izumi Miyazaki in 1994.[62] Seyfort Ruegg has drawn attention to the first chapter of Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*, where *bodhicitta* is treated as the main subject together with the *tathāgatagarbha* and *ekayāna* theories.[63] Schmithausen, in his book *Maitrī and Magic*, refers to the occurrence of the *bodhicitta* concept in the *Mahāmāyūrīṭīkā* and notes that the text explicitly states that the emergence of *bodhicitta* in *nāga*s entails their friendliness towards other sentient beings.[64]

Snellgrove's introduction to the study of the *Hevajratantra* mentions the various notions of *bodhicitta* found in that *tantra.*[65] The remarkable definition of *bodhicitta* in the *Guhyasamājatantra* has understandably occupied many scholars.[66] The meaning of *bodhicitta* in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* has been discussed by Nobuo Ōtsuka, who wrote two articles on the subject in Japanese.[67] In this connection, three articles in Hindi should be mentioned, namely, one on the significance of *bodhicitta* in Buddhist tantric traditions by Chhog Dorjee, one on absolute *bodhicitta* in Pāramitāyāna and Vajrayāna by Ācārya Gyaltsen Namdol, and one on the development of *bodhicitta* in Vajrayāna by Banārasī Lāl.[68] The last one contains several particularly useful citations from tantric sources.

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[57] NAKAMURA 1980: 341.

[58] Herbert Guenther, "In Praise of Bodhicitta." *Stepping Stones* 1/8, Kalimpong, 1951. See "Herbert V. Guenther's Publications" (in KAWAMURA & SCOTT 1977: xv). Although I have not seen this article, it presumably discusses the eulogy of *bodhicitta* in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra.* See DASGUPTA 1958: 8–9, n. 1.

[59] NAKAMURA 1980: 388.

[60] First *Bhāvanākrama*: 157–158; cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 96–99.

[61] Morinobu Asano, "On the Two Kinds of *bodhicitta* in the *Bhāvanākrama.*" *IBK* 36/2, 1988, pp. 916–918.

[62] Izumi Miyazaki, "Atīśa's Theory of the Bodhicitta." *IBK* 43/2, 1994, pp. 858–863. Cf. Kaie Mochizuki, "Der Bodhicitta-Abschnitt in Atiśa's *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa.*" *Suguro Shinjō Hakase Kokikinen Ronbunshū*, Sankibō Busshorin, Tokyo, vol. 1, 1996, pp. 51–85 [not seen].

[63] SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 115.

[64] SCHMITHAUSEN 1997: 61–62, n. 148.

[65] SNELLGROVE 1959: 25. Tsuyoshi Seki is said to have written an article in Japanese about the concept of *bodhicitta* in the *Hevajratantra.* I have, however, not been able to locate the bibliographical details of this article.

[66] NAKAMURA 1980: 333, nn. 25 & 26.

[67] Nobuo Ōtsuka, "Idea of Bodhicitta in the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantra." *Buzan Kyogaku Taikai Kiyo*, vol. 16, 1988, pp. 83–97; "On Bodhicitta as Described in the Vairocanābhisaṃbodhi-tantra." *IBK* 37/1, 1988, pp. 258–260. See also Yūkei Matsunaga, "On the Development of the Teaching of Bodhicitta in Tantric Buddhism." *Bukkyōshisōshi* 3, Heirakujishoten, Kyoto, 1980 [not seen].

[68] DORJEE 1998; NAMDOL 1993; LĀL 2003.

The reference to *bodhicitta* in the early Tibetan work *bSam gtan mig sgron* as 'great bliss' (*bde ba chen po*) has been alluded to by Samten Karmay.[69] Karmay also discusses the idea of *bodhicitta* found in two Tun-huang manuscripts, namely, those of the *Rig pa'i khu byug* (along with its commentary). and the *sBas pa'i rgum chung*.[70] He further refers to the different meanings *bodhicitta* had for early Tibetan masters, as recorded by Rong-zom-pa in his commentary on the *lTa phreng*.[71] The type of *bodhicitta* thematised in the commentary seems to be of the psycho-physiological type. Karmay also discusses the 'five excellencies' (*che ba lnga*) of the rDzogs-chen 'gnoseo-ontological' concept of *bodhicitta* as presented by Rong-zom-pa in his *Theg chen tshul 'jug*.[72] The importance of *bodhicitta* in the rDzogs-chen tradition has been discussed briefly by David Germano in his study of Klong-chen-pa's *Tshig don mdzod*.[73] Finally, Eva Neumaier-Dargyay translated the *Kun byed rgyal po*, an important rDzogs-chen *tantra* which greatly highlights the concept of ontological *bodhicitta*.[74]

6. On Translating the Term *Bodhicitta*

Looking at how the term *bodhicitta* has been translated may be expected to give us an idea of how it has been understood by modern scholars. It has been translated in various ways, some of which were already noted by Dayal in 1932.[75] The term was translated as 'intelligence-heart' by Suzuki; as 'primordial essence of mind' by Masaharu Anesaki;[76] and as 'thought-enlightenment' by Bendall and Rouse.[77] Erich Frauwallner, in his *Die Philosophie des Buddhismus*, has translated *bodhicitta* as 'der Gedanke an die Erleuchtung.'[78] Moritz Winternitz has translated it as 'der Wille zu Erleuchtung.'[79] And Herbert Guenther has translated *byang chub kyi sems* (*bodhicitta*) in the rDzogs-chen context as 'intending toward limpid clearness and consummate perspicacity.'[80] Furthermore, Brassard records seven

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[69] KARMAY 1988: 117.

[70] See *ibid.*, 41–59 (for the study of the *Rig pa'i khu byug* along with its commentary); 59–76 (for the study of the *sBas pa'i rgum chung*). These studies include both texts and translations.

[71] *Ibid.*, 156, n. 88

[72] *Ibid.*, 114, n. 40.

[73] GERMANO 1992: 878–879.

[74] NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1992.

[75] DAYAL 1932: 58–59.

[76] *Ibid.*, 58.

[77] BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 53. See the comments in VON STAËL-HOLSTEIN 1933: v: "Bendall and Rouse (page 53) translates the expression bodhicitta by 'thought-enlightenment' in chapter 3 and 4 of the Kāçyapaparivarta which are quoted in the Çikṣāsamuccaya. I am sure that all my readers will agree with me in preferring Sthiramati's explanation, according to which (p. 37) bodhicitta is the fixed purpose, which the words 'I shall become Buddha' express."

[78] FRAUWALLNER 1956: 152–153, n. 1.

[79] WINTERNITZ 1930: 51. See also BRASSARD 2000: 7, n. 7, 26, where 'will of enlightenment' and 'will to enlightenment' are renderings of Sangharakshita's translation of the term *bodhicitta*. Perhaps the difference is a matter of style. As I have indicated, TAGAMI 1990: 519 also makes a similar distinction, i.e. between 'thought to enlightenment' and 'thought of enlightenment.'

alternative translations according to various scholars: (1) 'thought of enlightenment,' (2) 'mind of enlightenment,' (3) 'desire for enlightenment,' (4) 'will of enlightenment,' (5) 'mind turned to enlightenment,' (6) 'awakening mind,' and (7) 'desire for awakening.' Brassard adds that it is pointless to try to decide which translation is the most appropriate one.[81] In this regard, Luis O. Gómez makes the following remarks:[82]

> It is, of course, impossible to translate to anyone's satisfaction the term *bodhicitta*. I prefer the simple rendering 'thought of awakening,' leaving it to context to clarify its many nuances. A full discussion of my argument for this choice would take much space. Suffice to say that when we come to terms such as these, there is even more room for honest, intelligent disagreement.

Schmithausen has, in the context of the ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, translated *bodhicitta* as 'the resolve for awakening.'[83] He has also explained that there is no connotation of light in the Sanskrit word *bodhi* and that hence it would be preferable to translate it as 'awakening' rather than as 'enlightenment.' But he has also made it clear that since the attained insight is occasionally designated as 'light' (*āloka*), it is not erroneous to translate *bodhi* as 'enlightenment' as long as there is no implication of an external higher source of the 'enlightenment.'[84]

It is indeed difficult to find a common translation that covers all five types of *bodhicitta*, and hence I have, in most cases, refrained from translating it. Nonetheless, I do think that *bodhicitta* in the sense of the resolve to become a *buddha* covers the conative, cognitive, and emotive components. By 'conative component' I mean the aspect of 'will' (*chanda: 'dun pa*) or 'resolve' to become a *buddha*. Such a resolve can be driven or accompanied by a 'cognitive component,' that is, insight or knowledge (*prajñā: shes rab*) about the *modi operandi* and *modi vivendi* conducive to and necessary for the attainment of such a soteriological goal. By 'emotive component' I mean the ethical and altruistic aspects expressed in the form of emotions such as benevolence (*maitrī: byams pa*) or compassion (*karuṇā: snying rje*). In my view, all five types of *bodhicitta* are in one way or another connected with or relevant to the realisation of the soteriological objective by oneself and others, that is, to becoming a *buddha*.

7. A Study of *Bodhicitta*: Still a Desideratum

Despite the various studies done on *bodhicitta*, a systematic and comprehensive study of *bodhicitta* is still called for for a number of reasons. First, *bodhicitta* deserves to be studied in all its aspects simply owing to its central importance in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism, for the absence of *bodhicitta* would render most forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism lifeless and meaningless. Second, even though some studies have already been done on *bodhicitta*, I am afraid that they are marginal and minimal in proportion to the vast

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[80] GUENTHER 1984: 257, n. 37. Cf. *ibid.* (237, n. 22), where it is pointed out that *byang chub kyi sems* is used in the rDzogs-chen context synonymously with *sems nyid*, *rig pa*, and *rang byung gi ye shes*. For a justification of his translation, see GUENTHER 1975: 257–258, n. 19.

[81] BRASSARD 2000: 7.

[82] GÓMEZ 1999: 291. See also Luis O. Gómez's contribution in BUSWELL 2004, s.v. *bodhicitta* (thought of awakening).

[83] SCHMITHAUSEN 1997: 61, n. 148.

[84] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 8: "Erwachen (*bodhi*, das Verbalnomen zu *buddha*) ist eine Metapher für 'augenöffnendes' Erkennen, Begreifen. Oft wird es mit 'Erleuchtung' wiedergegeben, doch enthalt [= enthält] der Sanskritbegriff keine Lichtmetaphorik. Insofern die erreichte Einsicht jedoch manchmal auch als 'Licht' (*āloka*) bezeichnet wird, ist 'Erleuchtung' nicht abwegig, vorausgesetzt, man denkt dabei nicht an den Einfluß einer höheren Macht als Quelle der 'Erleuchtung', sondern einfach an ein Aufscheinen, Sichmanifestieren der Wahrheit." See also SCHMITHAUSEN 2002: 13, n. 40; NORMAN 1990: 26–27.

unexplored territory. Our understanding of *bodhicitta* has hitherto mainly been based on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, but my impression is that there exists much more material in other—tantric and non-tantric—scriptures and commentaries that await exploration, its surface having so far barely been scratched.

Third, most of the studies that I discussed above are short articles or only brief references often made in passing within very general contexts. Moreover, while acknowledging the contribution of all previous studies done on the subject, I do not necessarily accept all their conclusions. Some of them have treated *bodhicitta* as though it were an idea shared by both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources, despite the fact that, as already made clear by Taishū Tagami, the term itself cannot be traced to non-Mahāyāna sources. In my view, there is no sense in taking *bodhicitta* as a pure 'conative' desire to become a *buddha*, with no cognitive or ethico-spiritual content. The interpretation of *bodhicitta* as an 'instigator of brute force' devoid of *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, is, I submit, indefensible, at least according to the Mahāyāna ideals of a *bodhisattva*. Of the two monographs, Brassard's book concentrates mainly on Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*, and some may wonder to what extent it actually contributes towards understanding Śāntideva's idea of *bodhicitta*. Tagami's monograph, on the other hand, while providing an overview of the historical development of *bodhicitta*, unfortunately remains inaccessible to many scholars. Some of his propositions, such as the suggestion that the Mahāyāna concept of (though not the term) *bodhicitta* can be found in the non-Mahāyāna sources, and his considering the term *ājñācitta* to be a non-Mahāyāna precursor of the term *bodhicitta*, and the word *laukikāgratā* (occurring in the *Jñānaprasthāna*) as a corresponding Abhidharma term for *bodhicitta*, seem to be very problematic. Except for Tagami, nobody seems to have attempted a historical treatment of *bodhicitta* as a concept. Even those studies that follow a chronological presentation are by and large descriptive rather than historical or analytical.

Fourth, no one, as far as I can tell, has explained or devised a scheme to explain the baffling variety of types of *bodhicitta* pervasive in different degrees throughout tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. The majority of scholars have studied what I call 'ethico-spiritual' *bodhicitta*, which is the most conservative view of *bodhicitta*. On the whole, most of the studies deal only with certain aspects from the entire spectrum of meaning expressed by *bodhicitta*. For instance, many address the concept of *bodhicitta* current in tantric Buddhism, but even here the term 'tantric form of *bodhicitta*' quite confusingly suggests that there is one single type of tantric *bodhicitta*, for tantric Buddhism, as we shall see, presupposes all five types of *bodhicitta* defined by me. For all these reasons, further studies of *bodhicitta* seem to be fully justified. I cannot, to be sure, claim that my own study of *bodhicitta* will do full justice to the topic. Nonetheless, it is hoped that it will make some contribution, small though it may be, to the field of *bodhicitta* studies and raise some awareness of the importance of *bodhicitta* in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism.

8. Concluding Remarks

The whole sweep of Mahāyāna Buddhism, tantric as well as non-tantric, seems to be permeated with the idea of *bodhicitta*, which makes an exhaustive assessment of previous studies done on *bodhicitta* difficult. It is very likely that many studies have escaped my notice, and even those that I have discussed or mentioned may not have received the attention and emphasis they merit. Although they have not been discussed in this chapter, I also tacitly acknowledge several studies on Mahāyāna Buddhism that, while not mentioning the term *bodhicitta* at all, are still valuable for the study of the concept of *bodhicitta*.

Chapter Three

The Historical and Doctrinal Background of the *Bodhicitta* Concept

> Which to-be-abandoned is not abandoned through *bodhicitta*?
> Which to-be-attained is not attained through *bodhicitta*?
> Which benefit of others is not done through *bodhicitta*?
> Which benefit of oneself is not done through *bodhicitta*?
>
> – Khu-nu Bla-ma, *Byang sems bstod pa* 345[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

An attempt shall be made in this chapter to trace the historical and doctrinal background of the *bodhicitta* concept in early non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, in other words, to identify early ideas or notions which could have been the 'raw materials' that went into the formation of the concepts of proto-*bodhicitta* and later of *bodhicitta* itself. By 'proto-*bodhicitta*' I mean an archetypal concept according to which even an ordinary sentient being can in principle resolve to become a *buddha* for the benefit of sentient beings. The first concept of this kind, which historically precedes the term *bodhicitta*, and which had not yet been put into practice by anyone, can doctrinally be said to hover on the borderline between Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is only when this model becomes prescriptive and begins to be implemented by those ordinary sentient beings wishing to become *buddha*s that it can be called *bodhicitta* proper. The latter concept thus figures only within the doctrinal domain of Mahāyāna Buddhism. I therefore regard the initial resolve that the historical Buddha (or any other Buddha, such as Kāśyapa) supposedly made in his previous life to become a *buddha*, as found in non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, as embodying neither the concept of *bodhicitta* nor of proto-*bodhicitta*. While non-Mahāyāna Buddhism may contain doctrinal seeds or even

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[1] *Byang sems bstod pa* 345:

> *byang chub sems kyis spang bya mi spong ci* ||
> *byang chub sems kyis 'thob bya mi 'thob ci* ||
> *byang chub sems kyis gzhan don mi byed ci* ||
> *byang chub sems kyis rang don mi byed ci* ||.

See also the English translation in SPARHAM 1999: 141.

individual building blocks of proto-*bodhicitta* and *bodhicitta* proper, it would be, in my view, inaccurate to state that it actually operates with these concepts.[2]

In general, while not denying some outside influences, one may assume that the impulse for the major part of the development of Mahāyāna Buddhism can be traced to the Buddhists themselves, particularly to a psychological need on their part to make up for the loss of their teacher, the historical Buddha. It is quite conceivable that the idea of *bodhicitta* was developed as one of the measures to fulfil this need. Presumably the existing doctrinal reserves found within conservative Buddhism contributed to the development and legitimisation of this concept. Moreover, the rise of the notion of *bodhicitta* and both the problems and possibilities it generated probably lent impetus to further developments and so unleashed a dynamism of its own.

2. *Bodhicitta* as a Means of Compensating for the Loss of the Historical Buddha

One popular Tibetan Buddhist maxim runs as follows:[3]

> Whether [one is] a Buddhist or non-Buddhist is a matter of *śaraṇagamana* ('taking refuge').
> Whether [one is a follower] of the greater or the smaller vehicle is a matter of *cittotpāda*.

The ideas expressed in it, namely, the search for refuge in the Buddha and the wish to become a *buddha* oneself, are relevant for our discussion. The idea that one could become a *bodhisattva* by resolving to become a *buddha* may well have had a historical link with that of becoming a Buddhist by taking refuge in the Three Jewels (*ratnatraya*/*triratna*): the Buddha (the teacher), the Dharma (the teachings), and the Saṃgha (the ordained community of monks and nuns).[4] In some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, such as the *Lalitavistarasūtra*, the function of *bodhicitta* is indeed conceived as the perpetuation of the lineage of the Three Jewels.[5] The expression 'not terminating the continuity of the family of the Three Jewels' recurs elsewhere.[6] This suggests that the perpetuation of the Three Jewels has been one of the main concerns in the history of Buddhism.

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[2] Non-Mahāyāna Buddhism may also contain doctrinal elements that have given rise to several other ideas characteristic of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Such doctrinal elements that have the potential to develop into characteristic Mahāyāna views cannot be regarded as yielding exclusively Mahāyāna thought.

[3] The Tibetan Buddhist maxim, for which I could not trace a written source, is as follows:
phyi pa nang pa skyabs 'gro'i khyad ||
theg pa che chung sems bskyed khyad ||.

[4] However, it should be noted here that the ritual and practice of generating the resolve to become a *buddha* is not a substitute for the historically older ritual and practice of taking refuge, and is in fact almost always preceded by the latter. This is because the Mahāyāna doctrine presupposes that one becomes a Buddhist (at least 'officially') before becoming a *bodhisattva*.

[5] For the so-called 'eight great treasures,' see the *Lalitavistarasūtra* (VAIDYA & TRIPATHI 1987: 342.13–19; T, fols. 318b7–319a3; D, fol. 214a6–b1). See also *TSD*, s.v. *gter chen po brgyad*. Mi-pham seems to have been fascinated by the idea of the 'eight great treasures' and mentions or describes it on several occasions, namely, in his (a) Sanskrit-Tibetan lexicon (also referred to in *TSD*, s.v. *gter chen po*); (b) *mKhas 'jug* (pp. 321.4–322.4), where the pertinent passage from the *Lalitavistarasūtra* is cited; (c) *mKhas 'jug sdom byang* (p. 380.2–4); and (d) *Shes rab ral gri'i mchan* (pp. 815.3–817.3). The *bodhicittanidhāna*, which is one of the eight, is said to guarantee the propagation of the family lineage of the Three Jewels. See the *Lalitavistarasūtra* (VAIDYA & TRIPATHI 1987: 342.17): *bodhicittanidhānaṃ triratnavaṃśānucchedanatayā* |; *ibid.* (T, fol. 319a2–3; D, fol. 214b1): *dkon mchog gsum gyi rigs rgyun mi gcod pas byang chub kyi sems kyi gter dang* |. See also Mi-pham's *mKhas 'jug* (pp. 321.5–322.2) and *Shes rab ral gri* (p. 816.4–5).

[6] For example, the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* states that a *bodhisattva*, once having generated his resolve to become a *buddha*, "is not deterred from the exertion of perpetuating the genealogy of the Three Jewels." See the citation in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 184.12–13; VAIDYA, p. 103.2): *na bhidyate triratnavaṃśānupacchedaparākramāt*). Cf. BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 180. See also the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp.

Becoming a Buddhist seems to pose no problem so long as the Three Jewels exist, but what if one or more of them ceases? How can one take refuge in the Buddha if he is not present? Does the possibility of becoming a Buddhist then cease? Such questions were probably irrelevant so long as the historical Buddha Gautama Śākyamuni[7] lived, but the sudden demise of this charismatic teacher and mentor *sui generis* can be expected to have created an emotional vacuum among his ordained and lay followers alike. The difficulty in taking refuge in the Buddha who has gone forever appears all the more acute if we consider the way the Buddha was perceived at the time by his followers: After his complete extinction (*parinirvāṇa*) or extinction without remains (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*), that is, after his death, the Buddha was thought to be no longer present in the world and to have completely disappeared from it.[8] This notion is also supported by the fact that the Buddha told his disciples that the teachings (*dharma*) that he gave and the ethical-moral codex (*vinaya*) should be their refuge after his death.[9] Thus the role of the Buddha was to be taken over by what he left behind, particularly his teaching. The Buddha, who was obviously a very charismatic figure, did not lay much store by his physical person. It is said that in response to a sick monk's expression of regret for not having been able to see the Buddha previously, the Buddha stated: "What is the benefit of seeing my stinking body (*kāya*)? He who sees my doctrine (*dharma*) sees me." On at least two occasions, the Buddha stated that the Dharma taught by him is his actual 'body' (*kāya*).[10]

Could and did this solution satisfy the spiritual needs of his followers? Probably it did not satisfy many of them, particularly not his lay followers. Conceivably, taking refuge in an impersonal Dharma was not even half as satisfying as being in the presence of a charismatic teacher, who showed them the way to *nirvāṇa*, or at least to a better existence in *saṃsāra*, and to whom they could personally relate. In his investigation of the development of the 'figure' (*Gestalt*) of the Buddha, Schmithausen has observed that a considerable part of the development of the Buddhist religion can be explained as attempts made by Buddhists to compensate psychologically in one way or another for the loss of the physical presence of the historical Buddha.[11] These attempts bespeak a need on their part of a person to whom they could relate. The search for direct and effective teaching or guidance on the spiritual path

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133.20–134.2): *dad pa'i stobs bskyed pa'i mdo las 'byung ba | 'jam dpal de la dam pa'i chos yongs su bzung na | byang chub sems dpa' yongs su bzung ba yin no || byang chub sems dpa' yongs su bzung na dam pa'i chos yongs su bzung ba yin no || dam pa'i chos yongs su bzung na | sems can thams cad yongs su bzung ba yin no || sems can thams cad yongs su bzung na sangs rgyas kyi rigs mi 'chad par byas pa yin no ||*; *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 131.1–5): *byang chub sems dpa' sangs rgyas kyi rigs rgyun mi 'chad par bya ba'i phyir brtson 'grus rtsom pa dang | chos kyi rigs rgyun mi 'chad par bya ba'i phyir brtson 'grus rtsom pa dang | dge 'dun gyi rigs rgyun mi 'chad par bya ba'i phyir brtson 'grus rtsom pa dang....*

[7] It has been pointed out that the names Siddhārtha/Siddhattha and Śākyamuni/Sakyamuni occur quite seldom in the earlier parts of the Pāli canon and that the name Sakyamuni occurs only in verses of 'keywords' (*uddāna*), which do not belong to the actual text. See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 7, n. 9.

[8] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 11, 14. One of the so-called 'seven limbs' (*yan lag bdun pa*) is requesting *buddha*s not to pass into *parinirvāṇa*. This idea, in my opinion, presupposes that the Buddha once gone is forever gone, or is at least beyond the reach of ordinary beings.

[9] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 9, n. 18.

[10] See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 9, nn. 17, 19; GETHIN 1998: 30. In the light of such statements, it is comprehensible why the Buddha was first depicted by way of symbols such as the Wheel of Dharma (*dharmacakra*), an empty throne, his footprints, and the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*), and why the deceased Buddha was represented only symbolically, such as by a *stūpa*. See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 9, n. 20; GETHIN 1998: 30.

[11] Schmithausen notes that this is a fascinating theme for the comparative studies of religions, for the same may well be the case, for example, with Jesus and Muhammad.

could have played just as much a role as the desire for happiness, consolation, and safety from the unwholesomeness and dangers of present and future lives.[12] The spiritual need for a person to relate to could only have intensified upon witnessing the fast deterioration of the Dharma, which was supposed to take over the role of the Buddha. According to Schmithausen, the following six approaches were taken to restore the presence of the Buddha:[13] (a) the worship of the Buddha's relics, the *stūpa*s containing them, and sacred places associated with major events in the Buddha's life,[14] (b) the practice of 'thinking of the Buddha' (*buddhānusmṛti*) and the attempt to encounter him face-to-face through meditative visualisation, (c) the hope placed in the future Buddha Maitreya, (d) the introduction of portraits of the Buddha for the purpose of paying respect and as a basis for meditative visualisation, (e) the belief that the historical Buddha exists further in a transcendental paradise-like sphere, and from time to time appears as a phantom (*nirmāṇa*) out of compassion for the world, and (f) the belief in the simultaneous existence of more than one *buddha* in a cosmos which comprises vast and countless world systems.[15] The belief in the Buddha as a living presence in monasteries (*vihāra*) was also surely important.[16] Given the cause-and-effect or means-and-end relationship between *bodhicitta* and a *buddha*, studies on the development of the figure or notion of the Buddha should prove quite useful for understanding the history of the *bodhicitta* concept. A change in the *buddha* concept would result in a change in the soteriological model, and thus possibly in the notion of *bodhicitta*.[17]

Doctrinally speaking, Buddhist scholars themselves would not deny that a conditioned phenomenon is the result of multiple and complex causes and conditions. Historically speaking, too, we can presuppose that Mahāyāna in general (on which there is no consensus) and the *bodhicitta* concept in particular did not arise on account of a single self-sufficient cause. Given the supposed multiplicity of causes and complexity of circumstances of the *bodhicitta* idea, it would be impossible to reconstruct its history of inception and development fully and satisfactorily. Any attempt, including my own, to explain the history of *bodhicitta*, I am afraid, will have to remain speculative and tentative. What we can at best do is to propose

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[12] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 11.

[13] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 12–15. The possibility of a connection among the individual approaches is not ruled out (*ibid.*, 12, n. 32).

[14] See SCHOPEN 1997: 86–164.

[15] The notion that a *buddha* does not pass away into *parinirvāṇa* and that the Dharma does not disappear, as professed by the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra*—often referred to in later sources, for example, the *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 342a6–b6; D, fol. 293a6–b5; S, vol. 64, pp. 811.13–812.15)—is perhaps a generalisation of the fifth point. The pertinent verse is as follows (*Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* 2.30, Skt. p. 19.1–2):

> *na buddho parinirvāti na ca dharmo 'ntardhīyate* |
> *sattvānāṃ paripākāya nirvāṇaṃ tūpadarśayet* ||.

Cf. the verse cited in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 103.2–3):

> *na buddhaḥ parinirvāti na ca dharmaḥ parihīyate* |
> *sattvānāṃ paripākāya parinirvāṇaṃ nidarśayet* ||.

See also the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* (Tib., p. 17.12–15, n. 241). See also the discussion in the *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīṭīkā* (pp. 121.19–123.3). Such a notion can also be found elsewhere, for example, in the *Tathāgatotpattisambhavasūtra* (as cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*, p. 115.3–120.6), *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fols. 292b5–293a1; D, fol. 193b2–4), **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 111b2; D, fol. 113b2–3), and *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 89a2–3; D, fol. 94a7–b1).

[16] SCHOPEN 1997: 258–289.

[17] For example, a tradition that holds a *buddha* to be permanent cannot have the same perception of *bodhicitta* as one that views a *buddha* as impermanent. The perception or role of *bodhicitta* may depend on the kind of soteriological model a tradition has chosen.

theories that are possibly quite conceivable. We can assume that there must have been internal and external factors that were responsible for the inception and development of the *bodhicitta* concept. In my view, one of the most likely internal factor seems to have been the psychological need on the part of Buddhists to somehow make up for the loss of the historical Buddha and to guarantee the durability of the Three Jewels. Probably for some, the best conceivable way to convince themselves of the existence of the Three Jewels was to resolve to become *a buddha* themselves. "Instead of seeking refuge elsewhere, let me become a refuge for myself and others! Let me ensure the existence of the Three Jewels by becoming a *buddha* myself."[18] Such an idea must have appeared appealing to many people, and perhaps can be seen as the most innovative step taken in this direction. Although we shall never be able to determine exactly the process of conception, we can state with certainty that the birth of this resolve to become a *buddha* oneself by first becoming a *bodhisattva* was the birth of the *bodhicitta* concept, and that the dawn of such a concept was indeed a milestone in the history of Buddhism. With it we step onto the terrain of Mahāyāna Buddhism, historically as well as doctrinally. Once the idea of *bodhicitta* was conceived and its bounds fixed, several factors conceivably contributed to its further development.

3. The Doctrinal Foundations of *Bodhicitta* in Early Buddhism

Although neither the concept nor the term *bodhicitta* is explicitly documented in the Pāli canon,[19] several ideas that may have theoretically been sources of its formation can be detected in early Buddhist texts. I shall attempt here to consider these various ideas from various angles and show that they tendentially laid the foundations for the *bodhicitta* concept, or at least provided the theoretical conditions for its development.

(a) A *Buddha* as a Discoverer and Proclaimer of True Reality

The question as to what extent the Buddha's discovery or awakening was 'new' or 'old' or 'timeless' leads to a dilemma. In the historical setting of the Buddha Gautama, it was indeed something new, and it was considered by him as such. In the course of time, however, the idea arose that the one and the same true reality is repeatedly discovered by successive *buddhas*.[20] Since *bodhicitta* is primarily about becoming a *buddha*, it may be worthwhile to take a look at the early Buddhist notion of the perpetuity of truth and the concept of the *buddha* or *tathāgata* as its re-discoverer and proclaimer at a given point in time and space. A *tathāgata* is one who has cognised (*gata*) the way to salvation in this manner (*tathā*), namely, exactly as it is (*yathābhūtam*), even as he himself went along (*gata*) in this manner (*tathā*).[21]

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[18] If we think of other later re-interpretations (such as of the term *dharmakāya*), it is not impossible that the notion that 'one is the protector (or lord) of oneself' (*bdag nyid bdag gi mgon yin gyi*) stimulated some people to want to become a *buddha* themselves, although I have not come across such a line of thought elsewhere.

[19] See JOSHI 1971: 70, where it is reported that the concept of *bodhicitta* is not found in the Pāli literature. However, it has been occasionally maintained that although the technical term *bodhicitta* does not occur in Pāli canonical sources, the idea as such is found in non-Mahāyāna Buddhism. For example, the *EoB* (p. 184) states that *bodhicitta* "is an important concept common to Theravāda, Mahāyāna and Tantric Buddhism. Though not directly mentioned, the idea is explicit in Theravāda Buddhism." However, further on it states: "Though the term *bodhicitta* does not occur in Pali, traces of this concept are found in Pali canonical literature…." Such statements in which the doctrinal foundations that later gave rise to the theory of *bodhicitta* are *ad sensum* referred to as *bodhicitta*, are, however, quite misleading.

[20] See Schmithausen's comments in BSTEH 2000: 27–29.

[21] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 8; cf. GETHIN 1998: 28. For an elaborate explanation of the word *tathāgata* in the Theravāda tradition, see HORNER 1980: 77, 82, n. 20; GETHIN 1998: 280, n. 34.

However, my primary interest here is the philosophical aspect of the question and the implications it has for the study of the origin of *bodhicitta*. Understanding the Buddha in this way, in my opinion, presupposes certain philosophical views. The first tacit assumption is that there is a kind of truth, reality, or nature of phenomena (whatever it may be) that is cognisable, timeless, and independent of its cognition, or of the person (e.g. the Buddha) who cognises it.[22] The second tacit assumption is that the correct cognition or insightful penetration of the truth has a soteriological or salvific affect on the person who cognises or penetrates it by means of meditative insight (*jñāna*). In other words, a person is liberated by gaining a meditative insight into the truth. The third tacit assumption is that, at least in principle, anybody, at any given point in time and space, can gain full access to the truth by means of meditative insight, thereby becoming a fully liberated being, a *buddha*, a re-discoverer of the true reality, who can and may (but need not necessarily) proclaim it to others.[23] Speculations regarding the destiny of a *buddha* after he passes away are of no spiritual or soteriological relevance. *Buddha*s may come and go, but the truth remains as it is (*yathābhūtam*), unaffected by its occasional re-discovery or oblivion. This idea can be found in non-Mahāyāna as well as in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna.[24]

What implications does the concept of the perpetuity of truth and the possibility of its repeated discovery have for the study of the origin of *bodhicitta*? The idea of appearing and disappearing *buddha*s, and of the discovery of the eternal truth and its proclamation to others, opens up the theoretical possibility of developing the notion of oneself becoming a *bodhisattva* and a *buddha*, which is essentially embedded in the *bodhicitta* concept. Under this premise, the truth would not become quantitatively or qualitatively less if more *buddha*s happen to discover it, nor would it become better if fewer *buddha*s discover it. If insightful penetration of the truth has a soteriological impact not only on the discoverer but also on others, it should be in the interest of suffering sentient beings to have more such 'discoverers.' As for the sentient beings who suffer in *saṃsāra*, there are enough of them, for *saṃsāra* is endless.[25] Pondering over such arguments may perhaps help us to understand why at a certain point in the history of Buddhism the notion of oneself becoming a *buddha* became inevitable.

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[22] See Vetter's remark in BSTEH 2000: 48.

[23] This is perhaps one of the reasons why the idea of a 'successor' for the historical Buddha makes no sense in Buddhism. A *buddha* or his successor cannot be 'appointed.' One either becomes a *buddha* when all the conditions necessary come together, or one does not.

[24] *Āgama* (as cited by Candrakīrti, *Prasannapadā*, p. 40.1): *utpādād vā tathāgatānām anutpādād vā tathāgatānāṃ sthitaivaiṣā dharmāṇāṃ dharmatā* |. For the universality of reality and its being independent of the appearance of a *tathāgata* in both non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna sources, such as the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, and *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, see YAMADA 1980: 282, 291–292, nn. 70–72. See also the *Jñānālokālaṃkārasūtra* (p. 138.6–7), *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (pp. 305.19–307.8), *Laṅkāvatāravṛtti* (P, fol. 188b4–5; D, fols. 164b7–165a1; S, vol. 69, p. 1216.17–19), and *Śālistambakakārikā* (P, fol. 22b4–5; D, fol. 18b2; S, vol. 65, p. 775.14–15). For a similar idea in tantric Buddhism, see the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (as cited in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa*, pp. 33.3–6, 220.3–8). For an English translation, see HODGE 2003: 131. Cf. also the citation in Rong-zom-pa's *Sangs rgyas kyi sa* (A, fol. 216a3–b2; B, p. 82.6–15). See also the *Suviśadasaṃpuṭaṭīkā* (P, fol. 9b5–6; D, fol. 8b2–3; S, vol. 3, p. 19.16–20); *Tarkajvālā* (P, fol. 133b5–7; D, fol. 123b3–5; S, vol. 58, p. 302.9–17); *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 338a1–2; D, fol. 289a7; S, vol. 64, p. 802.1–3); *Kṛṣṇayamāritantrapañjikā* (P, fol. 169a3–5; D, fol. 141a7–b1; S, vol. 23, p. 1077.14–19); *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (pp. 52, 158). Cf. *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6.222. See also the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 164a6–8; D, fol. 175a6–7).

[25] NORMAN 1983: 77. For a lengthy discussion of the impossibility of *buddha*s arising at the same time, see VETTER 2001: 67–68, n. 32. See also SKILLING 1996: 155, cf. n. 5.

(b) The Plurality of *Buddha*s and *Bodhisattva*s in Early Buddhism

The notion of resolving to become a *buddha* oneself automatically implies the multiplicity of *bodhisattva*s and *buddha*s, which became a characteristic feature of Mahāyāna Buddhism. This may *prima facie* seem to contradict the early Buddhist notion of a single *buddha*, who was seen as a being *sui generis*. The early Buddhist view was that only one *buddha* would appear at a time, and the reason for this, occasionally stated, is that one *buddha* is enough to ensure that all the necessary tasks of a given time are carried out. This argument, however, seems to presuppose corresponding limited world systems.[26] The development of the idea of plural *buddha*s is thus connected with the development of the Mahāyāna cosmology.[27] However, the concept of a plurality of *buddha*s begins to appear already in the Pāli canon.[28] At first, details of six past *buddha*s who preceded Gautama Buddha are given.[29] Later the number increases to twenty-five including Gautama Buddha.[30] The fundamental reason for introducing the previous mythological *buddha*s was, according to Richard Gombrich, to authenticate the historical Buddha (as a discoverer and preacher of the eternal truth).[31] Furthermore, post-canonical Pāli sources speak of ten future *buddha*s including Maitreya, who is, however, mentioned only once in the early Pāli canon.[32] It is thus clear that the concept of past *buddha*s is older than that of future *buddha*s. This development of several future *buddha*s in the later non-Mahāyāna traditions is said to be the influence of Hinduism as well as of Mahāyāna.[33] Unlike Maitreya, though, the remaining nine future *buddha*s mentioned in the post-canonical Pāli sources are said to have nothing in common with their Mahāyāna counterparts.

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[26] NORMAN 1983: 90–91.

[27] See GOMBRICH 1980: 65, where it is stated: "It is important to understand that this cosmology allows the line of Buddhas stretching into the past and the future to be infinite. That it *is* infinite is certainly the view that developed; it is however not stated in the earliest texts on the subject, though it may be implicit."

[28] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 12–13; cf. DE JONG 1979: 26.

[29] SKILLING 1996: 157–158. See also GOMBRICH 1980: 65, 66–67, 72, n. 9; SCHUMANN 1995: 123–125; NORMAN 1983: 36, n. 29, 43, 92, cf. 77. Nakamura recalls that the *Mahāvastu* mentions four *buddha*s preceding Gautama Buddha (NAKAMURA 1980: 130).

[30] See GOMBRICH 1980: 68, where it is stated: "At an early stage, however, the number twenty-four became standardised in the Theravādin tradition. This occurred with the composition, perhaps in the third or second century B.C., of the *Buddha-vaṃsa*, one of the last books to be added to the Pali canon. This poem, 'The Lineage of the Enlightened', gives details of twenty-four Buddhas, with Gautama as the twenty-fifth, in almost identical terms. The first eighteen of these Buddhas we encounter here for the first time." See also NORMAN 1983: 93. The model and number of twenty-four past *buddha*s was presumably borrowed from the Jain concept of twenty-four 'ford-makers' (*tīrthaṃkara*). The difference, however, is that the Jain twenty-four include the present Tīrthaṃkāra Mahāvīra, whereas the Buddhist twenty-four exclude the present Buddha Gautama (GOMBRICH 1980: 64, 68, 72, n. 24). Yet the *Buddhavaṃsa* is said to mention the names of twenty-seven previous Buddhas, without, however, giving the details of the first three. The number twenty-eight (including Gautama Buddha) has reportedly become standard in Burmese Theravāda Buddhism (GOMBRICH 1980: 68). For the names of the twenty-five *buddha*s, see *EoB*, s.v. *bodhisattva*; *PED*, s.v. *buddha*; SCHUMANN 1995: 123–125. Note that the last seven are identical with the group of seven *buddha*s.

[31] GOMBRICH 1980: 64.

[32] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 13, n. 43; NORMAN 1983: 93, n. 423, 41; KITAGAWA 1980: 94; cf. *BHSD*, s.vv. *maitrīya* and *maitreya*. Maitreya is also mentioned as the fifth *buddha* of this aeon; see NORMAN 1983: 161; LAMOTTE 1988: 699–710. For the development of the story of Maitreya in Pāli sources, see COLLINS 1998: 355–357.

[33] NORMAN 1983: 162, n. 268; GOMBRICH 1980: 64; cf. DAYAL 1932: 36–38.

Peter Skilling provides a nuanced account of the development of the idea of multiple and infinite number of past and future *buddhas* found in Theravāda and other Buddhist schools. He points out that (a) the 'open plurality' of past and future *buddhas* in the earliest texts turn into an 'open infinity' of past and future *buddhas* in the latest texts; (b) the evidence goes against the suggestion that the idea of multiple and infinite *buddhas* is the outcome of Mahāyāna influence; and (c) the plurality and infinity of *buddhas*, according to the Theravāda tenet, applies only to past and future *buddhas* but never to the present, in contrast to Mahāyāna Buddhism.[34] Later, in Mahāyāna sources, even the Buddha Śākyamuni is multiplied,[35] an idea which seems to have been inspired by the concept of the domain (*kṣetra*) of his influence. The six kinds of Śākyamuni Buddhas or, to be precise, Munis (*thub pa*) found in some rNying-ma tantric systems may have developed from the notion of multiple Śākyamuni Buddhas traceable in some Mahāyāna *sūtras*.[36]

If there are multiple *buddhas* there must also be multiple *bodhisattvas* who strive to become *buddhas*. This simple logic made the concept of multiple *bodhisattvas* possible, which is understandably less archaic than the notion of multiple *buddhas*. In the Pāli canon, only two *bodhisattvas* are mentioned:[37] the *bodhisattva* who later became Gautama Buddha, and the *bodhisattva* who will become the future Buddha Maitreya. The notion of the present *bodhisattva* Maitreya who will become the future Buddha Maitreya is analogous to the notion of the past *bodhisattva* of the present Buddha Gautama. In my opinion, this concept already lays the theoretical foundations for extending and applying this analogy to other *bodhisattvas* and *buddhas* limitlessly in both time and space, that is, to countless *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* in the past, present, and future, and in the ten directions.[38] Thus the presence of the *buddhas* Gautama and Maitreya and their respective *bodhisattvas* in the Pāli canon can be seen as at least two precedential cases for the Mahāyāna notion that an ordinary person can become a *bodhisattva* and finally a *buddha*.

(c) The Concept of the Resolve Made by Previous *Buddhas*

The resolve to become a *buddha* made by the historical Buddha in the past is a popular theme (at least from what I know of Tibetan Buddhism), particularly his initial resolve, which I shall discuss in detail in the following chapter. It is, in my view, this initial resolution (whatever term the early sources may have used to express it), that is, the initial step taken by Gautama or any other *buddha* in setting out on the *bodhisattva* path, that gave rise to the idea of *prathamacittotpāda* and *prathamacittotpādika*. However, the important question here is: Can one trace such a concept, at least in its germinal stage, to the early Pāli canon?

Let us look at one story found in some Pāli sources, which predicates a connection between the Buddha and an earlier *buddha* called Kāśyapa. It is told that Gautama Buddha was once born as a young *brāhman* named Jotipāla who heard the teachings of Kāśyapa and

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[34] SKILLING 1996.

[35] *Buddhadharmakośākṣara* (T 257; D 123); *rGyab chos pad dkar* (p. 910.3); *Mahāmokṣasūtra* (T 153; D 264). Note that the title of the latter work is doubtful.

[36] For the expression 'six Munis' (*thub pa drug*) and its various interpretations in the **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 111b7; D, fol. 113b7), see the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 58b5–6, 96a1–b5; B, pp. 89.7–10, 127.21–128.17). It should be noted that not all six Munis mentioned there are conceived of as human beings or monks. For example, the 'Muni' in the animal realm takes the form of a lion.

[37] Cf. NAKAMURA 1980: 152.

[38] Cf. *Ratnāvalī* 2.7ab: *asaṃkhyeyā gatā buddhās tathaiṣyanty atha sāṃpratāḥ* |.

became a monk under him.[39] This connection between Jotipāla and Kāśyapa becomes closer still in the *Mahāvastu*, according to which Jotipāla makes a resolution (*praṇidhi*/*praṇidhāna*) in the presence of Kāśyapa to attain Buddhahood and receives from him a prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) of its successful fulfilment.[40] Furthermore, the account of Gautama Buddha's previous birth as Sumedha and the resolution he made and the prediction he received, according to which he would one day become a *buddha* called Gautama, is particularly significant.[41] This initial resolution or the prediction seems to be tendentially considered as a prerequisite for Buddhahood.[42] Mahāyāna sources state that *bodhicitta* consists in an altruistic inclination (*āśaya*/*adhyāśaya*),[43] and the term *āśaya* in conservative Buddhism may hint at a precursory stage of *bodhicitta*.[44] Other Pāli terms such as *abhinīhāra* ('an earnest wish' or 'aspiration')[45] and *aññācitta* ('liberating insight') and **laukikāgratā* ('summit of the mundane [state]') in the *Jñānaprasthāna* have also been suggested as non-Mahāyāna terms corresponding to the term *bodhicitta*.[46] The question is, of course, whether and to what extent these three terms exhibit a correspondence to the term *bodhicitta*. One of the meanings of the term *abhinīhāra* given in *A Critical Pāli Dictionary* according to the *Buddhavaṃsa* is: 'generally in the sense of an earnest wish, aspiration, resolve, determination (to become a Buddha, a *paccekabuddha*, etc.),' and *paṇidhāna* (*praṇidhāna*) and *patthanā* (*prārthanā*) are given as synonyms.[47] The term *aññācitta* seems to apply to liberating insight in general, that is—also from the perspective of Mahāyāna—to that of a *śrāvaka* saint, and at best seems to have in common with *bodhicitta* the nuance of 'resolve.' Finally, to what extent Tagami's **laukikāgratā* corresponds to *bodhicitta* has yet to be determined.[48] The resolution (*praṇidhi*)

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[39] This story is also briefly discussed in GOMBRICH 1980: 68.

[40] GOMBRICH 1980: 68, 72, n. 26. The resolution and the receiving of a prediction from an earlier *buddha* entail a logical *regressus ad infinitum*. However, the tradition does not seem to have regarded this as a problem, for it was seen as compatible with the Buddhist notion that the world has no beginning (*ibid.*, 69–70). This problem, however, may have contributed to the development of the notion of an *ādibuddha*.

[41] GOMBRICH 1980: 68–69; GETHIN 1989: 18; NORMAN 1983: 78–79.

[42] See GOMBRICH 1980: 68. Both the ritual procedure of accepting the *bodhisattva* precepts and the text recited on this occasion (i.e. for taking the 'official step') suggest that the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedure is modelled on a kind of 'blessing' in the form of a *vyākaraṇa* from a previous *buddha*.

[43] See, for example, the *Gaganagañjaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T 160; D 148) cited in the *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 148b1–2; D, fol. 243b6–7; S, vol. 115, p. 663.3–6) and *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fol. 296a3–8; D, fols. 256b6–257a3; S, vol. 64, pp. 1688.9–1689.1). See also SHERBURNE 2000: 102–103. Cf. the *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 82a4–5; D, fol. 68b6–7; S, vol. 61, p. 165.7–9): *lhag pa'i bsam pa ni sems can rnams sdug bsngal dang sdug bsngal gyi rgyu las yang dag par 'dren par 'dod pa'i mtshan nyid can no* ||; *ibid.* (P, fol. 83a3; D, fol. 69b2–3; S, vol. 61, p. 167.4–6): *lhag pa'i bsam pa'i che ba nyid kyis zhes bya ba ni khyad par du gyur pa'i bsod nams kyi rgyu byang chub kyi sems dang* | *snying rje'i stobs kyis bya ba'i don to* ||.

[44] Johnston, in his translation of the *Buddhacarita*, remarked: "It may imply here the Buddha's resolve in past lives ultimately to become a Buddha, something like the *bodhicitta* of the Mahāyāna" (JOHNSTON 1936: part 2, 38, n. 34). See also *CPD*, s.v. *āsaya*.

[45] *EoB* (p. 184); NORMAN 1983: 173. See *CPD*, s.v. *abhi-nīhāra*.

[46] TAGAMI 1990: 521–521; NAKAMURA 1980: 70, n. 74. See also *CPD*, s.v. *aññācitta*. The word *laukikāgnatā* given by Tagami is apparently a misprint for *laukikāgratā*.

[47] *CPD*, s.v. *abhi-nīhāra*. See also *PED*, s.vv. *paṇidhāna* and *patthanā* and *BHSD*, s.vv. *praṇidhāna*, *praṇidhi*, and *prārthanā*. See also *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§ 1.1.2–1.1.3).

[48] It has been pointed out in BUSWELL 1997: 590 (cf. 592) that the *Abhidharmamahāvibhāṣa* (Taishō No. 1545, vol. 24) divides the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*)—under which **laukikāgratā* (or perhaps

and prediction (*vyākaraṇa*) associated with previous *buddha*s was, in all probability, the actual keystone of both the theory and the ritual procedure surrounding *bodhicitta*, which later gradually became a *conditio sine qua non* of Buddhahood.

(d) The Altruism of the Historical Buddha

As we all know, Mahāyāna is principally defined by a new goal of salvation: One should not only seek one's own freedom from *saṃsāra* but should become a *buddha*, whose task consists in primarily leading others, too, to salvation. One should hence follow the path of a *bodhisattva*. Because the way to Buddhahood is much longer and arduous than the direct way to *nirvāṇa*, a strong motivation is required to overcome and endure the difficulties. The Mahāyāna texts often mention compassion (*karuṇā*) as a decisive motive for this undertaking.[49] Empathy or compassion is hence seen as the root (*mūla*) or seed (*bīja*) of *bodhicitta*, and *bodhicitta* as the defining principle of a *bodhisattva* striving to become a *buddha*. Moreover, in some Mahāyāna sources a *buddha* appears to be conceived not only as the end result of compassion but also as an embodiment and source of compassion. And since the historical Buddha, who was once seen as a kind of mentor for his followers,[50] came to be later regarded as a model or prototype for the conception of a *buddha* in general, it would be worthwhile to take a look at the early notion of the historical Buddha in the light of his compassion and altruism.

Several questions may be asked in this connection: Why, according to the early Buddhist sources, did the Buddha appear? For whom did the Buddha become a *buddha*? And what was his motive for teaching and founding a community of ordained followers (*saṃgha*)? There is no canonical evidence for the theory that the main motive for the Buddha's appearance in the world was for the sake of others. This idea is found only in the post-canonical literature. The overwhelming majority of the canonical material suggests that the Buddha's renunciation of worldly life and his search for salvation from *saṃsāra* were exclusively or primarily motivated by the realisation that he himself was inevitably affected by aging, sickness, and death, and that he was concerned with his own release (*vimukti*).[51] Once he had attained his own release from *saṃsāra*, he could have, if he wanted, retreated and acted like a 'solitary awakened one' (*pratyekabuddha*), that is, without propagating his teaching systematically or founding a community of monks and nuns.[52]

What, then, was the Buddha's motive for setting the Wheel of Dharma into motion? Schmithausen has made it clear that the Buddha's teaching or his founding of a tradition of teaching and a community of monks and nuns was neither an obligation nor the mechanical

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laukikāgryadharma) should actually be subsumed—into two aspects, namely, the remote and proximate, consisting of the *mokṣabhāgīyakuśalamūla*s and *nirvedhabhāgīyakuśalamūla*s respectively, and that the text, 'in a provocative passage,' as he puts it, defines the former in implicitly Mahāyāna terms as follows: "The remote preparatory [stage] refers to the initial [resolve] not to backslide from the *bodhicitta*, and so forth." Even according to such an interpretation, however, the correspondence between *bodhicitta* and **laukikāgratā*, which seems to mean the summit of the mundane factors, is incomprehensible.

[49] Apparently compassion is the 'ideal' motive for a *bodhisattva*'s endeavour. Nonetheless other motives have also been suggested. For example, according to Schmithausen (based on Paul Harrison) the prospect of acquiring the status and supernatural powers of the Buddha may also have played some role in this regard (SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 438, n. 8, 452, n. 84; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 16). In the *Śūraṃgamasamādhisūtra*, even Māra generates *bodhicitta*, not out of compassion but out of deceit. See chapter nine, n. 1. See also LAMOTTE 2003: 10; SNELLGROVE 1987a: 65–66.

[50] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 180, n. 39.

[51] SCHMITHAUSEN 1997: 24, n. 53.

[52] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 122–123, n. 16.

effect of some earlier impetus. Teaching or similar efforts were obviously not perceived to be a *sine qua non* for awakening or release—not for the Buddha and certainly not for those who followed his instructions.[53] The Buddha's compassion is thus not conceived in early Buddhism as an automatic result of his awakening.[54] There are several indications in the Pāli canon that the Buddha was quite reluctant to share his profound spiritual experience with others. Because of the profundity of his discovery and the inadequacy of the mental capacity of the people, he thought, the latter would not be able to understand him, and teaching would thus be a futile gesture. Therefore, he decided not to commit himself to any special round of activity (*appossukkatā*). It required the intervention of the god Brahmā Sahampati to make the Buddha reconsider his decision.[55] In the Tibetan tradition, the reluctance of the Buddha to teach has often been interpreted as an expedient means of 'expressing the excellency of the doctrine' (*chos kyi che ba brjod pa*).[56] Also the fact that precisely the highest god of the Brāhmans is portrayed as asking the Buddha for the teaching can be seen as a type of propaganda aimed at glorifying the doctrine of the Buddha. This, in a way, implies that teachings are given only when asked for. Moreover, even if one is requested to teach, it is considered improper to give teachings to the disrespectful.[57] The practice of requesting a teacher to teach is ingrained in the Theravāda as well as in the Tibetan tradition.[58] The underlying philosophy of teaching is that teaching should be beneficial, not detrimental, to the recipient. This may also explain the apparent secretiveness of the tantric tradition.

In most early sources, however, compassion is given as an additional motive for teaching on the part of the Buddha. The supposition that compassion must have been the Buddha's motive for teaching makes perfect sense particularly if one considers the complete irrelevance and redundancy of the teaching for his own salvation. There are numerous episodes or incidents narrated in the Pāli canon reflecting the Buddha's compassion, even though the word *karuṇā* does not seem to occur frequently.[59] Instead near synonyms such as care (*anukampā*) and concern (*anuddayā*) are found.[60] Later the Buddha is credited with having not only compassion but even great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*).[61] However, the word *mahākaruṇā* as an attribute of the Buddha is not found in the first four *Nikāyas*. It occurs for the first time in a later stratum of the Pāli canon, in the *Paṭisambhidāmagga*.[62] In the course of time, this compassionate or altruistic motivation seems to have been increasingly placed

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[53] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 123.

[54] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 125–126.

[55] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 120 (particularly n. 3, where several sources indicating the Buddha's reluctance to teach are given); MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 126; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 16, n. 60; VETTER 2000: 15; GETHIN 1998: 24–25, 279, n. 27; NORMAN 1983: 40.

[56] For a similar explanation, see *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.17 (WOGIHARA, pp. 271.16–272.5; DUTT, p. 184.17–27).

[57] See, for example, *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5.88; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 42.

[58] GETHIN 1998: 25, 279, n. 28. In the Tibetan tradition, this custom of requesting seems to be extended to include the composition of Buddhist texts.

[59] To be sure, in the *Mahāvagga* (*Vinaya* I.6), the word *kāruññatā* is used. See *DP*, s.v. *kāruñña*; *PED*, s.v. *kāruññatā*.

[60] See *CPD*, s.vv. *anukampā* and *anuddayā*; MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 125, cf. 166, n. 12. See also Maithrimurthi's comments in BSTEH 2000: 481.

[61] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 253, n. 112.

[62] *EoB*, s.v. *mahākaruṇā*.

further back chronologically: first, after the Buddha's awakening, then after his renunciation, and then back in the distant past—for example, in the *Jātakanidānakathā*, when the Buddha took birth as Sumedha during the time of the Buddha Dīpaṃkara.[63] As already stated, such an initial resolution (motivated by compassion), said to have been made by the historical Buddha in the past, is of tremendous significance, because with great plausibility it served as a model for the Mahāyāna concept of *bodhicitta*.

(e) Altruism in Early Buddhism

The altruistic attitude and actions of a *bodhisattva* crystallised in the form of *bodhicitta*, which may, as opposed to the altruism found in conservative Buddhism referred to by Maithrimurthi as 'passive altruism,' be designated as 'active altruism.'[64] Active, for a *bodhisattva* chooses not only to avoid harming other sentient beings (who are all suffering in one way or another in *saṃsāra*) but tries his best to be of benefit to them. But where did this principle of 'active altruism' found in Mahāyāna come from? How did it arise? In order to answer these questions, perhaps the only sensible thing to do is to look for traces of 'active altruism' in early Buddhist spirituality.

There has been disagreement as to which of the two poles of spirituality—the inner detachment from the world expressed by the term *upekṣā* ('spiritual state of equanimity') and the care and concern for others expressed by the term *karuṇā* ('compassion')—is central in early or conservative Buddhism. Some have maintained that the state of spiritual equanimity plays the central role, whereas others have contended that it is altruism or compassion. However, both Schmithausen and Maithrimurthi have convincingly demonstrated that it is indeed the spiritual equanimity that is pivotal to early Buddhist soteriology,[65] while at the same time showing that compassion, too, is an essential factor in it, with an increasing tendency to gain a dynamism of its own. It is this very dynamism in early Buddhist spirituality that heralds the dawn of the *bodhicitta* concept.[66]

But let us first return to the essentials of early Buddhist spirituality. The principal goal of spiritual practice in early Buddhism is the release from *saṃsāra*, and in the first place one's own release. Thus striving for or attaining salvation is seen as a private affair, for the Buddha

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[63] VETTER 2000: 14; NORMAN 1983: 78. Cf. RAY 1994: 51, where 'compassion is identified as a central component of the Buddha's enlightened personality.' It would also be interesting to examine how a *buddha*'s compassion or altruistic motivation is treated in strands of thought where a *buddha* is conceived to have always been a *buddha*, that is, an *ādibuddha*. In such a case, it is quite likely that compassion would be held to have an ontological status. This seems to be the case, for example, in the rDzogs-chen system, where the so-called 'all-embracing compassion' (*thugs rje kun khyab*) is said to be one of the triad of qualities immanent in the 'universal ground' (*gzhi*). For the various notions of the Buddha Dīpaṃkara, see Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 355b3–356b1; D, fols. 305b3–306a7; S, vol. 64, pp. 841.9–843.7).

[64] Maithrimurthi deems the three kinds of ethics named in connection with early Buddhism (i.e. egocentric, altruistic, and hybrid or mixed ethics) misleading (MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 183), and instead uses the term 'passive altruism' to describe early Buddhist spirituality (*ibid.*, 184–185).

[65] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 1–2, 161–185, 429; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 119. See particularly MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 149–152, where the soteriological relevance of spiritual equanimity is discussed. According to Maithrimurthi, it is originally not only the most decisive factor on the path to salvation but ultimately the essence of salvation itself.

[66] See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 119, where it is stated: "Ich selbst will versuchen, beiden Polen die gebührende Aufmerksamkeit zuteil werden zu lassen; wenngleich ich den Eindruck habe, daß der Gleichmut im Zentrum der frühbuddhistischen Spiritualität steht, ist doch auch das Mitgefühl ein wesentlicher, zur Eigendynamik neigender Faktor." See also MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 34, n. 34, and 185, where it is stated: "Eine gewisse Eigendynamik, die sich bei Bedarf in spontaner Hilfeleistung äußern kann, dürfte aber schwer abzustreiten und im Mahāyāna zu voller Entfaltung gekommen sein."

as well as for his followers.[67] Self-responsibility is stressed in early Buddhism,[68] the Buddha being only a 'good (spiritual) friend' (*kalyāṇamitra*), or a guide who shows the path, but not a saviour.[69] As for the practice of compassion (*karuṇā*), it is primarily recommended for combatting one's own negative emotions, such as hatred and pleasure in the pain of others.[70] Hence compassion does not play an overly prominent role in early Buddhism. Furthermore, there is no conclusive or otherwise convincing evidence in the Pāli canon to show that active social engagement was prescribed for or expected from the monks and nuns who were its main addressees.[71]

Does this imply that early Buddhism professes an egoistic or exclusivistic ethic? The individual monks and nuns, and originally also the Buddha himself, were indeed concerned about their own salvation. Nevertheless, they were not so in an egoistic manner, but rather allowed and wished others the same sort of salvation. Although the inner state of equanimity is the zenith of spiritual perfection, it does not nullify other *apramāṇa*s but merely de-emotionalises or de-personalises them.[72] An altruistic ethic is not categorically ruled out in early Buddhism. One is not supposed to harm the interests of others, at least not in a conscious, direct, and aggressive manner. One can help others after freeing oneself.[73] There is no conflict between one's own salvation and that of others. Providing help in spiritual matters to others is thus a by-product of one's own salvation, but not an actual goal.[74] According to Maithrimurthi, the kind of altruism promoted in the *Dīghanikāya* does not involve rendering immediate practical help but rather placing soteriological resources at others' disposal and making them available as long as possible.[75] The best way the ordained community can be of help is thus by being a mentor who lends 'moral support.'[76] There is also a kind of 'reciprocal

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[67] Maithrimurthi uses the German term *Heilsprivatismus* (which may be translated as 'salvific privatism') coined by S. A. Srinivasan to describe the striving for salvation in early Buddhist spiritual practice. According to Srinivasan, the notion of *Heilsprivatismus* was readily adopted throughout the entire range of Indian religiosity (with a few exceptions, such as the later Mahāyāna Buddhism); see MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 184, n. 52. One may say that even Mahāyāna Buddhism (including Vajrayāna, despite the immense weight of the role of a guru) tacitly presupposes that one is responsible for one's own salvation, and thus implies the idea of *Heilsprivatismus*. (I shall leave it up to the Jōdo-shinshū specialists to answer the question whether and to what extent *Heilsprivatismus* is applicable also to the Pure Land Buddhist notion of salvation.)

[68] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 144–145, n. 22.

[69] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 120–121.

[70] SCHMITHAUSEN 1985: 111. Compassion in the context of the four 'immeasurables' (*apramāṇa*) is more of a meditative practice (described by Maithrimurthi as 'Gedanken-Ethik') serving to enhance one's spiritual development than one's actions; see MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 117, 120, 127, 137.

[71] See MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 115, 146, n. 25, 147, n. 27, 162, 428. Maithrimurthi summarises his own position in the following manner: "I show that the Buddhist lay ethic does have strong social components, and that the practice of the *apramāṇa*s, or at least of *maitrī* and *karuṇā*, can promote social engagement, but that this social engagement is, in the normative ethics of the Pāli-canon, not intended for monks" (MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 429). See also NORMAN 1983: 42.

[72] For the de-emotionalisation or de-personalisation of compassion and friendliness, see MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 148–149, n. 29.

[73] MAITHRIMURTH 1999: 183.

[74] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 119.

[75] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 180–181, n. 41. For a translation of the pertinent passage from the *Dīghanikāya*, see *ibid.* (167, 168, n. 16).

[76] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 180, n. 39; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 125.

altruism' in early Buddhism. The lay Buddhist followers offered the ordained community material gifts (*āmisadāna*) in return for gifts of teaching (*dharmadāna*). These 'spiritual gifts' were important for preventing the criticism that the monks and nuns were parasites on society. Hence the ordained community lives according to the ethical principles of not harming others, of advising others on spiritual matters (in return for material support), and of being a mentor by living in spiritual purity (*soceyya*) and wishing others well. Apart from these, it neither meddles in the private affairs of others nor is it held responsible for their actions.

Nevertheless, beside the general notions of 'passive altruism' and 'reciprocal altruism,' one also finds in the Pāli canon passages to the effect that one who strives for the salvation of oneself and others is esteemed more than one who strives only for one's own salvation.[77] Such statements, however, were by no means intended to question the legitimacy of limiting oneself to one's own salvation or to downgrade it,[78] but rather to suggest that while refraining from harming others may be good, actively benefiting them (if one can) is better, and similarly, while there is nothing wrong with not interfering in the affairs of others, it is better to lend a helping hand when they are in trouble. In all probability, it is through the application of such simple ethical common sense that the 'active altruism' (recommendable for anyone seeking Buddhahood) in Mahāyāna Buddhism came into being. If the teaching activity of the Buddha can be assumed to have been motivated by his compassion, it can well be seen as the first and foremost instance of active altruism, which, although perhaps only feasible for someone like the historical Buddha, might have served as a model or doctrinal legitimisation for developing the concepts of other forms of active altruism, ones which can be implemented not just by the Buddha, but by any ordinary being resolving to become a *buddha*.

(f) Prerequisites for Becoming a *Buddha* in Early Buddhism

According to early Buddhism, the salvation of a *buddha*, a *pratyekabuddha* and a *śrāvaka* saint is qualitatively the same.[79] The difference lies in the fact that while a *buddha* and a *pratyekabuddha* make their soteriological breakthrough on their own, that is, without the help of a teacher, a *śrāvaka* has to depend on a teacher. Furthermore, the difference between a *buddha* and a *pratyekabuddha* is that a *buddha* establishes a tradition of teaching and teaches systematically, whereas a *pratyekabuddha* cannot or does not want to do so. A *śrāvaka* saint cannot establish a tradition of teaching, because he already finds himself in an established tradition. With such a doctrinal presupposition, which presupposes the same spiritual goal among all three, the question as to what made the Buddha a *buddha* would not seem a pressing one. The existing spiritual theories and practices would have adequately explained the soteriological goal aspired to. But as the notion of the Buddha changed and as he was increasingly seen as transcendent or supramundane, the question as to what makes one a *buddha* must have become increasingly urgent. The spiritual views and practices presented in the early Buddhist canon could not have satisfactorily explained the result of Buddhahood as conceived with later strands of thought. Some Buddhist thinkers must have reasoned: The Śrāvakayāna may be sufficient to produce a *śrāvaka* saint, but can by no means yield a

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[77] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 125, n. 25. See also SCHMITHAUSEN 2004, where a comparative evaluation of exertions made for the welfare of oneself and others, as found in *Aṅguttaranikāya* 7.64, is discussed in detail.

[78] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 439.

[79] The *Samayabhedoparacanacakra* (attributed to Vasumitra), for instance, states that according to the Mahīśāsakas, the spiritual path and the salvation of the *śrāvaka*s and *buddha*s are the same (P, fol. 176a3; D, fol. 146b1; S, vol. 93, p. 1139.4–5): *sangs rgyas rnams dang nyan thos rnams* [om. PN] *ni lam gcig go || 'rnam par grol ba gcig go ||'* [om. PN]). See also Bhavya's *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* (P, fol. 182a6; D, fol. 150b6; S, vol. 93, p. 1153.20): *sangs rgyas dang nyan thos kyi rnam par grol ba ni gcig go ||*.

buddha. In order to produce a saint who is far superior to a *śrāvaka* saint, there must be a *yāna* which is far superior to the Śrāvakayāna. Thus, without the existence of a Buddhayāna, Bodhisattvayāna, or Mahāyāna, there is no way one can explain the existence and the appearance of a *buddha* or a *bodhisattva* (or *mahāsattva*). It is precisely such an argument that has been employed by the followers of Mahāyāna.[80] The Buddhist thinkers must have availed themselves of the doctrinal resources embedded in the accounts of the Buddha's previous lives found in the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* literature.[81] The heroic altruist deeds described in this literature were then probably assumed to be the factors that made the Buddha a *buddha*, and not a *pratyekabuddha* or a *śrāvaka* saint. However, these accounts of the Buddha's previous lives seem to have served only as a model for the practical deeds expected of a *bodhisattva*, which are schematised into the six or ten perfections (*pāramitā*),[82] but not for the theoretical doctrine of *bodhicitta*.[83] The eight prerequisites necessary for the attainment of Buddhahood listed in the *Buddhavaṃsa* (*Khuddakanikāya*) may have well been the result of an attempt to explain the causes that go into the making of a *buddha*.

(g) The 'Golden Rule' in Early Buddhism

Although one witnesses an ontological (or metaphysical) interpretation of *bodhicitta*, the concept of *bodhicitta* seems to have primarily arisen within the contextual framework of ethics or ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*). If one looks at how the perfection of the ethical-moral discipline (*śīlapāramitā*) is conceived in early Mahāyāna literature, such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, it becomes clear that the first *śīla* (namely, *saṃvaraśīla*) reflects in essence the 'passive altruism' found in early Buddhism, that is, refraining from unwholesome actions so as to attain spiritual purity, whereas the last two *śīla*s (namely, *kuśaladharmasamgrāhakaśīla* and *sattvārthakriyāśīla*)[84] give force to the aims of 'active altruism.'

If the new Mahāyāna concept of *śīla* is rooted in the old non-Mahāyāna concept of *śīla*, the question to be asked is which element of the old *śīla* the new one is based on. It would appear to be: on the element most fundamental to Buddhist ethics, namely, non-injury (*ahiṃsā*). As the infliction of pain on living beings (the ultimate form being the killing of a sentient being out of hatred and anger) is the gravest offence from a Buddhist ethical-moral point of view (for lay followers as well as for the ordained), the practice of non-injury is most

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[80] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 3.15–16): *śrāvakayānaṃ buddhavacanaṃ na mahāyānam iti na yujyate vinā buddhayānena buddhānām anutpādāt* |; *ibid.* (p. 4.12–13): *na ca śrāvakayānenaiva cirakālaṃ bodhau ghaṭamāno buddho bhavitum arhati* |.

[81] For the difference between *Jātaka* and *Avadāna*, see NORMAN 1983: 89.

[82] The earliest enumeration of the ten perfections is found in the *Buddhavaṃsa* and the *Cariyāpiṭaka* (VETTER 2000: 14, n. 8; NORMAN 1983: 94–95). The concept of ten perfections was quite likely developed later than that of six (*EoB*, p. 288). Note, however, that the ten perfections found in the Sanskrit literature do not exactly correspond with the ten found in Pāli sources. For the ten perfections occurring in the Sanskrit sources, see DAYAL 1932: 168. Also note that the term used for 'perfection' in the Pāli sources is either *pāramī* or *pāramitā* (MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 169, n. 19). See also SKILLING 1996: 179.

[83] Many of the stories in the *Jātakas* are said to be non- or pre-Buddhist in origin (NORMAN 1983: 79ff.). To the extent that they were adopted by Buddhists prior to the rise of Mahāyāna, however, such an origin does not affect the assumption that they were used as sources of inspiration or as a model for the *bodhisattva*'s altruistic deeds. On the overall role of the *Jātakas*, see SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 11.

[84] For these terms, see *TSD*, s.v. *dge ba'i chos sdud pa'i tshul khrims*.

fundamental to Buddhist ethics.[85] The underlying explanation is the Buddhist version of the Golden Rule:[86] "Just as I wish to be left in peace, so too do others wish to be left in peace."

It is indeed an extension of this same Golden Rule that can probably explain the rise of the concept of *bodhicitta* along with attendant ethical principles, namely, "Just as I wish to be helped when I am in trouble, so too do others wish to be helped when they are in trouble." The Mahāyāna version of the Golden Rule has been formulated explicitly by Śāntideva, who flourished in the first half of the eighth century.[87] In early Buddhism, for the sake of 'spiritual purity,' one is cautioned not to violate the principle of non-injury, even when inspired by compassion. To be sure, radical acts motivated by compassion can be found in the Pāli Vinaya, where it is narrated, for example, how a monk out of compassion recommends a fellow monk to take his own life,[88] but such conduct is censured. In Mahāyāna the reverse is true: in cases of conflict, compassion and altruism outweigh the principle of non-injury.[89] There are cases where even killing out of compassion is sanctioned.[90] The question is where to set a limit. Perhaps the Golden Rule is applicable even in this extremely exceptional and risky situation. The Golden Rule seems to presuppose free will and self-responsibility. The execution of such an extreme measure as killing out of compassion would demand unusual insight (or foresight) and an extraordinary amount of compassion. Only a *bodhisattva* would know if he fulfilled both criteria. He would proceed only after considering the givens with both compassion and insight. If he indeed decided to carry the plan out, then he alone would bear all the consequences, whatever they might be. His insight and compassion should guide him not to cause more pain or suffering in *saṃsāra* than there already is. This Golden Rule, in my view, is also applicable in the context of Vajrayāna ethics. The Golden Rule, of course, is only applicable if we can presuppose that sentient beings by nature desire to live and live happily, and resist being injured or killed. It can thus be counterproductive in the case of, for examples, an *arhat* who no longer clings to life,[91] and is, so to speak, indifferent (though still not immune) to suffering and death; one who, for whatever reason, has no regard for the lives of oneself and others; one who is insensitive, indifferent, or immune to the feeling of pain and suffering; one who finds pleasure in inflicting pain (e.g. a sadist) or in it being inflicted upon oneself (e.g. a masochist). Theoretically, a Buddhist saint could allow himself or herself to do anything with unlimited immunity without fearing any kind of karmic retribution, for the very basis of karmic mechanism has been rendered dysfunctional, but nonetheless it is said that it is impossible for a Buddhist saint to deliberately kill a sentient being.[92]

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[85] See chapter one, n. 46.

[86] The notion of a 'golden rule' is also found in non-Buddhist Indian sources (SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 127–128, nn. 41, 42).

[87] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 8.94; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 96; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000d: 31, 33–35, 38, 40, 41–42, n. 74, 74–75; 1999c: 131ff.

[88] SCHMITHAUSEN 1985: 114.

[89] SCHMITHAUSEN 1985: 119. Non-injury in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna would be defined primarily by attitudinal or motivational impulses such as compassion or benevolence, not by physical or verbal action or non-action. This becomes clear in the context of the 'four cases' (*mu bzhi*) pertaining to 'transgression' (*ltung ba*) and 'non-transgression' (*ltung med*), discussed, for example, in *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.30cd–35 and the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 156.16–159.9). For an English translation of the former, see RHOTON 2002: 298–293.

[90] For a Theravāda view on the issue, see GETHIN 2004b. On Buddhism and violence in general, see SCHMITHAUSEN 1998; *id.* 2003; ZIMMERMANN 2002b, and the various contributions in ZIMMERMAN 2006. Particularly for the Buddhist views on suicide, see DELHEY 2002 and *id.* 2006.

[91] See SCHMITHAUSEN 2002: 16.

The question is, of course, what the doctrinal foundations were for such ethically problematic practices prescribed for or expected of a capable *bodhisattva* or a Buddhist tantric yogin. Even in the conservative Vinaya system, the borderline between transgression and non-transgression is not always clear-cut. Whether or not an ordained monk or nun commits a cardinal transgression (*mūlāpatti*)—and the severity of the offence—is not dependent on the action alone but also on a number of other criteria.[93] The existence of such criteria leaves room for equivocality. This may have occasioned some followers of tantric or non-tantric Mahāyāna to introduce and legitimise ethically problematic or risky practices.

4. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has attempted to provide the historical and doctrinal background to the key Mahāyāna concept of *bodhicitta*. Although neither the term *bodhicitta* nor the concept can be traced in the early non-Mahāyāna sources, there seem to be ample doctrinal resources which could have easily contributed to the conception and development of a notion such as *bodhicitta*. Thus I have argued that the exploitation of doctrinal strands of thought found in the early canonical and post-canonical sources, driven by a psychological need on the part of Buddhists to compensate for the loss of the historical Buddha and to guarantee the durability of the Three Jewels, probably gave rise to the notion of *bodhicitta*, that is, quintessentially, the resolve to become a *buddha* oneself by first becoming a *bodhisattva*.

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[92] *Bahudhātukasūtra* (T. fol. 151a2–b1; D, fol. 300b2–6): *gnas ma yin zhing go skabs med pa ni gang lta ba phun sum tshogs pa'i gang zag bsams bzhin du pha dang | ma dang | dgra bcom pa gsod par 'gyur ba dang | dge 'dun gyi dbyen byed par 'gyur ba dang | de bzhin gshegs pa la ngan sems kyis khrag 'byin par 'gyur ba ni gnas ma yin no || 'di ni gnas yin te so so'i skye bo gang yin pa'o || gnas ma yin zhing go skabs med pa ni gang lta ba phun sum tshogs pa'i gang zag bsams bzhin du srog chags kyi srog gcod par 'gyur ba dang | ... 'di ni gnas ma yin no || 'di ni gnas yin te | so so'i skye bo gang yin pa'o ||*.

[93] See, for example, the *Vinayakārikā* (P, fols. 8a8–13a3; D, fols. 7a1–11a5; S, vol. 93, pp. 15.19–26.7), where the four *pārājika*s are discussed. According to some Tibetan sources, a cardinal transgression occurs only if the following four criteria are met: (1) the 'target' or 'object' (*gzhi*) must be unmistakable, (2) the offender must be *compos mentis* and must have a corresponding 'motive' or 'intention' (*bsam pa*) for carrying out the act, (3) the actual 'committing' (*sbyor ba*) of the act should take place as planned, and (4) the 'completion' (*mthar thug*) of the act must be accompanied by a sense of gratification or lack of remorse. See, for example, the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 52.13–56.13).

Chapter Four

The Buddha's First Resolve to Become a *Buddha*

As for me, [I] generated the resolve to [attain] awakening for the first time
In [one of my] previous lives when I was a physician,
[In the presence of] Tathāgata Śākyamuni, offering [him]
A [bowl of] rice gruel.

– *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

The first step that an individual takes towards becoming a *buddha* is the generation of the resolve or aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*) for the highest awakening. This step marks one of the most significant events of a *bodhisattva*'s career. The idea as such is, of course, a commonplace in Mahāyāna literature. What is perhaps not a commonplace is its historical background. It is quite possible that this later idea of an initial resolve of a *bodhisattva* was conceived and modelled on the earlier initial resolve said to have been made by the historical Buddha in the distant past, as recorded in Mahāyāna as well as in non-Mahāyāna sources. The Buddhist traditions want us to believe that the historical course of events leading up to the appearance of the Buddha took place in the following progression: The historical Buddha had first of all, sometime in the distant past, made his initial resolve to become a *buddha*; he consequently lived up to his commitment by satisfying one by one all the prerequisites necessary for becoming a *buddha*; and finally he became a *buddha*. However, these three stages, which define the career of the Buddha, were possibly developed exactly in the reverse sequence. That is, the notions of the Buddha's first resolve to become a *buddha* and of his satisfying the prerequisites necessary for the awakening were a direct or indirect consequence of reflecting on the very nature of the historical Buddha and the causes of his attaining awakening (*bodhi*). In other words, the notions of the Buddha's first resolve and his

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[1] *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T, fol. 406a1–2; D, fol. 288a4–5):
nga ni sngon tshe sman par gyur pa na ||
de bzhin gshegs pa shākya thub pa [de D] *la* ||
'jams gang zhig ni dbul bar [ba T] *byas nas kyang* ||
dang por byang chub tu ni sems bskyed do ||.
Cf. the citation in the *mChims chen* (p. 450.22–24). See also the *rGyab chos pad dkar* (p. 888.4–5). Cf. n. 28.

subsequent endeavour came into being or were introduced to explain the very appearance and existence of the Buddha in the world.[2] That is why these events in the Buddha's career, especially his first resolve, are particularly significant in the history of *bodhicitta* as a concept.

2. The Historical Buddha as One of Many and Yet One of a Kind

Despite the multiplicity of *buddha*s in Mahāyāna Buddhism, the historical Buddha still seems to enjoy a status of his own, and is perceived as someone special (at least as far as I can judge from Tibetan Buddhism). In the *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra*,[3] the resolve of the historical Buddha is contrasted with the resolve of Maitreya. Maitreya resolved to act for the sake of sentient beings that are easy to deal with, that is, those endowed with scarcely any intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*), whereas the historical Buddha resolved to do precisely the opposite. He resolved to deal with difficult sentient beings endowed with intense intellectual-emotional defilements.[4] The bleak picture portrayed of the sentient beings of our era and the resolve and readiness of the historical Buddha to come to their assistance make him look all the more sympathetic and magnanimous. This seems to set him apart for many Buddhists despite his being one of countless *buddha*s in a limitless expanse of space and time, for he is the one with whom they have the most immediate ties spatially, temporally, and emotionally. Tibetan Buddhists thus understandably refer to the historical Buddha as 'our teacher' (*bdag cag gi ston pa*) or, so to speak, the 'Buddha of our Destiny.' It is said that the *buddha*s cannot be differentiated qualitatively, that is, on the basis of the quality of their elimination (*spang ba*) of obscuration (*sgrib pa*), realisation (*rtogs pa*), or great compassion (*thugs rje chen po*).[5] The distinction, if it is made at all, is hence almost always subjective; that is, whether or not, and how much, one values a *buddha* depends on the spiritual profit gained from him or his teaching.

The logic of evaluating the worth of the historical Buddha in this way seems to have been later transposed or extended to evaluating one's spiritual friend (*kalyāṇamitra*) or master (*guru*), particularly in Vajrayāna. The spiritual teacher had by then taken on the role of the historical Buddha himself. The historical Buddha, as benevolent as he might be, had come and gone. Not everybody had the fortune to be at the right place at the right time, and hence to experience the presence of the historical Buddha personally. The person one looked to was now one's own spiritual teacher, who lived and transmitted the teachings of the Buddha, which otherwise would have remained inaccessible to ordinary beings. This perhaps also explains the tremendous importance attached to the role of the *bla ma* in Tibetan Buddhism (thus formerly called 'Lamaism')—a result perhaps, among other things, of the need to compensate for the loss of the historical Buddha.

3. Three Events Marking the Career of the Buddha

When and how the historical Buddha resolved to become a *buddha* for the first time was perceived differently at different times and places in different texts and traditions. In other

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[2] Cf. DAYAL 1932: 292: "The doctrine of a *bodhisattva*'s career was also promulgated in order to explain and interpret the historic fact of his marvellous virtue and wisdom. In Buddhist philosophy and history, all roads lead to Gautama Buddha."

[3] *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fols. 296b4–297b5; D, fols. 115a6–116a2).

[4] This point is also made in the *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 200.2–202.4), where the pertinent passage from the *Maitreyaparipṛcchāsūtra* is quoted.

[5] mChims 'Jam-pa'i-dbyangs, *mChims chen* (p. 690.15–24).

words, the changing view of the nature of the Buddha directly affected how his initial resolution was viewed. The diversity of ways the Buddha was conceived in the various Buddhist systems ranging from Śrāvakayāna to Vajrayāna precludes a one-dimensional presentation of the Buddha's initial resolve to become a *buddha*. Several questions have to be clarified first: On the brink of becoming a *buddha*—that is, let us say, when Gautama Śākyamuni sat down under the Bodhi tree (*Ficus religiosa*) the night before his awakening—was he a *bodhisattva* (in a non-Mahāyāna sense), albeit an ordinary person subject to birth and death, or was he a *bodhisattva* of the tenth stage (*bhūmi*), or was he already a *buddha*? Had he been an *ādibuddha* in the sense of one who has never experienced *saṃsāra* as a sentient being? And how could he have made the initial resolution if he had been an *ādibuddha*?

Despite the numerous Buddhist views regarding the true nature of the historical Buddha and the time and place of his awakening, the later non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna sources more or less seem to agree that the Buddha's career was marked by the three great events mentioned above, also known as the events at the beginning (*thog ma*), the middle (*bar*), and the end (*tha ma*). The following verse from the *Dvādaśakāranayastotra* attributed to Nāgārjuna, for example, describes Buddha Śākyamuni thus:[6]

> I extol You, Protector of the world (or living beings),
> Who now [engage in] far-ranging [salvific] activities,
> Having first generated the resolve to [strive for] awakening,
> And gathered the [two] accumulations of beneficial resources (*puṇya*) and gnosis (*jñāna*).

Similarly the *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra*, also ascribed to Nāgārjuna, states:[7]

> Obeisance to the *stūpa* (or *caitya*) [that symbolises or commemorates the event] of the great awakening [of the Buddha],
> Who first resolved to [strive for] the supreme awakening,
> [Then] gathered [the two types of] accumulation for three countless aeons,
> [And finally] conquered the [four] *māra*s and became a *buddha* on the seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*) [under the Bodhi tree].

It is interesting to note that the deeds of the Buddha as narrated in the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā* by the eleventh-century Kashmirian poet Kṣemendra (ca. 1000–1070) are fitted into the framework of these three events.[8] Of the one hundred eight 'sprigs' (*pallava*) of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, the first and the hundredth (i.e. the *Prabhāsāvadāna* and the *Puṇyaprabhāsāvadāna*)[9] deal with the generation of *bodhicitta* in the past by the historical Buddha.[10] In a similar fashion, Śraddhākaravarman states:[11]

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[6] *Dvādaśakāranayastotra* (P, fol. 95b2–3; D, fol. 82b3–4; S, vol. 1, p. 255.4–6):
gang gis dang por byang chub thugs bskyed nas ||
bsod nams ye shes tshogs gnyis rdzogs mdzad cing ||
dus 'dir mdzad pa rgya chen 'gro ba yi ||
mgon gyur khyod la bdag gis bstod par bgyi ||.

[7] *Aṣṭamahāsthānacaityastotra* (P, fols. 94b8–95a1; D, fol. 82a4; S, vol. 1, p. 252.5–7):
dang po byang chub mchog [om. P] *tu thugs bskyed nas* ||
bskal pa grangs med gsum du tshogs bsags te ||
byang chub snying por sangs rgyas bdud ni btul ||
byang chub chen po'i mchod rten phyag 'tshal lo ||.
Cf. MEJOR 1992: 58–59, nn. 18 & 19.

[8] For general information about the textual history of the *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, see DE JONG 1977: 27–38; DE JONG 1979b: 3–7; MEJOR 1992: 1, n. 1.

[9] For the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the 100th *pallava*, i.e. the *Puṇyaprabhāsāvadāna*, along with text critical remarks, see DE JONG 1979b: 252–253.

[10] MEJOR 1992: 159.

The Well-gone One (*sugata*), the font of all virtues, at the beginning generated the resolve [to strive for awakening],
In the middle gathered the two [types of] accumulation, and at the end attained
The Body of Reality (*dharmakāya*), and [for] the purpose of others
Manifested himself in the form of a Material Body (*rūpakāya*) out of the state of non-origination.

Kong-sprul cites a certain *Yon tan yongs su bkod pa'i mdo* (perhaps **Guṇakāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*) which also seems to allude to these three events in the career of the historical Buddha.[12] According to Nyang-ral Nyi-ma-'od-zer (1136–1204), the three great events are enacted for the benefit of sentient beings, and are thus the reason why *buddha*s and *bodhisattva*s deserve the gratitude of sentient beings.[13] The late non-Mahāyāna and the Mahāyāna traditions may differ in the terminology they employ in this context and in where they draw the borderlines between these three great events, but in essence both traditions seem to presuppose them.

(a) The First Event: The Initial Resolve to Become a *Buddha*

Of the three great events of the Buddha's career, the most significant for this study is his initial resolve to become a *buddha*. It should, however, be remembered that the generation of an initial resolve as such is not limited to the historical Buddha.[14] One can also find accounts of *śrāvaka*s and other *bodhisattva*s making their own initial resolution. I shall, however, limit myself to the accounts of the historical Buddha's initial resolve.

As has been already stated, according to both non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna traditions, the historical Buddha made his initial resolution to become a *buddha* in the distant past. Nevertheless, they disagree, according to Tibetan sources, on how he did so.[15] This is also applicable to the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources, and thus we are confronted with several versions of the Buddha's first resolution, which, of course, neither can nor should be interpreted as historical accounts, for doing so would result in irreconcilable contradictions.[16] For the Buddhist traditions, the issue of multiple 'first times' is, strictly speaking, rather a doctrinal than a historical problem, and hence the attempts that have been made by traditional Tibetan scholars, for instance, to resolve these contradictions have been exclusively doctrinal in nature. This does not, however, mean that these accounts of legendary character are of no use to us. In fact, such accounts seem to contain traces of ideas that very likely contributed to

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[11] *Yogāvatārasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 116a2–3; D, fol. 104b3–4; S, vol. 41, p. 279.9–11):
bde gshegs yon tan kun gyi 'byung gnas kyis ||
thog mar thugs bskyed bar du tshogs gnyis bsags ||
tha mar chos sku brnyes nas gzhan don ni ||
skye med ngang las gzugs kyi skur bstan te ||.

[12] Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 149.1–5). I was not able to locate a *sūtra* in the bKa'-'gyur with the title *Guṇakāraṇḍavyūhasūtra*, but see the *[Avalokiteśvaraguṇa]kāraṇḍavyūhasūtra* (Taishō 1050).

[13] *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp. 2.13–4.13).

[14] *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T, fols. 405b1–474a4; D, fols. 288a1–336b2). See also, for example, DORJE 1998: 29–89, where the names of one thousand and five *buddha*s occurring in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* have been listed along with the manner in which each *buddha* is said to have generated *bodhicitta* for the first time. See also the citation in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 26.3–27.1).

[15] See, for example, mKhas-pa lDe'u, *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 26.16–17): ... *sems bskyed par mthun yang bskyed lugs theg pa che chung du byung ngo* |.

[16] That there are several versions of the Buddha's first resolution has already been noted by Har Dayal, who is also quick to point out that "[it] is not possible to reconcile these conflicting accounts" (DAYAL 1932: 293).

the development of the *bodhicitta* concept, and hence can be valuable for the study of the history of it and related ideas.

The Tibetan tradition considers the account of the Buddha's initial generation of the resolve to strive for awakening found in the legend of King Prabhāsa (or Suprabhāsa)[17] and the elephant tamer as the non-Mahāyāna version of this event.[18] The story can be found in the *Vinayavastu* of the Mulāsarvāstivāda school, upon which traditional Tibetan scholars seem to have mainly drawn,[19] and the *Jātaka* and *Avadāna* literature,[20] and also in the Tibetan version of the **Damamūkasūtra* and in the Tibetan supplement to Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* by Karma-pa Rang-byung-rdo-rje (1284–1339).[21] As I have stated, the story has been often recounted by Tibetan scholars, albeit with varying details and emphases, and has also drawn the attention of several modern scholars, some of whom have provided summaries of the account.[22]

King Prabhāsa (who is the Buddha in one of his previous existences) came to realise that while the skilled elephant tamer could train an elephant physically so well that it could even be made to swallow a red-hot iron ball, he is powerless against the surging passion of the elephant. The king was overcome by compassion for the elephant, which was both so wild and so submissive. Analogously, the king then realised that other sentient beings in *saṃsāra* also succumb to the power of passion and pain, and thus felt compassion towards them, too. Subsequently, the king wanted to know from the elephant tamer if he had ever seen or heard of anyone who was free from passion and able to tame the passion of sentient beings. The trainer told him that only *buddha*s are able to do so, and the king, upon hearing this, was

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[17] The name of the king is given as Suprabhāsa in the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* and *Mahajjātatakamālā* (HAHN 1985: 31) and as Prabhāsa in other sources. The name of the king is usually translated into Tibetan as 'Od-ldan (PANGLUNG 1981: 286), perhaps from *Saprabhāsa, but according to Mi-pham, it also occurs as Rab-snang and Rab-gsal in the *Jātaka* literature, which he naturally assumed to be synonymous (Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar*, p. 887.2): *skyes rab gzhan las rgyal po rab snang dang rab gsal zhes gsungs pa ming gi rnam grangs yin par mngon no* ||). Cf. the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 61.1), where the king is called Rab-grags.

[18] *Vinayavastu* (T, vol. *kha*, fols. 365a5–367b3; D, vol. *kha*, fols. 273a3–273b5). It has almost become a custom among Tibetan scholars writing on the origin of the Buddha or Buddhism to recount the story of King Prabhāsa and the elephant tamer. The story is told in the context of explaining how the historical Buddha, according to the non-Mahāyāna tradition, first resolved to become a *buddha*. See, for example, the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (pp. 60.22–61.16); *mChims chen* (p. 451.6–12); *Gur bkra chos 'byung* (p. 19.1–13); *sDe dge bstan dkar* (pp. 40.1–41.14); *Co ne bstan dkar* (p. 12.4–13.21); *Baiḍūrya ser po* (p. 347.15–24); Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 882.6–883.3); Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 142.27–31).

[19] While some Tibetan scholars, such as Bu-ston, do not indicate their source for the story, others give it simply as *'Dul ba lung = Vinayāgama* (e.g. Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod*, p. 142.27) or as *'Dul ba gzhi = Vinayavastu* (e.g. Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar*, p. 884.3), and still others specify it as the *sMan gyi gzhi = Bhaiṣajyavastu* (e.g. *Baiḍūrya ser po*, p. 347.15; PANGLUNG 1981: 223).

[20] For example, it is found in the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* (HAHN 1985: 5); *Mahajjātatakamālā*, no. 7 (HAHN 1985: 86–100), Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, no. 53 (PANGLUNG 1981: 218), Haribhaṭṭa's *Jātakamālā*, no. 1 (HAHN 1985: 5), Gopadatta's introduction to the *Jātakamālāvadānasūtra* (HAHN 1985: 31); Gopadatta's *Jātakamālā*, no. 1 (HAHN 1985: 5); Kṣemendra's *Bodhisattvāvadānakalpalatā*, nos. 1 & 100 (MEJOR 1992: 36, and 48; PANGLUNG 1981: 209; DE JONG 1997: 348–349); the Khotanese *Jātakastava*, no. 1 (PANGLUNG 1981: 214); *Damamūkanidānasūtra*, nos. 21 and 49 (PANGLUNG 1981: 218). See also the sources indicated in PANGLUNG 1981: 50.

[21] *sKyes rabs brgya pa* (no. 71, pp. 475.12–480.7). In the Tibetan tradition, the *Jātakamālā* by Āryaśūra, which consists of thirty-four *pallava*s, and Rang-byung-rdo-rje's supplement, consisting of sixty-seven *pallava*s, are called collectively the *sKyes rabs brgya pa*. See the publishers' introduction to the *sKyes rabs brgya pa* (p. 1.12–15). We still, however, need to trace the source/s of Rang-byung-rdo-rje's compilation.

[22] TAKAKUSU 1901; DAYAL 1932: 293; TUCCI 1949: 442, 529; SCHLINGLOFF 1977. For summaries of the story in German, see HAHN 1985: 30–31 and PANGLUNG 1981: 49–50.

overwhelmed with faith towards the *buddha*s. These realisations are said to be responsible for prompting the king to resolve to become a *buddha*.[23] In the *Vinayavastu*, the Buddha narrates the story upon being asked by the *śrāvaka*s where he made his resolution to become a *buddha* for the first time. The Buddha's answer is summarised as follows:[24]

> Having heard that [only] *buddha*s are free from passion,
> Having seen a proud powerful elephant [overcome by passion],
> And [having seen] the suffering of the world,
> I generated the resolve to [strive for] awakening [for the first time].

In the *Drin lan bsab pa'i mdo*, the Buddha, upon being asked when he generated the thought of kindness and benevolence towards monks, narrates the following story:[25] Countless aeons ago, the Buddha was once born in hell as a strong man (*gyad*)[26] who, together with a weaker co-worker, had to draw a bullock cart for the torture guard. When the guard tortured his colleague for being unable to pull the cart faster, the Buddha, overwhelmed with compassion, pleaded with the guard to show some sympathy and instead allow him to pull the cart alone. The guard became furious at his audacity and tortured him to death. This is often said to be the first time that the Buddha generated unswerving benevolence. The *sūtra* itself, however, does not refer to it as the first time. In contrast to many others, mKhas-pa lDe'u considered the account in the *Drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* to be another non-Mahāyāna version of the story.[27]

According to the *Mahāvastu*, the historical Buddha aspired to the awakening (*bodhāye praṇihitam*) in the presence of the past Buddha called Tathāgata Śākyamuni during his life as a merchant or guildsman (*śreṣṭhin*).[28] The *Abhidharmakośa* tradition seems to take this as the very first such resolution on the part of the historical Buddha.[29] However, there is nothing to this effect in the *Mahāvastu*. The account of the initial resolution made in the presence of the past Buddha Śākyamuni can also be found in other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, such as the *Triskandhakasūtra*[30] and *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*,[31] although the name of the past Buddha occurs

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[23] See, for example, Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 142.25–27): *sngon 'das pa'i dus na ston pa 'di rgyal po 'od ldan du gyur pa'i tshe | rgyu mtshan gsum la brten nas sbyin pa sbyin smon lam btab cing bla na med pa'i byang chub tu thugs mchog bskyed par gsungs te |*.

[24] *Vinayavastu* (T, vol. *kha*, fol. 369b1; D, vol. *kha*, fol. 276a2):
sangs rgyas 'dod chags bral thos shing ||
glang po dregs pa'i shas chen dang ||
'jig rten sdug bsngal gyur mthong nas ||
ngas ni byang chub sems bskyed do ||.
The verse is cited also in the *mChims chen* (p. 451.8–9).

[25] The story is narrated in the fourth chapter of the *Drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* (T, fols. 291a2–292a5; D, fols. 117a3–118a2) and the forty-fourth chapter of the **Damamūkasūtra* (T, fol. 229a4–b4; D, fols. 282b4–283a6). Both of these *sūtra*s were obviously translated from the Chinese and hence bear no Sanskrit titles. The story has been retold in varying details in a number of Tibetan works. See, as examples, the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (pp. 26.18–27.11); *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 65.13–18); *Baiḍūrya ser po* (p. 348.13–23); Sum-pa mKhan-po, *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (pp. 44.18–45.4); Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 883.3–884.2); Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 144.4–10).

[26] See *TSD*, s.v. *gyad*.

[27] *lDe'u chos 'byung* (p. 26.18). The *sūtra* is, however, not specified by name there.

[28] *Mahāvastu* (vol. 1, p. 47.12–16): *ito mahāmaudgalyāna aparimitā asaṃkhyeyā kalpā yaṃ śākyamunir nāma tathāgato ... || śākyamunisya khalu punaḥ mahāmaudgalyāna kapilavastuṃ nāma nagaraṃ ... || tadāham śreṣṭhi abhūṣi || vyāgūpānaṃ kṛtvā bodhāye praṇihitam ||*. Cf. n. 1.

[29] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (pp. 266.23–267.1): *śākyamunir nāma samyaksaṃbuddhaḥ pūrvaṃ babhūva | yatra bhagavatā bodhisattvabhūtenādyaṃ praṇidhānaṃ kṛtam evaṃprakāra evāhaṃ buddho bhaveyam iti....*

in the latter as *Mahāśākyamuni. This was perhaps in order to distinguish him from the historical Śākyamuni. According to both the *Mahāvastu* and the *Triskandhakasūtra*, the historical Buddha was then born into a merchant's family. In the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, however, he is born as the son (*khye'u*) of a poor potter (*rdza mkhan*). According to the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra*,[32] the Buddha generated his initial resolve to become a *buddha* at the feet of Tathāgata Mi-thub-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, as a son of a merchant (*śreṣṭhin*) called Dri-ma-med-pa'i-dpung-pa, and at the initiative of Mañjuśrī, who had taken birth as the Dharma exponent *Jñānarāja.[33] According to the *Duḥśīlanigrahasūtra*,[34] the Buddha made the resolution to become a *buddha* at the feet of the Tathāgata gZhan-gyis-mi-thub-pa'i-rgyal-mtshan, forty million aeons after the *bodhisattva* Maitreya—then ruling as a universal king (*cakravartin*)—had made his own such resolution in front of the Tathāgata *Prabhāsa or *Suprabhāsa (Shin-tu-'od). The *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra*[35] narrates that the generation of *bodhicitta* by Śākyamuni Buddha occurred in the presence of the Tathāgata Ratnagarbha, after the former had been born as Brāhmaṇa Samudrareṇu (also referred to as Bodhisattva Mahākāruṇika). The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*,[36] too, is referred to as a source, according to which the Buddha, having taken birth as *Vīryacāra (brTson-'grus-spyod), resolved to become a *buddha* in the presence of Tathāgata *Mahāskandha (Phung-po-chen-po). Occasionally the *Lalitavistarasūtra*[37] is also drawn upon as a source documenting the Buddha's initial resolution, here made before the Tathāgata Amoghadarśin. Finally, Daśabalaśrīmitra's *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*[38] records the position of the Sthāvira school,

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[30] *Triskandhakasūtra* (T, fol. 209b3–5; D, fol. 68a6–7): *'ji ltar bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa shākya thub pa tshong dpon gyi bu mngon dgar gyur pa na | bcom ldan 'das de bzhin gshegs pa mdzes chen la brten te | dang po byang chub tu thugs bskyed pa de bzhin du bdag kyang byang chub tu sems bskyed par bgyi'o ||*.

[31] For the pertinent verse from the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, see n. 1.

[32] *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra* (T, fols. 289b4–292b1; D, fols. 227b5–229b5). The Sanskrit fragments of this *sūtra* (HARTMANN & HARRISON 1998) do not contain this story. The story has been narrated in varying details in various Tibetan works such as the *lDe'u chos 'byung* (pp. 27.17–29.11); *mChims chen* (p. 451.3–5); Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 881.6–882.5).

[33] Cf. the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (pp. 4.20–5.4).

[34] *Duḥśīlanigrahasūtra* (T, fols. 400b7–401b2; D, fols. 57b3–58a5). See also Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 882.6–883.3).

[35] *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* (YAMADA 1969: 352.11–18): *tat kiṃ manyadhve kulaputrānyaḥ sa tena kālena tena samayena mahākāruṇiko nāma babhūva | na cānyo draṣṭavyo 'haṃ sa tena kālena tena samayena mahākāruṇiko nāma babhūva ratnagarbhasya tathāgatasya pitā | ayaṃ me prathamacittotpādo 'bhūt anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau | prathamacittotpādena ca me gaṇanātikrāntāḥ sattvāḥ samādāpitā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau | ayaṃ me prathamaḥ śūrabhāvaḥ śūrakāryaṃ ca |*. For the Tibetan translation, see the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* (T, fol. 203a7–b3; D, fol. 271a2–4). See also the *mChims chen* (p. 450.24).

[36] *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (T, fols. 349b7–350b3; D, vol. *ga*, fols. 192b5–193a5). See also the *mChims chen* (p. 451.1–2).

[37] See, for example, Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 144.13–15): *rgya cher rol par | «thog mar khyod kyi* [= kyis] *don yod mthong la sā la'i me tog gis ni mchod ||»*[a] *ces de bzhin gshegs pa mngon sum du mdzad nas thugs bskyed pa'i thog ma de bzhin gshegs pa don yod mthong gi drung du yin par gsungs so ||*. [a] *Lalitavistarasūtra* (T, fol. 129a7; D, fol. 87a3): *thog mar khyod kyis don yod mthong* [thong T] *la sā la'i me tog gis ni mchod ||*. The Sanskrit text of the pertinent *pāda* reads (*Lalitavistarasūtra*, VAIDYA & TRIPATHI 1987: 134.13–16): *prathamena te amoghadarśi śālapuṣpapūjito....*

[38] *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (P, fol. 38b1–4; D, fol. 136a7–b2; S, vol. 63, p. 362.9–15): *rab tu spros pa ni dga' ba zhes bya ba'i bskal pa grangs med dang po la bcom ldan 'das lhag pa'i lha zhes bya ba 'khor los* [lo PN] *sgyur ba mi'i* [mi yi P] *bdag por gyur pas thog ma med pa'i 'khor ba ru sngon ma mthong ba sangs rgyas*

according to which the historical Buddha made his initial resolution in the presence of the Buddha *Brahmādeva.[39]

(i) Attempts to Resolve the Illogicality of Several 'First Times'

The fact that each of these *sūtra*s has its own account of the Buddha's resolve to become a *buddha* for the first time (as already mentioned, some are not explicit in this regard) shows that those *sūtra*s originated at varying times and places. The traditions which take these accounts as reflecting the word of the Buddha are thus obliged to explain these contradictions, since logically there cannot be several first times. The historical anachronism and inconsistencies in the authoritative scriptures regarding this event have often been interpreted as efficient strategies employed by the Buddha with the diverse perceptive capacities and predispositions of sentient beings in mind. There are, however, several other attempts at an explanation. Some have tried to interpret the various instances of the initial resolve as pertaining to *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*.[40] Others, while noting that the discrepancies are due to the different contexts and mental states of the sentient beings before whom such teachings were given, and that there is no point in insisting on one version of the Buddha's initial resolve to become a *buddha*, still suggest interpreting the various views as pertaining to conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*, and the like.[41]

As an example, I shall present here Mi-pham's attempt to resolve this inconsistency. Mi-pham employed the five causes of *samādānasāṃketikacittotpāda* found in *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.7 to explain these several 'first times.' It is unclear to me, however, whether this interpretation is his own or whether he adopted it from an earlier Indian or Tibetan source. In any case, the generation of the Buddha's resolve to strive for awakening for the first time found in the *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra* is explained by him as being the result of the strength of a friend (*mitrabala*); that is, the Buddha generated *bodhicitta* at the initiative of his spiritual friend, Mañjuśrī. The initial resolutions spoken of in the *Duḥśīlanigrahasūtra* and *Drin lan bsab pa'i mdo* are said to have been due to the strength of cause (*hetubala*) or spiritual disposition (*gotra*). The initial resolve to strive for awakening mentioned in the *Bhaiṣajyavastu* is ascribed to the strength of hearing (*śrutabala*); and in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, to the strength of the basis (*mūlabala*) of virtues (*kuśala*). Brāhmaṇa Samudrareṇu's initial resolution, narrated in the *Karuṇāpuṇḍarīkasūtra* as well as in the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, is explained as being the first extraordinary such resolution made by the Buddha on the strength of the repeated practice of positive (attitudes and actions) (*śubhābhyāsa*), that is, on account of his readiness to appear in our world system, which is inhabited by the most difficult sentient beings. Such resolve made him special among all

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tshangs pa'i lha mthong bas rnam pa 'di lta bur bdag sangs rgyas nyid du gyur cig ces bsams pa tsam gyis mngon par 'dod do || grangs med dga' ba de la sangs rgyas tshangs pa'i lha la sogs pas [pa P] *sangs rgyas lnga stong mnyes par byas so ||.*

[39] See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 143.3–8; 145.16–17).

[40] See, for example, Sum-pa mKhan-po, *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (p. 45.10–12): ... *sems dang po bskyed par gsungs pa sogs mang yang dmyal ba'i shing rta 'dren pa'i gyad kyi dus su smon sems dang khye'u snang byed kyi dus 'jug sems thog mar bskyed pa yin nam snyam mo ||.*

[41] Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 144.15–19): *de ltar thog mar thugs bskyed tshul theg pa che chung gi khyad par dang | theg chen nyid la'ang mdo rnams su mi 'dra ba du mar 'byung ba rnams ni gdul bya'i dus skabs bsam pa'i khyad par dang | smon 'jug don dam gyi thugs bskyed pa'i khyad par sogs dgongs gzhi mang pos tha dad du gsungs par mngon pas | thugs bskyed kyi thog ma 'di kho na'o zhes phyogs gcig tu mngon par zhen zhing go rim dkrigs char bsgrigs pa la ni snying po med do ||.*

*bodhisattva*s. Mi-pham, however, notes that it is not easy to determine the chronology of such events by employing logical analysis.[42]

(ii) Was the Historical Bodhisattva 'King-Like' or 'Herdsman-Like'?

As we shall discuss in greater detail later, the Tibetan tradition refers to three kinds of *bodhisattva*s, namely, 'king-like,' 'boatman-like,' and 'herdsman-like.' Such a distinction is made on the basis of the *bodhisattva*'s magnanimity as reflected in his attitude or resolve. The immediate question is: What kind of *bodhisattva* was the historical Buddha? How magnanimous was he, how selfless was his resolve? Tibetan Buddhist scholars have pondered upon such questions and come to different conclusions. According to Klong-chen-pa, the historical Buddha was a herdsman-like *bodhisattva* and his resolve was the most magnanimous.[43] The dGe-lugs-pa historian Sum-pa mKhan-po Ye-shes-dpal-'byor (1704–1788), however, maintained that the resolve of the historical Buddha was that of a 'king-like' *bodhisattva*.[44] rDo-grub Kun-bzang-gzhan-phan alias 'Jigs-med-'phrin-las-'od-zer (1745–1821), in commenting on 'Jigs-med-gling-pa's *Yon tan mdzod*, does not follow Klong-chen-pa and give the *bodhisattva* that became the historical Buddha as an example of a herdsman-like *bodhisattva*, but instead names the so-called 'Lords of the Three Families' (*rigs gsum mgon po*), namely, Mañjuśrī, Avalokiteśvara, and Vajrapāṇi, who, although they fulfilled all the prerequisites for becoming *buddha*s, postponed full attainment of their Buddhahood, and have thus remained as *bodhisattva*s of the tenth stage (*bhūmi*), and will continue as such for as long as there are suffering sentient beings in *saṃsāra*.[45]

Klong-chen-pa's identification of the historical Buddha's resolve as that of a herdsman-like *bodhisattva* seems to be influenced by a passage from the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, which states that a herdsman-like *bodhisattva* takes three countless aeons, to become a *buddha*, and indeed the historical Buddha is said to have taken three countless aeons according to both non-Mahāyāna and most Mahāyāna traditions. But such a proposition, if understood as an exact description of the actual course of events, would have undesired illogical consequences, namely: (a) the historical Buddha actually did not become a *buddha*, because if he had become a *buddha*, this would imply that there was no suffering sentient being left in *saṃsāra*, or (b) the historical Buddha did not keep his commitment. Neither of the two alternatives is, of course, doctrinally acceptable. It seems that it was for this reason

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[42] Mi-pham, *rGyab chos pad dkar* (pp. 893.5–984.4): *'di dag smon 'jug sogs sems bskyed pa'i gnas skabs so so la bzhed pa'ang yod mod mdo rang gis ji ltar gsal ba las mtha' gcig tu 'di dag gi snga phyi 'di zhes nges pa dka' mod | gang ltar kyang thog mar thugs bskyed pa'i tshul 'di yang je bzang je brtan du song nas bram ze rgya mtsho'i rdul gyis thugs bskyed pa'i tshe theg pa chen po la yid ches pa'i dad pa drag pos sems can gzhan mang po theg chen la bkod pa dang | bdag nyid kyis snying rje chen pos zhing ma dag pa ched du bzung ba'i thugs bskyed thog ma yin par mngon no || des na thog mar 'jam dpal gyis bla med byang chub tu thugs bskyed du gzhug pa'i sa bon las theg pa chen po'i rigs sad de phyi ma 'di rnams rim bzhin 'byung yang rung la | khye'us sangs rgyas su smon lam btab pa'am | gyad pakṣi tas byams pa'i sems bskyed dang por byas nas tshong dpon gyi bu sogs rim bzhin yin kyang 'gal ba med mod lung gis gsal ba med na rigs pas mtha' gcig tu dpyad par dka'o || des na snga ma de dag gi go rim ci ltar byas kyang thugs bskyed pa thog mar gsungs pa'i don la ni gnas skabs so so'i dbang gis 'gal ba med par snang ngo ||.*

[43] Klong-chen-pa, *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, p. 637.1–6).

[44] Sum-pa mKhan-po, *dPag bsam ljon bzang* (p. 44.12–13): *sems bskyed tshul gyis rgyal po mnyan pa rdzi bo lta bu gsum bshad pa las rang cag gi ston pas sems bskyed tshul dang po yin la |.*

[45] rDo-grub Rin-po-che, *Yon tan mdzod lde* (p. 338.12–17): *chen pos sems can thams cad sangs rgyas kyi sa la ma bkod par rang don mi gnyer ba grangs med gsum nas sangs rgyas par gsungs pa byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed nas bslab bya la bslabs shing nus pa rdzogs kyang | sa bcu'i sems dpa'i tshul gyis 'gro don mdzad pa la 'khor ba ji srid bar sangs mi rgya ba rigs gsum mgon po lta bu'o ||.*

that Sum-pa mKhan-po decided that the historical Buddha had not been a herdsman-like *bodhisattva*. Apparently, some scholars held the boatman-like or herdsman-like *bodhisattva* to be impossible and their respective resolutions to be pseudo-*bodhicittotpāda*. According to such an interpretation, all *bodhisattva*s must resolve to become *buddha*s first, an approach which seems practical and realistic. This interpretation, in my view, reflects the typical dGe-lugs-pa tendency to 'de-mysticise' Buddhist thought.

Nonetheless, many Tibetan scholars have understood these three kinds of *bodhisattva*s, defined by three kinds of corresponding *bodhicittotpāda*, as essentially expressing varying magnanimous attitudes rather than a course of events during their career. According to this standpoint, there is no contradiction in the historical Buddha nourishing such a noble attitude and yet becoming a *buddha* before many other sentient beings have been able to. Such an explanation will become more comprehensible if we examine the actual process of perfection (*pāramitā*) as presented by Śāntideva in his *Bodhicaryāvatāra*. For example, the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*) by no means implies the elimination of poverty through giving, for if it were so, such a perfection would be unattainable. The perfection of giving is thus the perfection of the thought of giving or the readiness to give. In principle, therefore, one could attain the perfection of giving without having given even one cent to anybody. In theory, the reverse can also be true: one gives everything and yet has not attained even an iota of the perfection of giving. This is said to be similarly true of the remaining perfections. This point, I believe, is crucial in understanding the essence of *bodhisattva* ethics in general.[46]

(b) The Second Event: Striving to Become a *Buddha*

The *Jātaka*s, *Avadāna*s, and other related Buddhist literature are said to provide narrative accounts of the efforts made by the historical Buddha in the past to become a *buddha*. Here, we shall merely look into the different perceptions of the time taken by him to do so. According to the *Abhidharmakośa* tradition, the historical Buddha, having made his initial resolution at the feet of the past Buddha Śākyamuni,[47] rendered service and paid respect to 75,000 *buddha*s for the duration of one immeasurable aeon. After the elapse of this first aeon there appeared the Buddha Ratnaśikhin, and then he proceeded to render service and pay respect to 76,000 *buddha*s for another immeasurable aeon.[48] Thereafter the Buddha Vipaśyin appeared, and then one more immeasurable aeon elapsed, during which he rendered service and paid respect to 77,000 *buddhas*.[49] Now if the Buddha-to-be had indeed accumulated all

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[46] The tradition of the *Abhidharmakośa* also concerns itself with the historical Buddha's practices of the six perfections. However, the non-Mahāyāna notion of perfection as found in the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* is rather modest when compared with the Mahāyāna notion of perfection (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, p. 267.10–17). According to it, one attains, for example, the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*) if one is able to give purely out of compassion and with no expectation of anything in return. Such giving is presupposed in Mahāyāna, but is insufficient to allow it to be designated as a perfection. This perhaps explains why according to the non-Mahāyāna doctrine one can be an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*) and yet accomplish the perfections. According to Mahāyāna, a *bodhisattva* would begin to accomplish the perfections only from the first stage (*bhūmi*) onwards, that is, when he is no longer a *pṛthagjana*.

[47] The past Buddha Śākyamuni is not to be mistaken for the historical Buddha, who is also called Śākyamuni.

[48] *Abhidharmakośa* 4.110b–d:
... asaṃkhyeyatrayāntyajāḥ |
vipaśyī dīpakṛd ratnaśikhī śākyamuniḥ purā ||.

[49] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 266.14–16): *atha bodhisattvabhūto bhagavān kiyato buddhān paryupāsayām āsa* | *prathame kalpāsaṃkhyeye pañcasaptatisahasrāṇi, dvitīye ṣaṭsaptatiṃ, tṛtīye saptasaptatim* |; *ibid.* (p. 266.20–

the prerequisites necessary for becoming a *buddha* during these three immeasurable aeons, he must have, according to the *Abhidharmakośa*, become a *buddha* sometime shortly thereafter. But since he is said to have become a *buddha* only much later, this would imply that there was an idle period of time during which he did not exert himself towards his awakening. Such an implication was obviously a problem for Pūrṇavardhana, a commentator of the *Abhidharmakośa*. This he attempted to resolve by specifying that the Gautama Buddha did indeed fulfil (*yongs su rdzogs*) the prerequisites in three immeasurable aeons, but not in all respects (*rnam pa thams cad du*).[50] According to Daśabalaśrīmitra, this is the position of the Kāśmīra-Vaibhāṣika school.[51]

The account in the *Vinayavastu* is somewhat different. It is said there that the historical Buddha made his initial resolution in front of the past Buddha Śākyamuni and that until the time of the Buddha Rāṣṭrapāla he rendered service and paid respect to 75,000 *buddhas* for the duration of one immeasurable aeon. From the time of the past Buddha Dīpaṃkara until the Buddha *Indradhvajamuni (dBang-po'i-rgyal-mtshan-thub), he is said to have rendered service and paid respect to 76,000 *buddhas* for the duration of another immeasurable aeon. Finally, from the time of the past Buddha *Sādhukārin (Legs-mdzad) until the Buddha Kāśyapa, he is said to have rendered service and paid respect to 77,000 *buddhas* for the duration of one more such aeon.[52] This position is identified by Daśabalaśrīmitra as being that of the Sāṃmitīya school.[53] In addition, he also provides the position of the Sthāvira school, according to which the Buddha took a period of twenty immeasurable aeons and 100,000 aeons to attain Buddhahood.[54]

Kong-sprul considers the *Abhidharmakośa* and Vinaya accounts to derive from the Vaibhāṣika system, specifying that the former represents the position of the Kashmiri Sarvāstivāda school in particular, while the latter probably reflects positions of other conservative Buddhist schools (*nikāya*). He further states that according to the Mahāsāṃghika

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21): *ratnaśikhini samyaksaṃbuddhe prathamo 'saṃkhyeyaḥ samāptaḥ | dīpaṃkare bhagavati dvitīyaḥ | vipaśyini tathāgate tṛtīyaḥ* |; see also the *mChims chen* (pp. 451.12–453.7); *mChims chung* (fols. 217a3–218a1).

[50] *mChims chen* (p. 452.10–16); *mChims chung* (fol. 217a6–b2).

[51] *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (P, fols. 37b3–38a11; D, fols. 135b4–136a3; S, vol. 63, pp. 360.15–361.16).

[52] *Vinayavastu* (T, vol. *kha*, fols. 368b5–369a2; D, vol. *kha*, fol. 275b1–4).
sangs rgyas shākya thub pa nas ||
'dren pa yul 'khor skyong gi bar ||
de'i bar bdun khri lnga [bdun T][a] *stong gi* ||
sangs rgyas rnams ni ngas mchod do || ...
sangs rgyas mar me mdzad nas ni ||
dbang po'i rgyal mtshan thub pa'i bar ||
bdun khri drug stong dag gi ni ||
sangs rgyas rnams ni nga yis mchod || ...
sangs rgyas legs mdzad nas bzung ste ||
sangs rgyas 'od srung [srungs T] *bar dag tu* ||
bdun khri bdun stong nga yis mchod ||.
See the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 144.22–27, 144.31–33), where the total number of *buddhas* (the historical Buddha rendered service to and honoured) is correctly given (i.e. according to the *Vinayavastu*) as 230,000. Cf., however, Klong-chen-pa's *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (pp. 123.2–124.2) and the *mChims chen* (pp. 452.21–453.1). [a] That the reading in T must be a scribal error is supported by the fact that a similar verse recurring on some folios later (T, vol. *kha*, fol. 370a5) indicates the number as 75,000 and not 77,000.

[53] *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (P, fol. 37b1–3; D, fol. 135b3–4; S, vol. 63, p. 360.8–15).

[54] *Ibid.* (P, fols. 38a4–40a8; D, fols. 136a3–138a1; S, vol. 63, pp. 361.16–366.4). Part of the pertinent passage has been translated in SKILLING 1996: 163.

school, the time it takes a person to become a *buddha* would vary from ten to thirty immeasurable aeons, but adds that he had seen no sources that give the details.[55]

In the Mahāyāna sources, it is not always clear whether the description of the time taken to become a *buddha* applies only to the historical Buddha or to *bodhisattvas* in general. Generally speaking, there are allusions to three, seven, and thirty-three immeasurable aeons as the required period.[56] But if we concentrate on the Mahāyāna account of the historical Buddha's career, the common perception is that he became a *buddha* in three immeasurable aeons.[57] Some, however, maintain that he took four immeasurable aeons or 'a little more than three immeasurable aeons' (*grangs med gsum lhag tsam*) to become a *buddha*.[58]

It may be mentioned here that the generation of initial resolve is no guarantee of a successful *bodhisattva* career. There is always the chance that a *bodhisattva* will suffer a relapse. Thus depending on the *bodhisattva*'s faculties (*indriya*), the irreversibility is said to be as follows: a *bodhisattva* of the first calibre is irreversible from the moment the initial resolution is made; a *bodhisattva* of medium calibre, from the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*) onwards, and a *bodhisattva* of lesser calibre only from the eighth stage (*bhūmi*) onwards. According to Dharmamitra, the historical Buddha was a *bodhisattva* of the first calibre and attained irreversibility from the moment he made his initial resolution to become a *buddha*.[59]

(c) The Third Event: The Time and Place of the Buddha's Awakening

According to the greater part of non-Mahāyāna tradition, the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha, despite his long and arduous preparation, was an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*) burdened with all the forms of bondage (*sakalabandhana*) when he sat down under the Bodhi tree before his awakening;[60] that is, he was a *bodhisattva* in his last birth (*antyajanman*) who had reached the greater path of accumulation (*tshogs lam chen po*), the last phase of the first *bodhisattva* path (*mārga*).[61] It is said that a *buddha*-to-be (and *pratyekabuddha*) can traverse all the remaining four paths in just one sitting (*ekatraivāsane*) by taking the fourth meditative state (*dhyāna*) of

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[55] Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 145.11–25).

[56] See the *Madhyamakapradīpa* (P, fol. 363b3–5; D, fol. 288a6–7; S, vol. 57, p. 1558.16–19): … *brtson 'grus dang | dbang po rab kyis bskal pa grangs med pa gsum gyis sangs rgyas nyid thob la | de las gzhan pa nyid kyis bskal pa grangs med pa bdun dang | bskal pa grangs med pa sum cu rtsa gsum gyis so ||*; cf. the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 71.15–17).

[57] See, for example, Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 146.33–147.9).

[58] *Ibid.* (p. 147.9–16).

[59] *Ibid.* (p. 148.1–8).

[60] *mChims chen* (p. 464.25): *de ni bye brag tu smra ba so so'i skye bor 'dod do ||*; *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (pp. 34.6–35.1): *de la tshe lo brgya pa'i dus 'dir shākya thub pa byon tshul ni | theg pa chung ngu rnams ni so so skye bo 'ching ba mtha' dag dang bcas pa gcig gis lam bsgrubs pas sangs rgyas par 'dod la*…. See also Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 148.26): … *rdo rje'i gdan la bzhugs pa tshun chad so so'i skye bo 'ching ba kun ldan yin la |*…. It should be noted that not all non-Mahāyāna schools considered the ('historical') Bodhisattva to be an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*). According to Vinītadeva, the Haimavatas were one such example. See the *Nikāyabhedavibhaṅgavyākhyāna* (P, fol. 181a3–4; D, fol. 150a2; S, vol. 93, p. 1151.20–21): *de la gangs ri pa'i rtsa ba'i dam tshig ni byang chub sems dpa' ni so so'i skye bo ma yin* [add. pa PN] *zhes bya'o ||*. Another such were the Lokottaravādins. See the *Nikāyabhedopadeśanasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 188a3–4; D, fol. 155a1; S, vol. 93, p. 1167.9–10): *byang chub sems dpa' la ni 'dod chags la sogs pa skye ba dang | mer mer po la sogs pa las skye ba med do ||*.

[61] For details, see the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 148.15–31).

the material realm (*rūpadhātu*) as his mental base.[62] Thus the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*), path of seeing (*darśanamārga*), path of practice or meditation (*bhāvanāmārga*), and path of no more training (*aśaikṣamārga*) were all attained by the Buddha in just one sitting.

According to some Mahāyāna sources, the Buddha, before his awakening, was a *bodhisattva* of the tenth stage (*bhūmi*), that is, a *bodhisattva* at the last continuum of the ten stages (*sa bcu'i rgyun mtha'*).[63] Most Mahāyāna traditions maintain that the Buddha actually became awakened (and simultaneously assumed the form of his *saṃbhogakāya*) in the Akaniṣṭha realm, where the empowerment of great rays (*'od zer chen po'i dbang*) was bestowed upon him by the *buddhas* of the ten directions,[64] and then proceeded to perform his remaining deeds in the world. This idea seems to be based on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, *Ghanavyūhasūtra*, *Ratnagotravibhāga*, the commentary to the *Vyākhyayukti* and the writings of Vāgīśvarakīrti (Ngag-gi-dbang-phyug-grags-pa).[65] (Just what Akaniṣṭha means in this context would require a separate study.[66]) According to some other tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna traditions, the Buddha became a *buddha* while already undergoing austerities at the bank of the river Nairañjanā. The actual awakening, however, did not take place there. Instead he is said to have left his physical body, which was the result of the maturation (*vipākakāya*) of previous karmic deeds, at the river and went in his body of gnosis (*jñānakāya*) to Akaniṣṭha, where he became awakened, thereby assuming the body of enjoyment (*saṃbhogakāya*). He then returned and re-entered his *vipākakāya* on earth and demonstrated the remaining activities including going to Bodh-Gayā and becoming awakened. This is said to be the position favoured by the rNying-ma *tantra sGyu 'phrul bla ma*, Buddhajñānapāda's *Muktitilaka*, Śākyamitra of the *Guhyasamāja* tradition, some commentators of the *Hevajratantra*, and Rin-chen-bzang-po.[67] However, according to the *Pitāputrasamāgamanasūtra*,[68] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*,[69] and *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra*,[70] the

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[62] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 348.19–21); cf. WAYMAN & WAYMAN 1974: 91–92, n. 70.

[63] See, for example, Klong-chen-pa's *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (p. 35.1–2): *theg pa chen po kha cig dga' ldan nas 'pho ba nas bzung ste rdo rje'i gdan du bzhugs nas bsam gtan bzhi pa la mnyam par gzhag tshun chad sa bcu pa'i sems dpa' las | de nas sangs rgyas pa'o zhes 'dod cing |....*

[64] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 3b6; D, fol. 3b1; S, vol. 70, pp. 808.20–809.1):
sangs rgyas kun gyis 'od zer chen pos dbang bskur byin ||.
Ratnāvalī 5.59:
bcu pa chos kyi sprin yin te ||
dam pa chos kyi char 'bebs phyir ||
byang chub sems dpa' sangs rgyas kyis ||
'od zer dag gis dbang bskur phyir ||.
The corresponding Sanskrit texts are missing in both the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and the *Ratnāvalī*.

[65] *Bu ston chos 'byung* (pp. 81.4–82.5).

[66] For the various Indo-Tibetan concepts surrounding Akaniṣṭha, see the *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (pp. 40.4–50.1); *Tshangs dbyangs 'brug sgra* (pp. 3.10–14.18); *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 151.25–153.8).

[67] *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 82.6–11); *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 150.18–32).

[68] *Pitāputrasamāgamanasūtra* (T, fols. 114b4–119a5; D, fols. 30a3–33a6). See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 149.7–14); *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 80.17–25).

[69] *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* (p. 269.4–6): *kulaputrā bahūni mama kalpakoṭīnayutaśatasahasrāṇy anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbuddhasya* |.... Cf. the Tibetan translation (T, fol. 176a4–5; D, fol. 118b1): *rigs kyi bu dag nga ni bskal pa bye ba khrag khrig brgya stong mang po nas | bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i*

historical Buddha had already become a *buddha* an innumerable number of aeons before, and hence all his three great events were merely a performance for the benefit of sentient beings. Moreover, according to the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna*, all the deeds of the Buddha—beginning with his residence in Tuṣita and ending with his passing away (including the event of awakening)—were manifested simultaneously.[71] This model seems to presuppose the *Ratnagotravibhāga* model of a *buddha*'s activities combined with the presumption that the Buddha had already in the distant past become a *buddha*. What is perhaps worth mentioning here is that some tantric notions of the Buddha's awakening seem to be more conservative than other, non-tantric ones. For example, the idea that the Buddha became awakened while undergoing austerities at the bank of the river Nairañjanā suggests that the Buddha had not yet been a *buddha* before. This idea is obviously more conservative than the idea found, for example, in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, according to which the Buddha had already become a *buddha* in the distant past.

4. A Historical Sketch of the Buddha's Initial Resolve to Become a *Buddha*

Let us examine the historical background of the Buddha's initial resolve to become a *buddha*. In this context, I again find Schmithausen's statement that a greater part of the development of Buddhist ideas can be explained by the development of the perception of the Buddha very enlightening. Buddhism began with the Buddha. Different Buddhist traditions at different times and places may argue about what or who the Buddha was or is, but what is inarguable is the appearance of the historical Buddha;[72] that is, someone took birth as Gautama, went forth and became a mendicant, became awakened under the Bodhi tree, hesitatingly (for whatever reason) founded a community of monks and nuns, taught for many years and finally passed away. The notion of the Buddha's initial resolve seems to be one of several outcomes of the attempt to explain this unique person called Gautama Buddha, at the root of which were two questions: What was the driving force behind the appearance of the Buddha? And what motivated him to found a community of monks and nuns and establish a tradition of teaching?

Although rather rare, early canonical sources do mention compassion as the prime motive behind the Buddha's appearance on the scene and his salvific activities.[73] In the course of time this motive seems to have been increasingly placed further back in time: at first, prior

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byang chub mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas so ||. See also the citation in the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 149.14–15) and *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 81.1–3).

[70] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 149.15–17): *rgyud de nyid bsdus pa las* | *bcom ldan 'das bskal pa bsam gyis mi khyab par mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas nas shākya'i rigs su skye ba ston par mdzad do* || *zhes sogs byung ngo* ||. This citation, which Kong-sprul thought to be from the *Tattvasaṃgrahatantra* (i.e. the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra*), is not to be found there; it is nonetheless quoted in Ānandagarbha's commentary, the *Tattvasaṃgrahatantravyākhyā* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 44a7–8; D, vol. *li*, fol. 38b2; S, vol. 29, p. 88.12–15): *bcom ldan 'das bskal pa bsam gyis mi khyab par mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas nas shākya'i rigs su skye ba ston par mdzad do zhes* [ces PN] *gsungs pas na* | *shākya'i rigs su skye ba bzhes nas zhes bya ba 'di la mi rigs so* ||.

[71] *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (P, fol. 19b5–7; D, fol. 17b1–3; S, vol. 115, pp. 1047.16–1048.1): *zhugs pa'i sku dang ldan pa zhes bya ba ni* | *'jig rten gyi khams de dag gi gling bzhi pa'i 'jig rten gyi khams thams cad du sprul pa'i skus* [sku PN] *dang po dga' ldan gyi gnas nas 'bab pa nas* | *tha ma yongs su mya ngan las 'das pa chen po ston pa'i bar gyi sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa bcu gnyis la sogs pa cig car ston pa ste* | *de ni dga' ldan gyi pho brang nas 'bab pa la sogs pa kun tu* [du D] *ston pa'i yon tan gyi khyad par yin no* ||. See also the remarks in the *Bu ston chos 'byung* (p. 80.14–17).

[72] Nineteenth-century European scholars did not believe that the Buddha was a historical person. For instance, Émile Senart (1847–1928) held that he was a 'solar god.' For details, see DE JONG 1987a: 26–29. Very few scholars today would doubt the historicity of the Buddha (see SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 6).

[73] See *DP*, s.v. *kāruñña*: *sattvesu ca kāruññataṃ paṭicca*....

to the awakening, then prior to his renunciation, and finally back in the distant past. In Mahāyāna sources, not only the initial resolution made by the Buddha is pushed back ever further into the distant past, but also the time of his awakening, until it becomes timeless. The need to close the temporal gap between the first resolve to strive for the highest awakening and the awakening itself is noticed, for example, in the *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra*.[74] The concept of sudden awakening is apparently rooted in such a theoretical base.[75] There are also traces of another line of thought where the closure of this gap is taken a step further: not only the gap between the initial resolve and the highest awakening but also that between the initial resolve and the setting of the Wheel of Dharma into motion is closed; that is, the generation of the initial resolve is immediately followed by (or even occurs simultaneously with) the turning of the Wheel of Dharma.[76] Such an idea presupposes perhaps the notion of *ādibuddha*. According to Klong-chen-pa, the *ādibuddha* can still, as an efficient strategy, demonstrate to sentient beings the generation of an initial resolve to strive for awakening.[77]

In the tradition of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, the Ur-Buddha Samantabhadra does generate both conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*. It is explained that although all sentient beings are in reality already *buddha*s, he nonetheless generates the two kinds of *bodhicitta* for the benefit of sentient beings who have not realised this.[78] The event of awakening itself seems to be superfluous in the tradition of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*. Here the generation of *bodhicitta* seems not to be conceived as an actual resolve to strive for awakening (at least not for the Ur-Buddha himself) but rather as a kind of compassionate impulse to teach.

5. Concluding Remarks

What I have suggested in this chapter is the idea that the *bodhisattva*'s generation of the resolve (*cittotpāda*) to seek the highest awakening was possibly inspired by or modelled on the Buddha's first resolve to become a *buddha*. I have also attempted to explain the Buddha's initial resolve by putting it into its historical and doctrinal context; that is, to show that both the history of and doctrine associated with the Buddha's first resolve to become a *buddha* seem to largely depend on how the Buddha was perceived at a given time and place, and above all, on questions such as when and where the Buddha made the initial resolve, became a *buddha*, and set the Wheel of Dharma into motion.

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[74] HIRAKAWA 1990: 282. See also SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 166–167, where the idea of attaining *vajropamasamādhi* immediately after the first *cittotpāda* or *bodhicitta* is mentioned, with textual support from the *Śatasahasrikā* and *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*.

[75] See BIELEFELDT 1992: 491.

[76] *Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra* (T, fols. 271b6–272a1; D, fol. 215a3–4): *de de ltar zhugs na sems bskyed ma thag tu chos kyi 'khor lo skor* [sgyur T] *bar 'gyur ro || de ci'i phyir zhe na | de ltar byang chub sems dpa' des sems bskyed ma thag tu rgyu dang dmigs pa'i rkyen* [skyen T] *ma skyes pa'i phyir chos thams cad ma skyes pa dang | de bzhin gshegs pa'i byang chub kyang ma skyes pa las rtogs par 'gyur la | byang chub ji lta bar chos kyi 'khor los* [lo T] *sgyur ba'ang* [ba yang T] *de bzhin du shes te | sems kyi bsam pa'i go cha de dag gis thams cad mkhyen pa rtogs par nus so ||*. Cf. the name of a *bodhisattva* called Sacittotpādadharmacakrapravartin in CONZE 1973: 221, 228.

[77] *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. 1, p. 35.5–6): *'dir ni de thams cad thog ma med pa'i dus su sangs rgyas pa de'i rnam 'phrul de ltar bstan par 'dod pas | dang po sems bskyed pa nas sangs rgyas kyi sprul par 'dod pa yin no ||*.

[78] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 58a5–b5; B, pp. 88.19–89.7).

Chapter Five

Mahāyāna, *Bodhisattva*, and *Bodhicitta*

May the immaculate, excellent *bodhicitta*,
Which, if present, would be sufficient for procreating a *buddha*,
[But] which, if absent, would deprive [one] of all means of procreating a *buddha*—
[May this] unmistakable seed for procreating a *buddha* arise!

– dPal-sprul 'Jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po (1808–1887)[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

The notions of *bodhicitta*, *bodhisattva*, and Mahāyāna are so intricately linked with each other that it seems to be almost impossible to deal with one of them without referring to the others. Doctrinally speaking, there cannot be a *bodhisattva* without *bodhicitta*, and no Mahāyāna without a *bodhisattva*. That *bodhicitta* is of existential significance for a *bodhisattva* and that Mahāyāna would be impossible without *bodhicitta* is reiterated in several Mahāyāna sources. For example, it is said in the *Sūtrārthasamuccayopadeśa* that just as a *sattva* ('sentient being') cherishes the life-force and depends on it for his existence, so does a *bodhisattva* cherish and depend on *bodhicitta*.[2] The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* states:[3]

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[1] This famous verse from a small untitled aspirational prayer (*smon lam: praṇidhāna/praṇidhi*) found in the collected writings of dPal-sprul (*PK*, vol. *ca*, p. 956.3–4) reads:

yod na sangs rgyas sgrub la des chog cing ||
med na sangs rgyas sgrub la thabs chags [= chag] *pa* ||
sangs rgyas 'grub [= b/sgrub?] *pa'i sa bon ma nor ba* ||
rnam dag byang chub sems mchog '*bskyed par*' [= skye bar] *shog* ||.

[2] *Sūtrārthasamuccayopadeśa* (P, fol. 354a6–7; D, fol. 304b1–2; S, vol. 64, p. 1828.10–12): *de ltar sems can* [add. rnams DC] *la srog gces shing srog la brten pa de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa' la yang srog lta bu'i byang chub kyi sems gces shing de la brten pa'o* ||.

[3] *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (T, fol. 41b3–5; D, fol. 282a7–b1): *shā ri'i bu byang chub sems dpa' chos gcig dang ldan na sangs rgyas kyi chos 'di dag dang gzhan yang dpag tu med pa dag yongs su 'dzin to* || *chos gcig po* [pu T] *gang zhe* [zhes T] *na* | *'di lta ste* | *bsam pa phun sum tshogs pa'i byang chub kyi sems te* | *shā ri'i bu byang chub sems dpa'* [dpa'i T] *chos gcig po* [pu T] *de dang ldan na sangs rgyas kyi chos 'di dag dang* | *gzhan yang dpag tu med pa dag yongs su 'dzin to* ||.

O Śāriputra, if a *bodhisattva* is endowed with one factor, he would possess these and other infinite qualities of a *buddha*. What is that one factor? It is *bodhicitta*, the excellent, altruistic inclination. O Śāriputra, if a *bodhisattva* is endowed with this one factor, he would possess these and other infinite qualities of a *buddha*.

In the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra*, the *bodhisattva* Sāgaramati asks the Buddha:[4]

O Venerable One, what are the factors that constitute Mahāyāna?

Thereupon, the Buddha answers:[5]

O Sāgaramati, there is one factor that constitutes Mahāyāna. What is that one factor? It is not forgetting *bodhicitta* and being vigilant. O Sāgaramati, this is the one factor that constitutes Mahāyāna.

According to the *Daśadharmakasūtra*, a *bodhisattva* is said to have properly embarked upon Mahāyāna only if ten criteria are fulfilled, two of them being wishing *bodhicitta* and not wishing to pass away into *nirvāṇa* by means of vehicles that accommodate *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas*.[6] Likewise, the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* (ascribed to a certain Nāgārjuna) states that *bodhicitta* is the best factor in Mahāyāna.[7] According to Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* 2.74 and Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.1, a *bodhisattva* is born of three factors, namely, *karuṇā*, a mind of non-duality (i.e. non-dual *prajñā*), and *bodhicitta*.[8] According to Ratnākaraśānti, one is said to embark upon Mahāyāna after he has generated *bodhicitta*.[9] In Jayānanda's words, the twenty-two *cittotpādas* which encompass the entire spiritual career of a *bodhisattva* are called Mahāyāna.[10] Elsewhere, it is said that the *bodhisattva*'s task is to bring other *sattvas* to (spiritual) maturity and protect the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*),[11] that is, those parts of the doctrine pertaining to the various *yānas*. Because the concepts of *bodhicitta*,

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[4] *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 84a7; D, fol. 58b4–5): *bcom ldan 'das theg pa chen po sdud par 'gyur ba'i chos rnams ni gang lags* |.

[5] *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 84b3–4; D, fols. 58b7–59a1): *blo gros rgya mtsho theg pa chen po sdud par 'gyur ba'i chos gcig ste* | *chos gcig po gang zhe* [zhes T] *na* | *'di lta ste* | *byang chub kyi sems brjed 'pa med'* [par mi byed T] *cing bag yod pa ste* | *blo gros rgya mtsho 'di ni theg pa chen po sdud par 'gyur ba'i chos gcig go* ||. Note that this passage is cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (p. 134.13–17).

[6] *Daśadharmakasūtra* (T, fol. 243a1–4; D, fol. 165a4–6): *rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bcu dang ldan na theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa yin te* | *bcu gang zhe na* | *'di lta ste* | ... [4] *byang chub kyi sems 'dod pa yin* | ... [10] *nyan thos dang* | *rang sangs rgyas dang ldan pa'i theg pas yongs su mya ngan las 'da' bar mi 'dod pa yin no* ||.

[7] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 105:

byang chub sems 'di theg chen po ||
mchog ni yin par bshad pa ste ||
mnyam par gzhag pa'i 'bad pa yis ||
byang chub sems ni bskyed par gyis ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 69.

[8] See also SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 7.

[9] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 344a6–7; D, fol. 295a4; S, vol. 64, p. 816.3–4): *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa nas theg pa chen po la zhugs pa'o* ||; *ibid.* (P, fol. 300a1; D, fol. 256a2; S, vol. 64, p. 716.19–20): ... *byang chub kyi sems ni theg pa chen po'i lam du 'gro bar byed pa'i phyir ro* ||.

[10] *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 20b7–8; D, fol. 17b2; S, vol. 61, p. 41.2–4): *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa nyi shu rtsa gnyis la theg pa chen po zhes kyang bya la* | *de nyid la 'bras bu dang bcas pa'i byang chub sems dpa'i lam zhes kyang bya'o* ||. See also the *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 215a8–b1; D, fol. 168b3; S, vol. 63, p. 1296.3–4).

[11] *Vikurvāṇarājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 348b1–2; D, fol. 197a4–5): *byang chub sems dpa'i las ni rnam pa gnyis so* || *gnyis gang zhe na* | *'di lta ste* | *sems can thams cad yongs su smin par bya ba dang* | *dam pa'i chos yongs su gzung ba'o* ||. Cf. the citation in the *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 143b6–7; D, fol. 239b7; S, vol. 115, p. 653.17–18).

bodhisattva, and Mahāyāna were formulated in broadly Buddhist terms, it is essential that we view them not only in their Mahāyāna setting, but in a wider Buddhist context as well. One of the ways to do this would be to consider the general understanding of *bodhi*, *citta*, *sattva*, and *yāna* in both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna Buddhism, a detailed discussion of which is, however, beyond the scope of this study. This chapter instead seeks to discuss briefly the idea of *yāna* with special reference to Mahāyāna (including Vajrayāna); the various kinds of *sattva*s, with an emphasis on *bodhisattva*s and *vajrasattva*s; and finally the term *bodhicitta* and its importance within the *bodhisattva* doctrine, or Mahāyāna spirituality, more generally.

2. The Concept of *Yāna* in Buddhism

In the following few sections, we shall first take up the various *yāna*s in general and then discuss in greater detail those *yāna*s that are primarily defined in terms of *bodhicitta*. The objective of the presentation is, however, merely to put the notion of *bodhicitta* into perspective, not to treat the topic of *yāna* comprehensively.

Somewhat hesitantly, I have employed the expression non-Mahāyāna instead of Hīnayāna.[12] The term Theravāda Buddhism is too narrow since there are other non-Mahāyāna schools that do not belong to it. Although some traditional sources seem to use Śrāvakayāna in the sense of non-Mahāyāna, it, too, is too narrow, particularly if used alongside Pratyekabuddhayāna. I have restrained myself from employing terms such as primitive Buddhism, early Buddhism, and conservative Buddhism owing to their vagueness. And although the expression non-Mahāyāna is not absolutely satisfactory, given its undesired implication that Mahāyāna is the standard for other forms of Buddhism, it seems, nonetheless, to be a relatively better choice.[13]

Similarly, I have decided to employ 'non-tantric Mahāyāna' in juxtaposition to 'tantric Mahāyāna'[14] (or 'Vajrayāna'). The use of 'Mahāyāna' as if opposed to 'Vajrayāna' is problematic, for this implies that Vajrayāna is not Mahāyāna Buddhism. The term Bodhisattvayāna offered as a contrast to Vajrayāna is not satisfactory either, insinuating as it does that those who practise Vajrayāna are not *bodhisattva*s. One could use 'Pāramitāyāna,' but it tends to be understood in the sense of the Prajñāpāramitā system,[15] to the exclusion of the Yogācāra and Tathāgatagarbha systems. Thus, while not the ideal solution, 'non-tantric Mahāyāna' and 'tantric Mahāyāna' seem to be reasonably acceptable.

Because one can hardly talk about *bodhicitta* without alluding to Mahāyāna, it is perhaps imperative that I make clear what I mean by 'Mahāyāna.' Mahāyāna may be defined

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[12] Cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1967: 161–162: "It should moreover always be kept in mind that the Buddhist sources attest various uses of the terms 'Hīnayāna' and 'Śrāvakayāna,' and that while some of them may be motivated in polemics, others possess a perfectly evident and valid psychological and soteriological foundation; before these terms can be properly and meaningfully used by a modern scholar in his investigations their application in varying contexts needs to be exactly analyzed with a view to determining what role these expressions can play in studies on Buddhist thought." For further discussions, see *id.* 2004: 7–12.

[13] For a recent discussion on the various terms pertaining to *yāna* (viz. Mahāyāna and Bodhisattvayāna in relation to Śrāvakayāna, Hīnayāna, and Sthaviravāda/Theravāda), see SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 5–12, cf. 28–31.

[14] The term *mantramahāyāna* is attested, for example, in the *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 138.36). Note, however, that some Japanese scholars as well as David Snellgrove have distinguished between Mantrayāna and Vajrayāna, and that some Indian scholars such as B. Bhattacharyya (cf. DASGUPTA 1958: 63, 64, 144) have employed terms such as Sahajayāna and Kālacakrayāna, thereby distinguishing them from Vajrayāna, but as pointed out in NEWMAN 1987: 16, n. 2, these terms are 'neologisms' and their distinction from Vajrayāna 'artificial.'

[15] Tilmann Vetter had argued that there existed a major difference between Prajñāpāramitā and Mahāyāna at an early time and that the former was connected with the *śrāvaka*s rather than with the *bodhisattva*s. See VETTER 1994: 1241–1281; *id.* 2001: 58–89; SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 10, n. 14.

as a form of Buddhism that presupposes that even an ordinary sentient being can generate *bodhicitta* and become a *bodhisattva* or a *buddha*, and advocates that they do so. According to this proposed definition, Mahāyāna would include Yogācāra, Prajñāpāramitā, Madhyamaka, Tathāgatagarbha,[16] Vajrayāna, a combination of two or more of these forms, and any other form of Buddhism that recognises Buddhahood as the ultimate soteriological goal of (many or all) sentient beings.[17] With this definition in mind, I shall avoid setting off, for example, Prajñāpāramitā or Vajrayāna from Mahāyāna, for in my view both Prajñāpāramitā and Vajrayāna are forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism.

(a) The Various Models of *Yāna*

The term *yāna* will be employed here in the sense of 'vehicle' and 'way' (or 'carrier' and 'course'),[18] and as referring to the means or methods that lead one to a desired destination, as explained in the *lTa ba'i khyad par* by Ye-shes-sde:[19]

> A *yāna* resembles a carriage. It carries [passengers] and causes [them] to arrive at different destinations, and hence [it is called] a *yāna* ('vehicle'). It is like a bridge, a boat, or a ship. [It is called] *yāna*, too, because [one] arrives at the other shore of the great river of *saṃsāra* by means of the lift and support lent by it.

The ways or means that lead to an undesirable destination are usually not referred to as *yāna*.[20] One can find multifarious models of *yāna* in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism, although some are certainly more popular than others. Most models describe only *yāna*s pertaining to the Buddhist soteriological goal, but some also relate to desirable human and celestial existences. Although not consistent with the historical development, I shall, for practical reasons, present the various models of *yāna* in an ascending order, beginning with the 'one vehicle' (*ekayāna*) model and concluding with the 'no vehicle' (*ayāna*) model. It should be

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[16] Note that some modern Japanese scholars denounce the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine as non-Buddhist. For a discussion of this issue, see ZIMMERMANN 2002a: 82–84.

[17] The notion of becoming a *buddha* can also be found in what is known as Hīnayāna, but in its case, this may be considered an exception rather than the rule since it applies only to a few instances, such as the Buddha Gautama or the future Buddha Maitreya. Hīnayāna does not hold to the idea that anyone (with the right spiritual disposition) can become a *buddha* and thus should generate *bodhicitta*. I have not included various forms of Chinese and Japanese Buddhism in my discussion. Nonetheless, these forms of Buddhism, too, insofar they presuppose Buddhahood as the ultimate soteriological goal of sentient beings, can justifiably be called Mahāyāna Buddhism. According to the Japanese Buddhologist Susumu Yamaguchi, for example, Pure Land Buddhism (and other schools such as Hua-yen and Zen) is a part of Mahāyāna tradition based on Nāgārjuna's Madhyamaka and Vasubandhu's Yogācāra thought; see KIYOTA 1978: 252, 254–255.

[18] See VETTER 2001: 62; SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 5, n. 5.

[19] *lTa ba'i khyad par* (P, fol. 254a3–4; D, fol. 215a2–3; S, vol. 116, p. 565.10–13): *theg pa zhes bya ba ni bzhon* [gzhon PN] *pa dang 'dra ste* | *des theg cing so so'i gnas su son* [ston D] *par byed pas theg pa'o* || *zam pa dang gru dang gzings dang 'dra ste* | *des bteg cing brten nas* [add. | P] *'khor ba'i chu bo'i pha rol tu phyin pas na yang theg pa'o* ||. See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b1–2; B, p. 46.15–17): *spyir theg pa zhes bya ba'i nges tshig ni* | *ya* [= yā] *na zhes bya ba 'gro ba'i bya ba ston* [smon A] *pa'i tshig yin pas tshig gzugs por lam la bya'o* || *brgyud nas ni mya ngan las 'das pa dang* | *gzhung* [gzung A] *gi tshogs dang* | *brjod bya lta bu yang 'jug par shes par bya'o* ||.

[20] In the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* (P, fol. 180b2–5; D, fol. 147b2–5; S, vol. 66, p. 358.9–19) it is explained that although unwholesome ways or means that lead to lower destinations can also be called *yāna*s, they are not referred to as such, since they cause suffering and are not a basis conducive to the realisation of the truth.

remarked that some of the terms concerning certain vehicles are found only in Tibetan sources, and these will be identified as such.[21]

(i) The One-Vehicle Model

The view that there is only one vehicle (*ekayāna*), namely, the *buddha* vehicle (*buddhayāna*), is advocated primarily in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*,[22] and has been upheld by both the Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha traditions. Besides the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, a number of other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s are cited by the *Sūtrasamuccaya* in support of this position.[23] However, while maintaining the view of one (final) vehicle, the *Sūtrasamuccaya* seems to deny neither the diversity of sentient beings nor the existence and legitimacy of multiple (provisional) vehicles.[24] The *ekayāna* theory is also fleetingly mentioned in Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* 4.88. This stance was adopted in turn by Candrakīrti, a Prāsaṅgika-Mādhyamika, who referred to both the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* and *Sūtrasamuccaya*, and attempted to establish it on a logical footing. The gist of his argument is that because there is only one true reality (*tattva*) as the object (*viṣaya*), its subject (*viṣayin*) can be gnosis of only one quality, and hence only one (final) vehicle is possible and not three (with qualitative differences).[25] The doctrine of three vehicles is termed provisional, while the one vehicle is, for him, Mahāyāna. In the Tathāgatagarbha tradition, the argument is that all sentient beings have the same or one spiritual disposition (*gotra*) and that there is only one (final) *nirvāṇa*, namely, Buddhahood.[26] The Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha traditions, however, disagree regarding the immanence of positive qualities attributed to the spiritual disposition. Haribhadra, an important commentator of the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, belongs to the tradition that interprets the idea of one vehicle as definitive and that of three vehicles as provisional.[27]

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[21] Some of the Sanskrit terms pertaining to *yāna*s recorded in the *Mahāvyutpatti* are: *mahāyāna* (no. 1250), *pratyekabuddhayāna* (no. 1251), *śrāvakayāna* (no. 1252), *śrāvakapratyekabuddhayāna* (no. 186), *hīnayāna* (no. 1253), *prādeśikayāna* (no. 1254), *ekayāna* (no. 1255), *tathāgatayāna* (no. 1263, in a compound), *paramayāna* (no. 795, in a compound).

[22] See, for example, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra* 2.54 (p. 43.9–12):
ekaṃ hi yānaṃ dvitiyaṃ na vidyate tṛtiyaṃ hi naivāsti kadāci loke |
anyatr' upāyā puruṣottamānāṃ yad yānanānātv' upadarśayanti ||.
The *ekayāna* concept, of course, is found in a number of other Mahāyāna scriptures such as the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (see n. 76). For a discussion, see SUZUKI 1930: 358–361.

[23] *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 126.1–131.20).

[24] *Ibid.* (pp. 132.1–133.17).

[25] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 400.4–9): *gang gi phyir de ltar de kho na nyid gcig nyid yin pas | de kho na nyid kyi yul can ye shes tha mi dad pa de'i phyir theg pa gcig kho na bas theg pa gsum yod pa ma yin te | 'od srungs chos thams cad mnyam pa nyid du rtogs na mya ngan las 'das pa yin la de yang gcig nyid yin gyi gnyis dang gsum ni ma yin no zhes 'byung ba'i phyir ro ||*. For the entire discussion, see *ibid.* (pp. 399.9–402.19). See also SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 6–7, n. 8; 45–46, n. 70.

[26] *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.94:
ato 'nāgamya buddhatvaṃ nirvāṇaṃ nādhigamyate |
na hi śakyaḥ prabhāraśmī nirvṛjya prekṣituṃ raviḥ ||.
For an English translation, see TAKASAKI 1966: 266. For the importance of the *ekayāna* theory in the *Ratnagotravibhāga*, see *ibid.* (p. 38).

[27] *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (p. 36.9–11): *triyānavyavasthānam ābhiprāyikaṃ na lākṣaṇikam iti nyāyād anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhiparyavasāna eva sarvo jana ity ato vītarāgetarayoginā buddhatvaprāptaye mārgajñatā bhāvanīyeti vyāptiḥ* |.

Kamalaśīla, too, a Yogācāra-Mādhyamika, supports the notion of one vehicle in his *Madhyamakāloka*, thereby rejecting the interpretations of vehicles found in some Yogācāra texts such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*,[28] where the one vehicle is expounded in several ways, and so shown to be of provisional meaning.[29] But at the same time he also seems to reject the position of Candrakīrti (particularly his interpretation of the *tathāgatagarbha* concept). The idea of one vehicle later recurs in the Vajrayāna context, where it is equated with the resultant vehicle.[30]

The notion that there is ultimately only one vehicle has gained universal acceptance in Tibet. I am not aware of any Tibetan author or work that rejects this idea. This can perhaps be explained by the fact that, philosophically, Tibetan Buddhism is principally defined by the doctrines of Madhyamaka, Prajñāpāramitā, Tathāgatagarbha, and Vajrayāna, all of which subscribe to it. Already in the early ninth century, Ye-shes-sde in his *lTa ba'i khyad par* had shown an unequivocal preference for the one-vehicle theory.[31]

The relevance of the one-vehicle theory for the *bodhicitta* concept is that for those who accept that it is of definitive meaning, there is only one ultimate goal, namely, Buddhahood, and only one ultimate way, namely, the Mahāyāna; and everybody can, in principle, generate *bodhicitta* and finally become a *buddha*. For those who interpret the one-vehicle theory to be of provisional meaning, Buddhahood is one of three alternative soteriological goals.[32]

(ii) The Two-Vehicle Model

There are several two-vehicle models, the commonest being the Small Vehicle (*hīnayāna*) and the Great Vehicle (*mahāyāna*).[33] The former includes both the Śrāvakāyāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna, and the latter both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna (at least from the perspective of later Mahāyāna commentators).[34] According to another two-vehicle model, the *yāna*s are the Vehicle of Characteristics (**lakṣaṇayāna*)' and the Diamond Vehicle

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[28] *Madhyamakāloka* (P, fols. 158b6–160a1, 265b3–269a4; D, fols. 146b5–147b5, 237a4–239b7; S, vol. 62, pp. 1146.4–1148.14, 1369.20–1376.14).

[29] See *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 11.53–53:
dharmanairātmyamuktīnāṃ tulyatvāt gotrabhedataḥ |
dvyāśayāpteś ca nirmāṇāt paryantād ekayānatā ||
ākarṣaṇārtham ekeṣām anyasaṃdhāraṇāya ca |
deśitāniyatānāṃ hi saṃbuddhair ekayānatā ||.
See also the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 68.17–6).

[30] See nn. 58 & 52, and Ratnākaraśānti's interpretation of *ekayāna* in the *Triyānavyavasthāna* (P, fol. 115a6–b5; D, fol. 104a1–7; S, vol. 41, pp. 275.13–276.5). See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b3–4; B, p. 46.20–22): *'di ltar 'phags pa rtogs chen phyag rgya pa las | «theg pa ni gcig tu bas te | gnyis dang gsum du ma mchis so ||» zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste | 'di ltar yang dag par rdzogs pa'i sangs rgyas gcig kho na'o ||*. This citation has not been identified.

[31] *lTa ba'i khyad par* (P, fols. 256b3–257a6; D, fol. 217a5–b6; S, vol. 116, pp. 570.16–572.5).

[32] See also SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 49–50.

[33] A systematic study of the distinction between Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna as found in primary literature is still a desideratum. For a recent contribution on this topic, see Mario D'Amato, *The Mahāyāna-Hīnayāna distinction in the Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra: A Terminological Analysis*. University of Chicago thesis, 2000 [ref. SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 48, n. 77].

[34] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b5–6; B, p. 46.22–23): *theg pa gnyis su yang bstan te | theg pa chung ngu dang | 'theg pa'* [om. B] *chen po'o ||*. See *BHSD*, s.vv. *hīnayāna* and *yāna*.

(*vajrayāna*).[35] The term **lakṣaṇayāna* has, however, not been located in Sanskrit sources. The *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā*, attributed to Vasubandhu, also speaks of two vehicles, namely, a Supramundane Vehicle (**lokottarayāna*) and a Mundane Vehicle (**laukikayāna*).[36] The former comprises the Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Bodhisattvayāna, and the latter the 'vehicle of celestial beings' (*devayāna*) and the 'vehicle of human beings' (**manuṣyayāna*).[37]

While there is probably no disagreement regarding the distinctions between mundane and supramundane vehicles, there seem to be, broadly speaking, divergent positions in India and Tibet regarding what sets non-Mahāyāna apart from Mahāyāna, and non-tantric from tantric Mahāyāna. One significant issue in this regard is whether non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna and non-tantric and tantric Mahāyāna can be distinguished on the basis of *prajñā* (or view of *śūnyatā*), a matter which is beyond the scope of this study. One point, however, upon which possibly all Indian and Tibetan Mahāyāna sources would agree is that the presence of the *bodhicitta* concept distinguishes tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna from non-Mahāyāna.

(iii) The Three-Vehicle Model

There are several three-vehicle (*yānatraya* or *triyāna*)[38] models evincing varying degrees of conservatism and scope. Some three-vehicle models include only non-tantric vehicles, whereas others include also tantric ones. The commonest and certainly the oldest one is the three-vehicle model comprising the Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna or Bodhisattvayāna.[39] Edgerton observed that the *Mahāvastu* mentions three vehicles, without, however, specifying them by name, and that "it is specifically stated that one can attain *parinirvāṇa* by any of them, and no preference is expressed."[40] Seyfort Ruegg also points out that the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* and *Vibhāṣāprabhāvṛtti* on the *Abhidharmadīpa* contain references to the idea of the three vehicles.[41] In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, ten areas of expertise

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[35] *lTa phreng* (pp. 161.4–162.1): *'jig rten las 'das pa'i lam la yang rnam pa gnyis te | mtshan nyid kyi theg pa dang | rdo rje'i theg pa'o ||*. See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b5; B, p. 46.23): *yang gnyis te | mtshan nyid kyi theg pa dang | rdo rje'i theg pa gnyis so ||*.

[36] *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* (P, fols. 179b8–180a1; D, fol. 147a3; S, vol. 66, p. 357.7–9): *de la theg pa thams cad ni bsdus na rnam pa gnyis te | 'jig rten las 'das pa'i theg pa dang | 'jig rten gyi theg pa'o ||*.

[37] *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā* (P, fol. 180a2–3; D, fol. 147a4–5; S, vol. 66, p. 357.11–16): *nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas dang | byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa 'di gsum ni 'jig rten las 'das pa'i theg pa zhes bya ste | ci'i phyir zhe na 'khor ba las* [la PN] *'byin par byed pa'i phyir ro || 'jig rten gyi theg pa bstan par bzhed nas | gzhan yang theg pa gnyis te | gnyis gang zhe na | lha'i theg pa dang mi'i theg pa'o zhes bya ba gsungs pa'o ||*.

[38] The term *triyāna* is attested, for example, in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (see n. 76) and *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (p. 36.9).

[39] See, for example, the *Anavataptanāgarājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 277a3–4; D, fol. 243b4–5): *rigs kyi bu bcom ldan 'das shākya thub pa de bzhin gshegs pa theg pa gsum las* [om. T] *brtsams te chos ston to || gsum gang zhe na | nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | theg pa chen po ste | theg pa gsum po de dag go ||*; *Madhyamakāloka* (P, fol. 158b6–7; D, fol. 146b5–6; S, vol. 62, p. 1146.4–6): *'phags pa blo gros mi zad pas* [par PN] *bstan pa las kyang «gsum po 'di dag ni nges par 'byin par byed pa'i theg pa yin te | 'di lta ste nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | theg pa chen po'o* [po DC]» *zhes gsungs so ||*. See also the *lTa ba'i khyad par* (P, fols. 254a3; D, fol. 215a2; S, vol. 116, p. 565.8–9): *theg pa gsum ni nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | theg pa chen po'o ||*.

[40] See *BHSD*, s.v. *yāna*; *Mahāvastu* (vol. 2, p. 362.8–15).

[41] See SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 28, n. 38, 30, n. 42.

(*kauśalya*) of a *bodhisattva* are enumerated, the last three being expertise in the three vehicles (i.e. Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna).[42] It is unclear if the term *yānatraya* is actually employed in this context since the pertinent reading of the Sanskrit text is somewhat uncertain, and it is found elsewhere only in a compound.[43] In any case, it is accepted in general that a *bodhisattva* should be proficient in matters pertaining to the Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna so that he is capable of assisting *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s in their soteriological endeavours. Also, one of the commitments in Vajrayāna is to uphold the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*) 'of the three vehicles' (*traiyānika*).[44] According to the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, the vehicles are three in number owing to the three different capacities of sentient beings.[45]

In later Indian sources, the existing three-vehicle model has been reinterpreted in such a way that Vajrayāna can be incorporated into it. This is clearly the case, for example, in Ratnākaraśānti's *Triyānavyavasthāna*, where the expression 'vehicle endowed with profundity and vastness' (*zab cing rgya che ba dang ldan pa'i theg pa*) is used in place of Mahāyāna or Bodhisattvayāna.[46] The third vehicle is further subclassified into two, namely, Pāramitāyāna (or Pāramitānaya) and Mantrayāna (or Mantranaya).[47] Similarly, according to Rong-zom-pa, the third vehicle in this three-vehicle model is the Highest Vehicle (*bla na med pa'i theg pa*).[48] I have, however, not been able to trace an equivalent Sanskrit term (**niruttarayāna* or **anuttarayāna*) in Indian sources.

There is one more three-vehicle model, which is known only in rNying-ma tantric literature, such as the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo*. It consists of the 'vehicle [characterised by means] of deliverance [from] the origin (or existence) [of *saṃsāra*]' (*kun 'byung 'dren pa'i*

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[42] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.2 (WOGIHARA, p. 308.9–16): *tatra katamad bodhisattvasya kauśalyaṃ | tat samāsato daśavidhaṃ veditavyaṃ | … śrāvakayānakauśalaṃ | pratyekabuddhayānakauśalaṃ | mahāyānakauśalaṃ |*. Cf. the readings in DUTT, p. 212.3–8.

[43] See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18 (WOGIHARA, p. 287.4–5; DUTT, p. 194.14–15): *yānatrayavyapadeśopasaṃhāreṇa….*

[44] *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (as cited in *TSD*, s.v. *gsang ba*):

> *saddharmaṃ pratigṛhṇāmi bāhyaṃ guhyaṃ traiyānikam |*
> *mahāpadmakule śuddhe mahābodhisamudbhave ||*.

Cf. the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 288.1–2). See also Prajñāśrī's *Abhiṣekavidhi* (P, fols. 48b8–49a1; D, fol. 40a5; S, vol. 5, p. 1037.15–17):

> *byang chub chen po las byung ba ||*
> *padma'i rigs mchog dag* [dam DC] *pa la ||*
> *phyi nang* [= dang] *gsang ba'i theg pa gsum ||*
> *dam pa'i chos kyang gzung bar bgyi ||*.

Cf. n. 51.

[45] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fol. 16b2; D, vol. *zi*, fol. 15b1–2; S, vol. 74, p. 779.19–21): *dbang po rnam pa gsum yod pa'i phyir theg pa gsum gyis rnam par 'jog ste | theg pa gnyis kyang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi theg pa'i rtsa ba can yin pa'i phyir ro ||*.

[46] Ratnākaraśānti, *Triyānavyavasthāna* (P, fol. 111a3; D, fol. 100a6; S, vol. 41, p. 266.8–10): *theg pa rnams ni gsum nyid du rnam par gzhag* [bzhag PN] *par mthong ste | nyan thos dang ldan pa'i theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | zab cing rgya che ba dang ldan pa'i theg pa'o ||*.

[47] *Triyānavyavasthāna* (P, fol. 112a2–3; D, fol. 101a3–4; S, vol. 41, pp. 268.16–269.1): *zab cing rgya che ba dang ldan pa'i theg pa ni rnam pa gnyis te | zab pa 'ba' zhig dang ldan pa dang | zab pa dang | rgya che ba gnyi ga dang ldan pa'o || 'di dag nyid la theg pa chen po zhes brjod cing | dbye ba rnam pa gnyis nyid la slob dpon snga mas pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul dang | gsang sngags kyi tshul gyi theg pa chen po zhes kyang gzhag pa'o ||*.

[48] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b4–5; B, pp. 46.24–47.1): *theg pa ni gsum du yang bstan te | nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | bla na med pa'i theg pa'o ||*. See *ibid.* (A, fol. 178b4; B, p. 215.6–7) where the term *bla med theg pa* is equated with the term *vajrayāna*.

theg pa), 'vehicle [characterised by] austerity and knowledge' (*dka' thub rig byed kyi theg pa*), and 'vehicle [characterised by] means of transformation' (*dbang sgyur thabs kyi theg pa*). The exact meaning of these expressions is, however, not clear.[49] Each of these three are further subdivided into three, and hence form the basis of the nine-vehicle model (at least for later rNying-ma doxographers), to which we shall later return.

(iv) The Four-Vehicle Model

There are several four-vehicle models: In what seems to be virtually a citation from the *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*, Kṛṣṇapāda mentions four kinds of *yāna*s, namely, *Svargayāna (i.e. the vehicle that leads to good destinations), Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna.[50] The four-vehicle model Rong-zom-pa proposes consists of one outer (*bāhya*) vehicle, that is, non-tantric Mahāyāna, and three secret (*guhya*) vehicles, that is, the three tantric vehicles pertaining to *kriyātantra*, *caryātantra*, and *yogatantra*.[51] The *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* seems to suggest another four-vehicle model, namely, three causal vehicles (i.e. Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Bodhisattvayāna, i.e. non-tantric Mahāyāna) and one resultant vehicle (i.e. Mantrayāna).[52] Although the idea of a resultant vehicle (*'bras bu'i theg pa*) is found in Indian tantric sources, the Sanskrit term (**phalayāna*) does not seem to be attested.[53]

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[49] *dGong pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 192a8–b1; D, fol. 204a3):
don dam nges pa'i theg pa ni ||
gsum du nges par snang ba ste ||
kun 'byung 'dren dang dka' thub rig ||
dbang sgyur thabs kyi theg pa'o ||.
For mKhan-po Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's explanation of these terms, see the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 13.6–8): *theg pa de gsum po sangs rgyas kyi zhing kun tu 'byung zhing gdul bya thar par 'dren pa'i lam yin pas kun 'byung 'dren pa'i theg pa zhes kyang bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (p. 15.17–19): *de gsum gyis phyi'i dka' thub la brten nas nang gi don rig par byed pas dka' thub rig byed kyi theg pa zhes bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (p. 21.10–12): *de gsum gyis nyon mongs thams cad ched du gnyen pos spong mi dgos par rig pa'i ye shes kyis dbang bsgyur te lam du byed pa'i thabs dang ldan pas dbang bsgyur thabs kyi theg pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[50] *Kṣitigarbhasūtra*, as cited by Kṛṣṇapāda in his *Mahāyānamelāpakapradīpa* (P, fol. 234a6–7; D, fol. 2b1–2; S, vol. 41, p. 572.18–21):
gang la mtho ris theg pa yod min ||
de la nyan thos theg pa med de ||
gang la nyan thos theg pa yod min ||
de la rang rgyal theg pa med de ||
gang la rang rgyal theg pa yod min ||
de la theg pa chen po med de ||.

[51] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 19b6–20a2; B, p. 47.1–7): *theg pa bzhir yang bstan te | gsang ba'i thig le nor bu'i rgyud la sogs pa'i padma'i rigs kyi sdom pa gzung ba'i skabs las | «phyi nang* [= dang] *gsang ba'i theg pa gsum || dam pa'i chos kyang rab tu gzung ||» zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste | phyi'i theg pa ni | mtshan nyid kyi theg par bsdus pa mtha' dag go || gsang ba'i theg pa gsum ni | bya ba'i rgyud dang | spyod pa'i rgyud dang | rnal 'byor gyi rgyud de | 'di gsum ni sku gsung thugs kyi gsang ba bstan pa yin te | 'di dag gi don ni 'og nas rgyud kyi dbye ba bstan pa'i skabs su 'chad pas der rig par bya'o ||*; cf. n. 44.

[52] *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* 9.17cd: *yānatritayaniryāta ekayānaphale sthitaḥ ||*; cf. n. 58.

[53] *He ru ka'i gal po* (*NyG*, p. 225.7):
mtshan nyid rgyu yi theg pa yis ||
sems nyid sangs rgyas rgyu ru shes ||
'bras bu sngags kyi theg pa yis ||
sems nyid sangs rgyas nyid du bsgom ||.

(v) The Five-Vehicle Model

In the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, the following five *yāna*s are mentioned:[54] (1) Devayāna, (2) Brahmayāna, (3) Śrāvakayāna, (4) Pratyekabuddhayāna, and (5) Tathāgatayāna. It is not clear why Brahmayāna has been treated separately from Devayāna and whether *deva* in Devayāna is meant to refer only to celestial beings in the celestial realm of desire (*kāmadhātu*) or to such human beings as kings as well. The *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* for its part seems to propose the following five vehicles:[55] (1) Devayāna, (2) Manuṣyayāna, (3) Śrāvakayāna, (4) Pratyekabuddhayāna, and (5) Mahāyāna. In substance, the concepts *Lokottarayāna and *Laukikayāna found in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśaṭīkā*, mentioned above, can be expressed in terms of these five vehicles and vice versa; that is, Devayāna and Brahmayāna can be subsumed under the mundane vehicle and the remaining three under the supramundane vehicle.

A similar division of vehicles is proposed in the **Guhyagarbhatantra*:[56] (1) *Devamanuṣyayāna,[57] (2) Śrāvakayāna, (3) Pratyekabuddhayāna, (4) Bodhisattvayāna, and (5) Mantrayāna. It goes on to suggest that the first four vehicles are causal vehicles, whereas the last one is resultant.[58] The **Guhyagarbhatantra* remarks that the 84,000 sets of doctrine (*caturaśītisahasradharmaskandha*) said to be taught by the Buddha as antidotes for the 84,000 intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*) are included in these five vehicles. It may be recalled that *bodhicitta* is considered by some to be the quintessence of all 84,000 teachings taught by the Buddha.

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[54] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 2.203 (pp. 134.16–135.1) and 10.457 (p. 322.13–14):
devayānaṃ brahmayānaṃ śrāvakīyaṃ tathaiva ca |
tāthāgataṃ ca pratyekaṃ yānān etān vadāmy aham ||.
See also the citation in *TSD*, s.v. *tshangs pa'i theg pa* and KAPSTEIN 2000: 208–209, n. 59. For an English translation, see SUZUKI 1930: 360; *id.* 1932: 116. Cf. Candrakīrti, *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (P, fol. 117a7–8; D, fol. 106b3–4; S, vol. 60, p. 1186.2–4):
lha yi theg dang tshangs pa'i theg ||
nyi tshe ba yi theg pa gang ||
thams cad theg pa chen po yi ||
gnas chen 'dir ni 'du bar 'gyur ||.

[55] *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 71a4–6; D, fols. 126b7–127a2): *de la byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa 'kun la'* [thams cad D] *mkhas pa gang zhe na | gsum po 'di dag* [om. T] *ni theg pa ste 'nges par 'byin pa'o'* ['byung ngo T] *|| gsum po gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | theg pa chen po'o || gzhan yang theg pa gnyis te | gnyis gang zhe na | lha'i theg pa dang | mi'i theg pa'o ||*. Cf. the citation in the *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 142b5; D, fol. 238b7; S, vol. 115, p. 651.12–13).

[56] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 111a3–5; D, fol. 113a3–4): *'dul ba'i dbang gis lha dang | mi'i theg pa dang | nyan thos kyi* [kyis P] *theg pa dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang | byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa dang | bla na med pa'i theg pas ma rig pa'i rnam par rtog pa nyon mongs pa stong phrag brgyad bcu* [cu D] *rtsa bzhi'i gnyen por chos stong phrag brgyad bcu* [cu D] *rtsa bzhi gsungs so || gsung ngo || gsung bar 'gyur ro ||*. See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 16b5–6; B, p. 43.18–20): *theg pa lnga ni | lha dang mi'i theg pa dang | nyan thos kyi theg pa dang | rang byang chub kyi theg pa dang | byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa dang | gsang ba bla na med pa'i theg pa'o ||*. Note that the term *theg pa lnga* recurs also elsewhere in the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 96a4, 97a3; B, pp. 128.2, 129.2).

[57] According to a Tun-huang document, *mi'i theg pa* and *lha'i theg pa* are included in the nine-vehicle scheme (KARMAY 1988: 148, 172).

[58] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 111b1; D, fol. 113b1–2):
theg pa bzhi yis nges 'byung la ||
theg pa gcig gis 'bras bur gnas ||.
Cf. n. 52.

(vi) The Nine-Vehicle Model

The nine-vehicle model is an important doxographical scheme followed in the rNying-ma[59] and Bon[60] traditions. The scheme of nine vehicles in the rNying-ma tradition, which varies slightly from source to source, has been discussed by Samten Karmay in his rDzogs-chen study.[61] According to the *lTa phreng*, the nine vehicles are as follows:[62]

<table>
<tr><td>1.</td><td colspan="3">nyan thos kyi theg pa</td><td>1.</td><td rowspan="3">mtshan nyid kyi theg pa rnam pa gsum</td></tr>
<tr><td>2.</td><td colspan="3">rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa</td><td>2.</td></tr>
<tr><td>3.</td><td colspan="3">byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa</td><td>3.</td></tr>
<tr><td>4.</td><td colspan="3">bya ba'i rgyud kyi theg pa</td><td>1.</td><td rowspan="6">rdo rje theg pa rnam pa gsum</td></tr>
<tr><td>5.</td><td colspan="3">gnyis ka'i rgyud kyi theg pa</td><td>2.</td></tr>
<tr><td>6.</td><td colspan="2">rnal 'byor phyi pa thub pa'i rgyud kyi theg pa</td><td rowspan="4">rnal 'byor gyi rgyud kyi theg pa</td><td rowspan="4">3.</td></tr>
<tr><td>7.</td><td>bskyed pa'i tshul</td><td rowspan="3">rnal 'byor nang pa thabs kyi rgyud kyi theg pa</td></tr>
<tr><td>8.</td><td>rdzogs pa'i tshul</td></tr>
<tr><td>9.</td><td>rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul</td></tr>
</table>

Although it is true that the nine-vehicle model as such cannot be traced in Indian Buddhist sources, such a scheme is not completely at odds with the Indian Buddhist traditions, particularly if we consider the numerous models of vehicles found in Indian sources.

The last three vehicles are called the Mode of Generation (*bskyed pa'i tshul*), Mode of Perfection (*rdzogs pa'i tshul*), and Mode of Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*). The use of 'mode' or 'method' (*tshul*) in place of 'vehicle' (*theg pa*) is in agreement with Indian sources, where *naya* and *yāna* have been used interchangeably, the former being seemingly even more prevalent than the latter.[63] We should perhaps also remember that *yāna* is

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[59] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 20a2–3; B, p. 47.7–9): *theg pa ni rnam pa dgur bstan pa yang yod de | man ngag lta ba'i phreng* ['phreng A] *ba las gsungs pa ltar | mtshan nyid sde gsum dang | phyi rgyud sde gsum dang | nang rgyud sde gsum mo ||*.

[60] There are said to be two completely different models of nine vehicles in the Bon tradition, namely, those according to the Central Treasure (*dbus gter*) and Southern Treasure (*lho gter*); the latter has been studied by David Snellgrove (KARMAY 1988: 148). See also MIMAKI 1994: 126–132 and KAPSTEIN 2000: 14–15, 16 (table containing the nine-vehicle model according to the Central Treasure of Bon).

[61] KARMAY 1988: 146–149, 172–174 (diagrams of various nine-vehicle models). See also MIMAKI 1994: 123–126, EHRHARD 1990: 8–16, and KAPSTEIN 2000: 13–14, 16 (table containing the nine-vehicle model according to the *lTa phreng* and a Tun-huang document). There seems to be no study devoted exclusively to the various nine-vehicle models.

[62] *lTa phreng* (p. 162.1–2): *mtshan nyid kyi theg pa la yang rnam pa gsum ste |* [1] *nyan thos kyi theg pa dang |* [2] *rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa dang |* [3] *byang chub sems dpa'i theg pa'o ||*; *ibid.* (p. 163.4–5): *rdo rje theg pa la yang rnam pa gsum ste |* [4] *bya ba'i rgyud kyi theg pa dang |* [5] *gnyis ka rgyud kyi theg pa dang | rnal 'byor gyi theg pa'o ||*; *ibid.* (p. 164.3–4): *rnal 'byor rgyud kyi theg pa la zhugs pa rnams kyi lta ba ni rnam pa gnyis te |* [6] *rnal 'byor phyi pa thub pa'i rgyud kyi theg pa dang | rnal 'byor nang pa thabs kyi rgyud kyi theg pa'o ||*; *ibid.* (pp. 164.6–165.1): *rnal 'byor nang pa thabs kyi rgyud kyi theg pa la zhugs pa rnams kyi lta ba ni rnam pa gsum ste |* [7] *bskyed pa'i tshul dang |* [8] *rdzogs pa'i tshul dang |* [9] *rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul lo ||*.

[63] For the employment of the terms *pāramitānaya* and *mantranaya*, see, for example, *TSD*, s.vv. *pha rol tu phyin pa'i tshul* and *sngags kyi tshul*.

employed in Pāli sources for the eightfold Noble Path, and it is by extension of this use that terms such as Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna came to be used.[64]

Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (henceforth Sa-paṇ) asserted that the view (*lta ba*) of Atiyoga (in the sense of rDzogs-chen) should be taken as gnosis and not as a vehicle.[65] In this context, Sa-paṇ understands 'vehicle' (*theg pa*) as a doxographical position or system and not as an actual path or means of release; hence for him, a vehicle (which is endowed with manifoldness) and gnosis (which is free from manifoldness) are mutually exclusive.[66] The proponents of the nine-vehicle model, however, understood *yāna* in a number of ways. For example, Rong-zom-pa states that Mahāyāna can mean path (*lam*), result (*'bras bu*), absolute reality (*don dam pa*), and treatises or philosophical positions (*gzhung*).[67] If 'vehicle' is understood in the sense of path, it is clear that Sa-paṇ would no longer regard a vehicle and gnosis as mutually exclusive, for occasionally a great vehicle is considered omniscient gnosis.[68]

(vii) The n-Vehicle Model

The notion of an inconceivable number of vehicles, which has occasionally been expressed by terms such as *nānāyāna*,[69] is found, for example, in the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.[70] The plurality of vehicles, in Ratnākaraśānti's view, however, does not mean that they cannot be accommodated within the three-vehicle model. For him, a vehicle or view that is not subsumable under the three-vehicle model would be a non-Buddhist view.[71] Nonetheless, he

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[64] *BHSD*, s.v. *yāna*. It has also been pointed out that *yāna* in early Mahāyāna literature was understood in the sense of 'path' or 'way,' and this is supported by a very early Chinese translation (VETTER 2001: 64–67).

[65] See *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.282abc:
lugs 'di legs par shes gyur na ||
a ti yo ga'i lta ba yang ||
ye shes yin gyi theg pa min ||.
For an English translation, see RHOTON 2002: 133; cf. KARMAY 1988: 147.

[66] If we study the context of *sDom gsum rab dbye* 3.275–3.282, it becomes clear that the pertinent discussion is about the tantric classification or system (*rgyud sde'i rim pa*) according to the rNying-ma and gSar-ma traditions and that 'vehicle' is understood by Sa-paṇ strictly in the sense of a doxographical system. It is important to note that Sa-paṇ does not categorically reject here the idea of nine vehicles or rDzogs-chen. Cf. the discussion in KARMAY 1988: 147–148.

[67] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 66a4–5; B, p. 97.4–5): *theg pa chen po'i sgra yang* | *lam dang 'bras bu dang don dam pa dang gzhung gi tshogs dang bcas pa la 'jug pas rtags kyang de lta bur sbyar bar bya'o* ||.

[68] See, for example, the *Suvikrāntavikrāmiparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 19.18): *katamac ca mahāyānaṃ? sarvaṃ jñānaṃ mahāyānaṃ*; Tib. (T, fol. 21a1; D, fol. 31b6–7): *theg pa chen po gang zhe na* | *thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes ni theg pa chen po'o* ||; *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 105.7–8): *mahājñānāni mahāyānapraṇītā dharmāḥ* |.

[69] *Mañjuśrīnāmasaṃgīti* 9.17a: *nānāyānanayopāyaḥ*.

[70] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 2.204 (p. 135.2–3) and 10.458 (p. 322.15–16):
yānānāṃ nāsti vai niṣṭhā yāvac cittaṃ pravartate |
citte tu vai parāvṛtte na yānaṃ na ca yāyinaḥ ||.
This is also cited in KAPSTEIN 2000: 209. For an English translation of the pertinent verse from the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*, see SUZUKI 1932: 116, cf. *id.* 1930: 360. See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 20a3–5; B, p. 47.9–13): *theg pa mtha' yas par bstan pa yang yod de* | *chos kyi sgo mo brgyad khri bzhi stong dang* | *bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang* | *gzhan yang gsang sngags kyi gzhung las kyang* | *'di nyid las* | «*srid gsum 'gro ba ji snyed pa'i* || *rtog 'dul dam tshig de snyed spro* ||» *zhes gsungs pa lta bu dang* | *mdo sde langkar* [langgar B] *gshegs pa las kyang* | «*ji srid sems 'jug gnas pa'i bar* || *theg pa'i mtha' la thug pa med* ||» *ces gsungs pa lta bu'o* ||.

does state that seventeen vehicles are also taught and that the means of benefiting sentient beings are numerous. As we have already seen, however, it is the one-vehicle model that is for him of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*).[72] For Rong-zom-pa, too, the number of vehicles is indefinite[73] (and possibly infinite), with the Mode of the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul*) being the supreme vehicle (*paramayāna*).[74] In the *dKon mchog 'grel*, he maintains that all the inconceivable number of vehicles can be subsumed under the five philosophical tenets (*siddhānta*).[75]

(viii) The No-Vehicle Model

The term *ayāna* seems to be employed in the sense of both 'no-vehicle' and 'non-vehicle.' In the *Laṅkāvātarasūtra*, where the term is found,[76] it clearly means 'no-vehicle.' In the expression *yānāyāna*, however, *ayāna* is clearly used as the opposite of *yāna*, perhaps in the sense of a vehicle or way that leads to an undesirable mode of existence.[77] The logic behind the idea of no vehicle seems to be that vehicles are for delivering different kinds of *sattva*s ('sentient beings') endowed with *citta* ('mind') to the desired (mainly soteriological) destination, and once they arrive there, or once their mind has been transmuted (*parāvṛtta*), there is no longer either an act of travelling or a vehicle. In other words, a vehicle is relevant, and its existence possible, only as long as there are sentient beings. Such a notion echoes the idea that a person, upon reaching the soteriological further shore, leaves behind the *dharma*s (be they wholesome or unwholesome), just as a traveller leaves behind the boat once the river has been crossed. Rong-zom-pa seems to reserve the no-vehicle model for the metaphysical dimension where the frontiers separating vehicle, traveller, and destination dissolve.[78] Seyfort

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71 *Triyānavyavasthāna* (P, fol. 115b2–5; D, fol. 104a4–7; S, vol. 41, p. 276.5–13).

72 *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 351b3–4; D, fol. 302a1–2; S, vol. 64, p. 832.12–15): *de lta bas na theg pa bcu bdun du gsungs pa | las kyang gdul bya la phan pa dpag tu med pa mdzad pa'i thabs mnga' bas* [pas P] *theg pa gsum du ci ltar nges | nges pa'i don ni theg pa gcig tu sngar gtan la phab pa bzhin no ||*. It is not clear which seventeen vehicles these are.

73 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19b2–3; B, p. 46.17–20): *theg pa lngar rnam par gzhag pa 'di ni | dpal gsang ba'i snying po 'di nyid kyi dbang du bshad par zad kyi | bka' spyi'i gzhung la grags pa ltar na theg pa la ni grangs nges pa kho na gzung du yod pa ma yin te |*.

74 See Rong-zom-pa's explanation of the expression *thams cad kyi yang rtse* ('the culmination of all vehicles') in the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 53a2–b3; B, pp. 473.17–474.8).

75 The five *siddhānta*s are grouped as follows: 1. Yogācāra and Yogācāra-Madhyamaka, 2. Vaibhāṣika, Sautrāntika, and Sautrāntika-Madhyamaka, 3. Kriyātantra, Caryātantra, and Outer Yoga, 4. Mahāyoga, and 5. **Guhyagarbhatantra*. See the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 22b4–23b3; B, pp. 50.5–51.5).

76 *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 2.130ab (p. 65.11):

triyānam ekayānaṃ cāyānaṃ ca vadāmy aham |.

Cited also in *TSD*, s.vv. *theg pa gcig*, *theg pa gsum*, and *theg pa med pa*. For an English translation, see SUZUKI 1930: 359–360; *id*. 1932: 58.

77 See, for example, *TSD*, s.vv. *theg pa dang theg pa ma yin pa*, *theg pa ma yin pa*, etc.

78 *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 20a5–b3; B, p. 47.13–21): *theg pa med par yang bstan te | mdo sde de nyid las | «'du shes med par gyur pa na || theg pa med cing 'gro ba'ang med ||» ces gsungs pa lta bu dang | yang mdo sde dkon cog brtsegs pa las | «de bzhin gshegs pa dge chos zag med ni || chos kyi sku mchog yin te de la ni || de bzhin nyid med de bzhin gshegs pa med || 'jig rten dag na gzugs brnyan kun tu snang ||» zhes gsungs pa lta bu dang | gsang sngags kyi gzhung las kyang | «bgrod du med pa lam gyi mchog |» ces gsungs pa lta bu ste | tshul 'di lta bu'i don gyis na | theg pa dang | 'gro ba po dang | bgrod par bya ba'i gnas rnams tha dad du gzhag tu* [du A] *med do || tshul 'dis ni theg pa med par yang 'dod pa'o ||*.

Ruegg observes that the deconstruction or 'zeroing' of the very notion of *yāna* is very characteristic of Mahāyāna thought and that the idea of *ayāna* is no doubt linked with the idea of the so-called Āryan Silence (*āryatūṣṇībhava*).[79]

(b) Which Vehicles Are Buddhist?

Both Indian and Tibetan scholars have attempted to make sense of the multiple models of vehicles. One of the concerns of these scholars has been where one ought to draw the line between Buddhist and non-Buddhist vehicles. In India, Vajragarbha, the author of the *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā*, stated that the Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna are the three Buddhist vehicles, and so a fourth or a fifth vehicle (if it existed) would not conform to the intention of the Sage (and thus would not be Buddhist).[80] In Tibet, this statement has been employed to criticise the rNying-ma concept of nine vehicles.[81] For the rNying-ma-pas themselves, however, all nine vehicles can be subsumed under Śrāvakayāna, Pratyekabuddhayāna, and Mahāyāna. In other words, of the nine vehicles, the first two belong to non-Mahāyāna and the remaining seven to tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna. From a Buddhist perspective, the expressions 'Buddhist vehicle' and 'non-Buddhist vehicle' seem to be vacuous; one should rather speak of vehicles (as we have seen above) in terms of mundane (*laukika*) and supramundane (*lokottara*).

Nonetheless, the question whether a doctrine can be accepted as Buddhist is by no means insignificant. Buddhist traditions of different times and places have different answers to this question, a question which is tantamount to whether release from the bondage of *saṃsāra* is possible independently of the Buddhist teachings. Schmithausen, in a typically enlightening manner, explains that although sources such as the *Uttiyasutta* and the ninth chapter of Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* do assert the absoluteness of the Buddhist soteriological means, they premise salvation not upon affiliation with a religious institution but rather upon a certain spiritual practice or theoretical views, thereby leaving some room for 'anonymous Buddhists.' Nor is everyone required to tread the Buddhist soteriological path. To be sure, one who does not do so must continue to suffer, and in practice there were naturally problems caused whenever Buddhism was instrumentalised.[82] According to some Mahāyāna sources, such as the *Adhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra*, all 'well-expounded' (*subhāṣita*) doctrines are 'Buddha-expounded' (*buddhabhāṣita*) doctrines. According to the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, all teachings in the world that are consistent with the teachings of the Buddha should be regarded as his teachings.[83] From a Buddhist perspective, whether a

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[79] SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 9, 57–58, n. 103.

[80] Vajragarbha, *Hevajrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* (SHENDGE 2004: 10):
yānatritayaniryāta ekayānaphale sthitaḥ |
śrāvakaṃ pratyekañ cātra mahāyānaṃ tṛtīyakam || 1.39
caturthaṃ nāsti bauddhānāṃ paṃcamañ ca mataṃ muneḥ | 1.40ab.
For the critical apparatus, see SHENDGE 2004: 257. The Tibetan translation is as follows (*ibid.*, p. 70):
theg pa gsum gyi nges 'byung las ||
theg pa gcig gi 'bras bur gnas ||
nyan thos rang sangs rgyas dang 'dir ||
theg pa chen po gsum pa ste ||
sangs rgyas pa la bzhi pa dang ||
lnga ba [= pa] *thub pa'i dgongs pa min* ||.
See also KARMAY 1988: 147, n. 55.

[81] See KARMAY 1988: 147–148. One of the sticking points in such a debate is the question whether the number of vehicles can be fixed.

[82] See BSTEH 2000: 271–272, 305.

doctrine is admissible or not would thus depend on how consistent it is with those said to be taught by the Buddha. Thus on the premise that the Buddha did not sanction, for example, hate-motivated killing, a doctrine that sanctions such a practice would under no circumstances be permissible, not even according to Vajrayāna.

(c) Mahāyāna

In the following passages, a few matters pertaining to Mahāyāna will be discussed, namely, disagreement regarding its origin, its content, and its professed indispensability. My focus will not be on the historical but rather on the doctrinal (and philosophical) aspects of Mahāyāna; my approach *emic* rather than *etic*.

(i) Dissent on the Origin of Mahāyāna

The question regarding the origin of Mahāyāna is a highly controversial one, a fact of which I am only too aware, and yet it cannot be left unstated, given the strong link between the underlying idea of *bodhicitta* and that of Mahāyāna. At the moment, a consensus among Buddhologists on the origin of Mahāyāna is not in sight. What I shall attempt here, however, is merely to draw attention to the difficulties and controversies surrounding the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism and provide a sketch of some of the important positions.

Some scholars have alluded to Aśoka's Eighth Rock Edict as containing the idea of Mahāyāna, but this suggestion has not been widely accepted.[84] According to L. S. Cousins, even in the second century CE, we "do not yet have anything which we can truly call Mahāyāna Buddhism."[85] The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is the oldest extant Mahāyāna source to mention the term Mahāyāna.[86] The important question is: Who initiated Mahāyāna, or how did it come into being? Several theses have been proposed, some not very different from each other. According to scholars such as Har Dayal, the *bodhisattva* (i.e. Mahāyāna) ideal was introduced as a protest against the monastic elitism and in response to the spiritual needs and concerns of the laity.[87] The thesis that Mahāyāna arose as a lay movement associated with the

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[83] *Adhyāśayasaṃcodanasūtra* cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 15.19; VAIDYA, p. 12.25): *yat kiṃcin maitreya subhāṣitaṃ sarvaṃ tad buddhabhāṣitam* |; *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (T, fol. 255a5–6; D, fols. 197b7–198a1): *'jam dpal gyis gsol pa | bcom ldan 'das 'jig rten pa'ang ring zhig tshun* [tshud T] *chad bdag nyid sha za ba la mi gnas so || bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | gang 'jig rten pa la sangs rgyas kyi tshig dang 'thun pa yod pa de yang thams cad du thams cad sangs rgyas kyi tshig tu rig par bya'o* ||; cf. the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 54b6–55a1; B, p. 85.4–6): *mu stegs can gyis legs par bshad* [dpyod A] *pa'i gzhung yang sangs rgyas rnams kyis byin gyis brlabs pa dang sprul pas bshad pa yin pa | sangs rgyas nyid kyis lung bstan pa yin....* This idea has been employed by Rong-zom-pa to defend the authenticity of the **Guhyagarbhatantra*. See WANGCHUK 2002: 282–285. For additional information on primary and secondary sources, see GETHIN 1998: 47, 281, n. 20.

[84] See VETTER 1994: 1243, n. 3, where this suggestion of Arthur L. Basham is treated with scepticism, in view of Schmithausen's argument that only the idea of attaining heaven occurs in other Aśoka edicts. See also a similar discussion in ROTH 1982: 372–374, particularly the statement (p. 374): "There are also no traces of the 'Grand Vehicle' in Aśoka's inscriptions.... The word *Bodhisattva*, which so dominantly figures in the Mahāyāna texts, is not used once in all the Aśoka inscriptions.... " Cf., however, SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 13–4, particularly, n. 17.

[85] See COUSINS 2003: 18, where he states: "We certainly have a literature to which the label Mahāyāna can be attached, but even that is to some extent retrospective. Some of the works which are later to be the core literature of the Mahāyāna certainly exist at this time, but in earliest recensions which do not contain all of the distinctive features of later Mahāyāna."

[86] NAKAMURA 1980: 152, n. 22. For an explanation of the meaning of Mahāyāna, see the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (pp. 11.31–12.24); Tibetan translation (T, fols. 18a3–19a5; D, fols. 13a5–14a3).

[87] See DAYAL 1932: 2–4, particularly the following passage: "The *bodhisattva* doctrine was promulgated by some Buddhist leaders as a protest against this lack of true spiritual fervour and altruism among the monks of

worship of *stūpa*s has been proposed by Akira Hirakawa[88] and continued and modified by Tilmann Vetter.[89] Hirakawa's theory, however, has been criticised by Richard Gombrich,[90] while Richard Robinson has criticised the arguments that stress the importance of lay believers.[91] Reginald Ray has spoken of 'three kinds of actors in Buddhist history,' namely, 'forest renunciant,' 'monastic renunciant,' and 'lay person,' and suggested that Mahāyāna Buddhism arose in restricted circles, chiefly those of forest renunciants or meditators.[92] Paul Harrison for his part answered his self-formulated question "Who gets to ride in the Great Vehicle?" as follows: Judging by the eleven early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, those who thought they were riding the Great Vehicle were mostly monks (*bhikṣu*) or other males, and Mahāyāna remained a minority movement in the land of its origin.[93] Andrew Rawlinson, however, has suggested that a multidimensional model existed in Mahāyāna from the very beginning.[94] In the view of some scholars, such as Paul Mus and Richard S. Cohen, the Mahāyāna is the legitimate evolutionary successor to the earliest Buddhism.[95]

(ii) The Content of Mahāyāna

In primary sources, Mahāyāna is rarely understood in the sense of an institution, as it often is in secondary sources. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* explains that Mahāyāna is an appellative (*adhivacana*) for immeasurability (*aprameyatā*).[96] According to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*,[97] the

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that period. ... The *bodhisattva* ideal can be understood only against this background of a saintly and serene, but inactive and indolent monastic order.... The *bodhisattva* ideal was taught in order to counteract this tendency to a cloistered, placid, inert monastic life.... The *bodhisattva* doctrine was promulgated also as a protest against this theory of *arhatship*, which was regarded as doubly defective." See also *ibid.*, 45, 222–225. For some additional references to such a position, see HARRISON 1987: 87, n. 1. See also RAY 1994: 22, 425, n. 18, where Lamotte is referred to as the proponent of a similar position.

[88] See HIRAKAWA 1963. See also HIRAKAWA 1990: 223–311.

[89] See VETTER 1994: 1241, where the following thesis has been proposed: "The first [part of the essay] tries to show that lay believers played an important role in what I consider the group of initiators of Mahāyāna buddhism [sic], custodians and visitors of *stūpa*s which were supposed to contain relics of the Buddha. One or more of them is likely to have conceived the idea to become like the Buddha and to imitate, for that purpose, heroic acts of his former lives, as they were told and depicted at such a site." For detailed arguments, see the same article.

[90] GOMBRICH 1998. For the assessment of Hirakawa's theory, see also SASAKI 1997.

[91] See Richard Robinson, "The Ethic of the Householder Bodhisattva." *Bharati*, 1966, pp. 31–55 [ref. GRONER 1990: 340; GOMBRICH 1998: 44].

[92] RAY 1994: 410.

[93] HARRISON 1987.

[94] Andrew Rawlinson, "The Problem of the Origin of Mahāyāna." In *Traditions in Contact and Change*, eds. P. Slater & D. Wiebe. Waterloo, Ontario: Canadian Corporation for Studies in Religion, 1983, pp. 163–170 [ref. VETTER 1994: 1279].

[95] For details on this position, see COHEN 2000: 22–23, n. 51. Those interested in keeping track of research on the origin of Mahāyāna Buddhism may consult DELEANU 2000 and ARAMAKI 2003.

[96] *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 12.4): *mahāyānam iti subhūte aprameyatāyā etad adhivacanam* |; Tibetan translation (T, fol. 18a6; D, fol. 13b1): *rab 'byor theg pa chen po zhes bya ba 'di ni gzhal du med pa'i tshig bla dags so* ||.

[97] *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 6.5 (p. 229.6–7) and 10.638 (p. 344.5–6):
pañcadharmāḥ svabhāvaś ca vijñānāny aṣṭa eva ca |
dve nairātmye bhavet kṛtsno mahāyānaparigrahaḥ ||.
See also SUZUKI 1930: 33. For an English translation, see *id.* 1932: 198.

entire (doctrinal content of the) Mahāyāna is included in (the doctrine of) (a) the five *dharmas* (or *vastus*),[98] namely, designation (*nāma*), characteristics (*nimitta*), concepts (*vikalpa/saṃkalpa*), correct insight (*samyagjñāna*), and true reality (*tathatā*); (b) the (three) Natures (*svabhāva*), namely, the imagined (*parikalpitasvabhāva*), dependent (*paratantrasvabhāva*), and perfected natures (*pariniṣpannasvabhāva*); (c) the eight conceptual-perceptual apparatuses (*vijñāna*), namely, five sense-perceptions, mental perception-or-conception, defiled mind (*kliṣṭamanas*), and fundamental mind (*ālayavijñāna*);[99] and (d) two kinds of non-self (*nairātmya*), namely, nonexistence of a substantial self or of person (*pudgalanairātmya*) and non-substantiality or non-essentiality of the phenomena (*dharmanairātmya*). The *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* states that the 'Middle Way' (*madhyamā pratipat*) is an epithet (*adhivacana*) for Mahāyāna,[100] and according to the *Śrīmālāsiṃhanādasūtra*, *saddharma* itself is a similar epithet.[101] Sāgaramegha regards both the path and goal of a *bodhisattva* as definitive of Mahāyāna.[102] For Nāgārjuna, Mahāyāna consists of the six perfections (*pāramitā*) and two types of accumulation (*saṃbhāra*).[103] For Candrakīrti, the various kinds of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) distinguish what is called Mahāyāna.[104] Further, a commentary on the *Bhadracaryāpraṇidhāna*, attributed to Dignāga, states:[105]

> It is called the 'Great Way'[106] because it is the way of the great *bodhisattvas*. To be precise, the two accumulations (*saṃbhāra*) of beneficial resources (*puṇya*) and gnosis (*jñāna*), which are the means of attaining the awakening of a *buddha* (*buddhabodhi*) are called *yānas*, and [because] they are furnished with the perfections (*pāramitā*), they are called Mahāyāna.

Ratnākaraśānti for his part explains the term Mahāyāna thus:[107]

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[98] For a recent study of the early Yogācāra theory of five *vastus*, see KRAMER 2005.

[99] For a monumental study of the concept of *ālayavijñāna*, see SCHMITHAUSEN 1987.

[100] *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (T, fol. 257b3; D, fol. 199b3–4): *dbu ma'i lam zhes bya ba ni theg pa chen po'i bla dags so || sor mo'i phreng* ['phreng A] *bas smras pa | dbu ma'i lam mi shes pas sems can rnams dbu ma'i lam gzhan du rtog* [rtag T] *go ||*. This is cited by sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs in his *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 152a2–3; D, fol. 247a1–2; S, vol. 115, p. 670.15–16).

[101] *Śrīmālāsiṃhanādasūtra* (T, fol. 413a1–3; D, fol. 263a1–2): *bcom ldan 'das dam pa'i chos zhes bgyi ba de ni theg pa chen po'i tshig bla dags* [add. lags T] *so || de ci'i slad du zhe na | bcom ldan 'das nyan thos dang | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa thams cad dang | 'jig rten pa dang 'jig rten las 'das pa'i dge ba'i chos thams cad ni theg pa chen pos rab tu phye ba'i slad du'o ||*. Cf. the citation in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (p. 139.3–7) and *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 177b4–5; D, fol. 270a4–5; S, vol. 115, p. 726.1–5). For an English translation of the passage, see WAYMAN & WAYMAN 1974: 78.

[102] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 2a2–b6; D, fols. 1a3–2b1; S, vol. 75, pp. 609.7–610.16).

[103] *Ratnāvalī* 4.80–83.

[104] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 303.16): *stong pa nyid 'di rnams ni theg pa chen po zhes bya'o ||*.

[105] *Praṇidhānārthasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 223b5–6; D, fol. 193b6–7; S, vol. 67, p. 1264.16–20): … *byang chub sems dpa' chen po'i theg pa yin pas na | theg pa chen po ste | dngos su na sangs rgyas kyi byang chub thob par byed pa'i lam bsod nams dang ye shes kyi tshogs gnyis la theg pa zhes bya'o || yang na pha rol tu phyin pa rnams dang bcas pa la theg pa chen po zhes bya'o ||*.

[106] I take *yāna* here as a near synonym of *mārga*, that is, the factors (*dharma*) that constitute the path, as is usually the convention in the Abhidharma and Yogācāra systems.

[107] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 255b1–4; D, fol. 317a3–5; S, vol. 64, p. 619.2–11): *theg pa chen po zhes bya ba la | theg pa'i sgra ni bzhon pa la bya ste | gzhan du khyer bar byed pa'i phyir ro || chen po zhes bya ba ni chos chen po dang ldan pa'o || chos chen po gang zhe na | 'phags pa klu sgrub kyi zhal snga nas sbyin pa dang tshul khrims dang bzod pa dang brtson 'grus dang bsam gtan dang shes rab dang snying rje ni theg pa chen po'o zhes gsungs so || 'dir* ['di PN] *'phags pa thogs med kyi zhabs kyis ni* [1] *chos chen po las shin tu rgyas pa'i sde dang |*

> In the word Mahāyāna, the term *yāna* refers to a vehicle (or means of transport) (*bzhon pa*), since [what it denotes] carries [one] to another [place]; the word *mahā* [refers to] that which is endowed with the great *dharma*s. What are the great *dharma*s? Ārya Nāgārjuna[108] has taught that [the perfections of] giving (*dāna*), ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*), patience (*kṣānti*), diligence (*vīrya*), meditative concentration (*dhyāna*), discriminative insight (*prajñā*), and compassion (*karuṇā*) are [collectively] called Mahāyāna. Ārya Asaṅgapāda[109] has, however, in this [regard], taught that Mahāyāna is that which is endowed with seven kinds of [greatness]: [1] the greatness of the Dharma (*dharmamahattva*), on account of its vastness (*mahāvaipulya*), [2] the greatness of *cittotpāda* (*cittotpādamahattva*), [3] the greatness of trust (*adhimuktimahattva*) in the great doctrine, [4] the greatness of altruistic inclination (*adhyāśayamahattva*), [5] the greatness of accumulation (*saṃbhāramahattva*), [6] the greatness of [the extent of] time (*kālamahattva*), and [7] the greatness of arrival or attainment (*samudāgamamahattva*).[110]

Furthermore, in the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra*, Mahāyāna is described as a *yāna* that plies against the current of the everyday world:[111]

> This Mahāyāna is a *yāna* that is opposed to the entire world. How so? The sentient beings of the world follow the current. I, however, claim to attempt [to be moving] against the current.[112]

For Sthiramati (ca. 510–570),[113] non-conceptual gnosis (*nirvikalpajñāna*) is at the core of Mahāyāna.[114] Kamalaśīla, citing the *Gayāśīrṣasūtra* in his Third *Bhāvanākrama*, explains that *prajñā* and *upāya* constitute Mahāyāna, and that according to the *Tathāgataguhyasūtra* the entire path of a *bodhisattva* can be subsumed under *prajñā* and *upāya*.[115] Thus, if *bodhicitta* is

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[2] *sems bskyed chen po dang* | [3] *chos chen po la mos pa chen po dang* | [4] *lhag pa'i bsam pa chen po dang* | [5] *tshogs chen po dang* | [6] *dus chen po dang* | [7] *yang dag sgrub pa po chen po dang* | *rnam pa bdun ni theg pa chen po'o zhes gsungs*.... See also the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (P, fol. 5a6–b2; D, fols. 4b7–5a2; S, vol. 115, pp. 1016.13–1017.1): *theg pa zhes bya ba ni 'di las 'gro* [grol PN] *bar byed pas theg pa'am bgrod par bya ba yin pas theg pa ste* | *lam dang 'bras bur 'brel pa'i theg pa zhes bya bar sbyar ro* || *chen po zhes bya ba ni nyan thos la sogs pa'i theg pa las chen po rnam pa bdun po chos chen po dang* | *sems bskyed pa chen po dang* | *mos pa chen po dang* | *lhag pa'i bsam pa chen po dang* | *tshogs* [add. pa DC] *chen po dang* | *dus chen po dang* | *yang dag par 'grub pa chen pos khyad par* [om. par PN] *du 'phags pas na byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi theg pa ni theg pa chen po zhes bya'o* || *chen po bdun po de dag las dang po drug ni tha ma'i rgyur gyur pa yin la* | *tha ma ni dang po drug gi 'bras bur gyur par rig par bya'o* ||. See also the *lTa ba'i khyad par* (P, fol. 256a4–b3; D, fols. 216b5–217a5; S, vol. 116, pp. 569.15–570.16).

108 Ratnākaraśānti is clearly referring to *Ratnāvalī* 4.81.

109 Ratnākaraśānti is evidently alluding to *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18 (*Bodhisattvaguṇapaṭala*), where the seven greatnesses (*mahattva*) are explained (WOGIHARA, pp. 297.7–298.2; DUTT, pp. 201.20–202.9).

110 See *BHSD*, s.vv. *samudāgama* and *samudāgamana*.

111 *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 20a6–7; D, fol. 14a7): *'di lta ste* | *theg pa chen po 'di ni 'jig rten thams cad dang mi mthun* ['thun D] *pa'i theg pa'o* || *de ci'i phyir zhe na* | *sems can de dag ni rgyun gyi rjes su 'gro ba dag go* || *bdag ni rgyun las ldog par rtsol bar* [bas T] *'dod pa'o* ||. This passage is cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (according to the Tibetan translation) but the corresponding Sanskrit text is missing. For the Tibetan text and an English translation of the passage, see the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 185–186, n. 2). Cf. the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fol. 313a6–7; D, fol. 83b6–7): *byang chub sems dpa' ni yang dag par so sor rtog pas* | *sangs rgyas kyi byang chub khong du chud do* || *bcom ldan 'das de bas na byang chub sems dpas* [dpa' T] *rgyun las bzlog ste* | *'jug par par bgyi* [bgyi'o | T] *rgyun gyi rjes su* [add. mi T] *'jug par mi bgyi'o* ||.

112 The idea of the Buddha's or Buddhist attitude of moving against (and along with) the current of the world found in Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna literature is an interesting theme that would require further studies, and would be particularly relevant to the Madhyamaka system in which one finds both situations of compliance and noncompliance with the worldly norms.

113 SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 61, 69.

114 *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 83b5; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 73b3; S, vol. 71, p. 1079.21): *rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes ni theg pa chen po ste* |.

understood as a synthesis of *prajñā* and *upāya*, it would follow that the entire content of Mahāyāna is merely *bodhicitta*. (In the *Guhyasiddhi*, the ultimate sameness of phenomena is similarly called Vajrayāna.[116])

(iii) Is Mahāyāna Indispensable? Is Vajrayāna Indispensable?

There is the tendency to hold one's own 'vehicle' to be indispensable, not only for the attainment of Buddhahood but also for release from *saṃsāra*. For example, the *Mahāyānaviṃśikā* attributed to Nāgārjuna maintains:[117]

> In the ocean of *saṃsāra*
> Filled with the water of conceptual thought,
> Who will cross over to the [other] shore
> Without embarking on [the ship] of Mahāyāna!

Similarly, Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* states:[118]

> In the great ocean of *saṃsāra*
> Filled with the water of conceptual thought,
> Who will arrive at the [further] shore
> [Without][119] embarking on [the ship of] Vajrayāna!

It is clear that the latter is based on the former. Likewise, Candrakīrti has maintained what one might call 'soteriological exclusivism,' namely, that one who deviates from the path of Nāgārjuna has no other means of attaining cessation.[120] In the *Lokātītastava* attributed to one Nāgārjuna, however, the argument seems to be that release from *saṃsāra* cannot be attained unless one resorts to signlessness (virtually a synonym of *śūnyatā*), as has been greatly emphasised in the Mahāyāna.[121]

The statement that the Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna is indispensable—not only for the attainment of Buddhahood but also for mere release from *saṃsāra*—if taken at face value can

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[115] Third *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 14.16–19): *etāvad eva ca saṃkṣiptaṃ mahāyānaṃ yad uta prajñopāyaś ca | yathoktam āryagayāśīrṣe | «dvāv imau bodhisattvānāṃ saṃkṣiptau mārgau | katamau dvau | yad uta prajñā copāyaś ca |» āryatathāgataguhyasūtre coktam | «imau ca prajñopāyau bodhisattvānāṃ sarvapāramitāsaṃgrahāya saṃvartete» iti |*.

[116] *Guhyasiddhi* 2.11 (p. 13.3–4):
atyantaguptam udghāṭya vajrayānam anuttaram |
sarvadharmasamaikatvaṃ yat tvayā bhāṣitaṃ prabho ||.

[117] *Mahāyānaviṃśikā*, verse no. 28 (TUCCI 1956: 203):
kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṃsārasumahodadheḥ |
anākramya mahāyānaṃ ko vā pāraṃ tariṣyati ||.
Cf. the English translation in TUCCI 1956: 207.

[118] *Jñānasiddhi* 11.8 (p. 127.15–16):
kalpanājalapūrṇasya saṃsārasya mahodadheḥ |
vajrayānaṃ samāruhya ko vā pāraṃ gamiṣyati ||.

[119] Note that the text has no negation.

[120] *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6.79 (cited in the *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, Part 1, p. 396.3–6):
ācāryanāgārjunapādamārgād bahirgatānāṃ na śivābhyupāyaḥ |
bhraṣṭā hi te saṃvṛtisatyamārgāt tadbhraṃśataś cāsti na mokṣasiddhiḥ ||.
The Sanskrit verse is cited also in MIMAKI 1982: 164, n. 451.

[121] *Lokātītastava*, verse no. 27:
animittam anāgamya mokṣo nāsti tvam uktavān |
atas tvayā mahāyāne tat sākalyena deśitam ||.
For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 11.

cause insurmountable problems historically as well as doctrinally. One of the solutions would be to understand Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna (like *bodhicitta* itself) in their ontological and gnoseological senses and to interpret them retrospectively, in the way the indispensability of *bodhicitta* has been interpreted by Mañjuśrīmitra.[122] Under such an interpretation, Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna is understood in the sense of true reality (i.e. ontological) or of insight into it (i.e. gnoseological), and a minimum mandatory dosage of Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna is presupposed for all Buddhist saints. Analogously to Mañjuśrīmitra's interpretation of *bodhicitta*, one might propose that a *śrāvaka* saint partakes of Mahāyāna or Vajrayāna to a small degree; a *pratyekabuddha*, to an intermediate degree; and a *bodhisattva* saint, to a greater degree still. This is, however, a purely retrospective interpretation prompted by one current of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna, and historically inaccurate.

3. The Concepts of *Sattva* and *Bodhisattva*

The notion of *sattva* in general and *bodhisattva* in particular is of relevance to the study of *bodhicitta*. Schmithausen has remarked that the Buddhist position on environmental ethics could be described as 'sentient-centric' and not as anthropocentric.[123] We can extend this sentiment and describe Buddhism in general as a 'sentient-centric' religion, for its target is not limited to human beings but is in fact all sentient beings (including animals). The significance of 'sentient-centrism' becomes more conspicuous in Mahāyāna Buddhism. A *bodhisattva* is in the first place a *sattva*, and if there were no other *sattva*s (i.e. if he were the only *sattva*), the concept of *bodhisattva* would serve no purpose. Furthermore, a *bodhisattva* who disregarded the needs of another *sattva* would run the risk of breaking his *bodhisattva* vows (and of severing *bodhicitta*, which is the tendon that binds a *bodhisattva* and another *sattva*).[124] In the following few sections, we shall consider the terms *sattva*, *bodhisattva*, and *vajrasattva*, and their link with the concept of *bodhicitta*.

According to the Buddhist view, the world comprises the 'container world' (*bhājanaloka*) and its content, that is, the 'world of sentient beings' (*sattvaloka*),[125] which includes not only human beings but also other sentient beings, such as animals. Any being capable of feelings, such as pain, is a *sattva*.[126] Several virtual synonyms of *sattva* are used in Buddhist literature, such as *prāṇa* (or *prāṇin*), *jīva*, and *bhūta*.[127] However, the line of demarcation between sentience and non-sentience in earliest Buddhism was not very clear-cut. Schmithausen has shown that plants were originally regarded in Buddhism as a borderline case, but practical considerations gradually led to ignoring the sentience of plants and finally to denying it.[128]

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[122] See the discussion in chapter seven.

[123] SCHMITHAUSEN 1994: 181.

[124] See, for example, Nag-tsho Lo-tsā-ba, *bsTod pa rgyad bcu pa* 045 (EIMER 2003: 33):
khyod ni pha rol phyin pa'i sgor zhugs nas ||
lhag pa'i bsam pa rnam par dag pa yi ||
byang chub sems kyis 'gro rnams mi gtong ba'i ||
blo ldan snying rje can la phyag 'tshal lo ||.

[125] I have not been able to locate the Sanskrit term for the Tibetan expression 'world of content' (*bcud kyi 'jig rten*). Could it simply be an alternative translation for *sattvaloka* (*sems can gyi 'jig rten*)?

[126] Schmithausen in BSTEH 2000: 364.

[127] SCHMITHAUSEN 1991: 1–2, n. 7.

[128] SCHMITHAUSEN 1991: 69, n. 106. Schmithausen has thoroughly discussed in this monograph the problem of the sentience of plants in early forms of Buddhism.

Human beings are one among a broad spectrum of sentient beings; a *bodhisattva* is one among a broad spectrum of *sattvas*. In this context, we may refer to Schmithausen's statement that in Buddhism one may speak of not only 'human dignity' (*Menschenwürde*) but also of the 'dignity of all forms of life' (*Lebewesenwürde*).[129] If I may again employ the axiological terminology, a distinction between the various sentient beings cannot be made in terms of their intrinsic value, particularly not if the *tathāgatagarbha* theory is presupposed. Nonetheless, one could perhaps say that in Buddhism there is a difference in the instrumental value of various sentient beings. Human beings, owing to their possibility and the ability to make the soteriological breakthrough, are conceived of as possessing special value among sentient beings, and in this regard human existence is even more valuable than the state of a celestial being.

(a) No *Bodhisattvas* without *Sattvas*

In Mahāyāna, the entire concept of *bodhicitta* and *bodhisattva* would collapse or make no sense without *sattvas*, for a *bodhisattva* is, in the first place, a *sattva* whose *citta* is directed towards attaining the highest state of *bodhi* for the sake of other *sattvas*. Not only is the *bodhicitta* of a *bodhisattva* dependent on sentient beings, but also his practices of the perfections (*pāramitā*) are in one way or another connected with them. A *bodhisattva* becomes a *buddha* by relying on sentient beings.[130] For Śāntideva, it is impossible for a *bodhisattva* to possess *bodhicitta* and yet be unhappy at the well-being of other sentient beings.[131] He also explains in detail why and in what respects sentient beings are equal to *buddhas* and deserve equal respect.[132] According to Rong-zom-pa, one attains the state of awakening (*bodhi*) by depending on sentient beings, but one also commits transgressions (*āpatti*) by doing the same, and hence one must regard them as much as one regards the *buddhas*.[133] For him, both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna presuppose that great *bodhi* is attained with the help of sentient beings and the Three Jewels.[134] Thus a *bodhisattva*, depending on how he interacts with sentient beings, can either flourish or perish.

According to some Yogācāra sources, a *bodhisattva* respects all sentient beings the way he respects himself (in the sense of the Golden Rule) and assumes the view of a great self (*mahātmadṛṣṭi*), for he experiences (on the first *bhūmi*) the sameness or omnipresence of true reality (*dharmadhātu*), or non-substantiality (*nairātmya*), in all sentient beings. This experience of the omnipresent true reality, which is the self (*ātman*) shared by him and other sentient beings, imparts to the *bodhisattva* a new dimension of self and tears down the barriers

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[129] In BSTEH 2000: 330–331.

[130] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5.80; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 41.

[131] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 6.83:
sa kiṃ necchati sattvānāṃ yas teṣāṃ bodhim icchati |
bodhicittaṃ kutas tasya yo 'nyasaṃpadi kupyati ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 57.

[132] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 6.112–6.134; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 60–62.

[133] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 151a3–5; B, p. 246.17–21): *gzhan yang sems can rnams la brten te skyes pa'i dge ba dang mi dge ba'ang de bzhin du gsungs te | ji skad du | sems can la brten nas byang chub thob par 'gyur zhing | sems can la brten nas ltung ba 'byung bar 'gyur bas | de bzhin gshegs pa dang 'dra bar sems can yongs su gzung bar bya'o || zhes gsungs pa lta bu'o ||*. See also the *Māyājālatantra* (T, fol. 71a6–7; D, fol. 134a2): *sems can rnams la brten te byang chub thob par 'gyur bas sems can la bslu bar mi bya'o || zhes shes par byas nas de bzhin gshegs pa'i lam de nyid la sems can de dag sbyar bar bya'o ||*.

[134] *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 76a6–77a1; B, pp. 499.19–500.10).

of the old self, never to be confronted thereafter. Also, for the Tathāgatagarbha tradition, all sentient beings (including animals) should be respected like a *tathāgata*, for they already bear a *tathāgata* within them (like an embryo in a hidden form or as a potential).[135]

The idea of *tathāgatagarbha* is also used as an argument in Vajrayāna ethics. For example, the *Dam tshig gsal bkra* ascribed to Vilāsavajra, in explaining one of the five primary tantric commitments (*samaya*) of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* tradition, speaks of four kinds of kindred (*mched*) towards whom one should be benevolent: (1) general kindred (*spyi 'i mched*), (2) distant kindred (*ring ba'i mched*), (3) close kindred (*nye ba'i mched*), and (4) intimate kindred (*nang 'dres pa'i mched*). First, all sentient beings are general kindred of the Vajrayāna practitioner, for they are bound by one *tathāgatagarbha* and are potential future *buddhas*. Second, all Buddhists are his or her distant kindred. Third, all (Buddhists) who share the same view and conduct are his or her close kindred. Fourth, all those with whom he or she has received tantric empowerment are his or her intimate kindred.[136]

(b) Faith-oriented and Reason-oriented Sentient Beings

Buddhism in general recognises the diversity of *sattvas*. This is even true in the case of traditions which maintain that all *sattvas* possess the same spiritual disposition, namely, the *tathāgatagotra*, for they accept that different vehicles are necessary (at least temporarily) for *sattvas* with different predispositions and that insisting on one model for everyone makes little sense. Broadly speaking, both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna sources seem to recognise two types of *sattvas*, namely, *śraddhānusārin* (i.e. faith-oriented) and *dharmānusārin* (i.e. reason-oriented),[137] and correspondingly two different salvific approaches—that is, one that emphasises the component of *śraddhā* and another that emphasises that of *prajñā*—until a person can combine or possess both. It is also accepted that, in principle, both *śraddhā*-generated *prajñā* and *prajñā*-generated *śraddhā* are possible. Such a stance may serve to revise the perception of Buddhism as being either purely rational or purely devotional.

The varying degrees of emphasis laid on the *prajñā*-oriented and *śraddhā*-oriented soteriological approaches and the insistence upon only one of the two (from an unwillingness of opposing factions to concede that the authoritative sources upon which they rely contain alternative approaches) seem to have been partly responsible for several of the intra-Buddhist

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[135] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 449–450.

[136] *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (P, fols. 574a8–575a1; S, vol. 43, p. 1192.1–4):

bde gshegs snying po 'yun ring' [= can yin?] *phyir* ||
ma 'ongs sangs rgyas rang bzhin yin ||
spyi yi mchod [= mched] *de pha tshan bzhi* ||
sangs rgyas chos zhugs ring ba dang ||
lta spyod mthun pas nye bar bshad ||
pha cig [= gcig] *dam tshig nang 'dres pa* ||.

See also the *'Od gsal snying po* (p. 164.4–6): *spyir mched la bzhir bshad de | sems can thams cad bde gshegs snying po gcig gis bsdus pas spyi yi mched | sangs rgyas kyi bstan pa la zhugs pa thams cad ring ba'i mched | lta spyod mthun pa nye ba'i mched | dbang lhan gcig zhus pa nang 'dres pa'i mched do || yang bzhi po de steng | bla ma gcig pa mdzes pa'i mched | chos lhan cig nyan pa nye ba'i mched gnyis bsnan te drug tu yang bshad la | thams cad la yang byams pa'i sems btang bar mi bya'o* ||. Cf. the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 189a6–190b1; B, pp. 226.3–227.8).

[137] See, for example, Jñānagarbha's *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīṭīkā* (p. 173.1–2): *gdul ba ni rnam pa gnyis te | chos kyi rjes su 'brang ba dang | dad pas rjes su 'brang ba'o* ||. See also *TSD*, s.vv. *dad pas rjes su 'brang ba* and *chos kyi rjes su 'brang ba*. Sanskrit sources for the corresponding terms *rigs pa'i rjes 'brang* (**nyāyānusārin*) and *lung gi rjes 'brang* (**āgamānusārin*) used in Tibetan (e.g. *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v.) have yet to be traced. See also *PED* and *CPD*, s.v. *anusārin*.

doctrinal disputes.[138] One representative instance in the context of *bodhicitta*: Is *bodhicitta* an outcome of the realisation of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) or is it a cause of such a realisation?[139] In other words, should one first generate *bodhicitta* or should one first seek the correct cognition of emptiness (*śūnyatā*)? Not everyone, however, categorically insisted upon one approach and ruled out any other option. For example, Śāntarakṣita, who apparently did not consider himself a *śraddhānusārin*,[140] recognised two alternative approaches in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti*, one for reason-oriented *sattva*s and the other for faith-oriented ones. According to him, a reason-oriented *sattva* should first seek the correct knowledge of true reality (albeit theoretical), then generate compassion towards those who are submerged in wrong views (thereby generating *bodhicitta*) and engage in the ascetic practice of a sage (*munivrata*) adorned with both *prajñā* and *karuṇā*. A faith-oriented *sattva*, on the other hand, should first generate *bodhicitta* and then seek the correct view.[141]

(c) The Term *Bodhisattva*

As we have already seen, the term *bodhisattva* is central to Mahāyāna.[142] In the *Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra* we can find several reasons listed why a *bodhisattva* is called *bodhisattva*.[143] One of the explanations is as follows:[144]

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[138] The dispute over which of the two methods of meditation—analytical meditation (*dpyad sgom*) or non-analytical meditation characterised by keeping (one's mind in the state of tranquillity and non-conceptuality) (*'jog sgom*)—is, in my view, a typical example.

[139] This issue has been thematised in the report of the bSam-yas debate between the Simultaneists (*cig char ba*) and Gradualists (*rim gyis pa*). The former maintained that the method of religious practice that included taking refuge and generating *bodhicitta* in an ordinary way (*rang rgyud du*) is the approach by ascent (*mas 'dzeg*), contrasted with the approach by descent (*mas babs*), according to which great compassion (i.e. apparently *bodhicitta*) arises naturally (*rang shugs su*) once view (*lta ba*) is realised, so that one abides in a state of the union of emptiness and compassion (*stong nyid snying rje chen po can du gnas*). See the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp. 401.17–402.6).

[140] See his *Tattvasaṃgraha* (cited in *TSD*, s.v. *dad pa'i rjes su 'brang ba min*): *vayam aśraddhānās tu ye yuktīḥ prārthayāmahe* ||.

[141] *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (P, fols. 83b8–84a3; D, fol. 83a4–6; S, vol. 62, p. 973.7–14):
yang dag shes tshol sngon btang ste ||
don de rnam par nges byas nas ||
lta ngan 'thibs gnas 'jig rten la ||
snying rje kun tu bskyed nas su ||
'gro don byed 'pa par' [par dpa' N] *gyur pa* ||
byang chub blo rgyas mkhas pa ni ||
blo dang snying rjes brgyan pa yi ||
thub pa'i brtul zhugs yang dag spyod ||
yang dag dad pas rjes ''brang ba' ['brangs pa DC]||
rdzogs pa'i byang chub sems bskyed nas ||
thub pa'i brtul zhugs blang byas te ||
de ni yang dag shes tshol brtson ||
blo mig zhib pa'i blo ldan dag ||
lam gang nas ni 'jug 'gyur ba ||
lung dang rigs pa gsal ldan pa ||
de ltar phyogs tsam bstan pa yin ||.

[142] The *bodhisattva* ideal, it is maintained, is found also in Jainism. See NAKAMURA 1980: 154: "The ideal of the Bodhisattva is noticed among the Jains also, parallel to that of Buddhism. But in later days this became peculiarly Buddhistic." I shall leave it up to specialists in Jaina studies to assess the textual evidence for this statement. Cf. DAYAL 1932: 7, where it is stated that some scholars have tried to associate the term *bodhisattva* with the term *buddhisattva*, used in the system of the non-Buddhist *Yogasūtra*, but such a connection is

Bodhi stated: "O Venerable One, it is as follows: If a man or a woman does not digress from the 'eight-limb sabbath' (*aṣṭāṅgapoṣadha*) [vow][145] and abides by [it], [he or she] will be regarded as one who has assumed the eight-limb sabbath [vow]. O Venerable One, likewise a *bodhisattva* does not deviate from his *bodhicitta*, beginning from the generation of the initial resolve until the [arrival at the] seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*). He is for this reason called a *bodhisattva*."

The term *bodhisattva* has been discussed by sundry scholars.[146] Dayal presented seven interpretations of the term *bodhisattva* in the Buddhist context.[147] I summarise them here, leaving the two components *bodhi* and *sattva* untranslated:

	sattva	*Bodhisattva*
1.	'essence'	'one who has *bodhi* as his *sattva*'
2.	'sentient being'	'a *sattva* who is seeking *bodhi*'
3.	'resolve' (*citta* or *abhiprāya*)	'one whose *sattva* is fixed on *bodhi*'[148]
4.	'embryo'	'one in whom *bodhi* is latent as a *sattva*'
5.	'intelligence' (*buddhi*)	'one who possesses the *sattva* of *bodhi*'
6.	'attached' (*sakta*)[149]	'one who is *sakta* (< *sattva*) to *bodhi*'
7.	'energy' or 'courage'	'one whose *sattva* is directed towards *bodhi*'

Of the seven, Dayal accepts only two (nos. 2 and 6). Kajiyama has reassessed Dayal's discussion of these seven interpretations and thereby enhanced our understanding of the term *bodhisattva*. He agrees with Dayal that interpretations 1, 4, 5, and 7 (except the Tibetan interpretation discussed within no. 7) do not yield a simple and natural sense. However, he disagrees with him on several points: (a) He regards Dayal's rejection and ridiculing of Ghosa's interpretation of *bodhisattva* as 'one who has *sattva* and *bodhi* as his object of appropriation (*ālambana*),' which is alluded to under interpretation no. 2, as unjustified. (b) Dayal's rejection of interpretation no. 3 is also considered by him to be unjustified. (c) He disagrees with Dayal's inclusion of the Tibetan interpretation of the term *bodhisattva* under interpretation no. 7 and suggests that it should be subsumed under no. 3.

I find the following note by Schmithausen particularly useful for an understanding of the term *bodhisattva*, and translate it here into English:[150]

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apparently unfounded. Historically, it is important to note, as already stated, that there is no trace of Mahāyāna in Aśoka's inscriptions, the term *bodhisattva* not occurring even once in them. See ROTH 1982: 374; VETTER 1994: 1243, n. 3.

[143] *Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fols. 216b5– 220b4; D, fols. 66a2–68b4).

[144] *Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 217a4–7; D, fol. 66a6–7): *byang chub kyis gsol pa | bcom ldan 'das 'di lta ste | skyes pa'am* [pa 'am T] | *bud med ji lta bur bstan pa'i yan lag brgyad dang ldan pa'i gso sbyin* [= sbyong] *la ma ral ma zhig par nye bar gnas na de yan lag brgyad kyi gso sbyin* [= sbyong] *yang dag par blangs pa zhes bgyi ba'i grangs su mchi'o || bcom ldan 'das de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa' sems dang po bskyed pa nas bzung ste | byang chub kyi snying po'i bar du byang chub kyi sems las ma g.yos pa lags te | de ni de'i slad du byang chub sems dpa' zhes bgyi'o ||*.

[145] See *PED*, *CPD*, NYANATILOKA 1989, s.v. *uposatha*; *BHSD*, s.v. *poṣadha*.

[146] The term *bodhisattva* has been discussed in great detail in KAJIYAMA 1982; cf. DAYAL 1932: 4-9. For the terms *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva*, see also ZIMMERMANN 2002a: 94–96, n. 10. One fact to be noted is that the term *bodhisattva* is older than *mahāsattva*.

[147] DAYAL 1932: 4–9. The seven points have been summarised in KAJIYAMA 1982: 253–254.

[148] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 200.29); JOSHI 1971: 70.

[149] See Schmithausen's response to a question in BSTEH 2000: 385, where he states: "Ich bin mit Herrn Vetter völlig einer Meinung, daß *-satta* hier skt. *-sakta* ('hängend', 'strebend nach') entspricht und nicht, im Sinne der späteren Sanskritisierung, *-sattva* 'Lebewesen' oder *-sattva* 'Energie' (letzteres kommt im Kanon gar nicht vor)."

[The term *bodhisattva*] is often rendered as 'enlightenment being.' However, in the first place, *bodhi* has metaphoric overtones not of light but of awakening. Secondly, one would naturally associate the expression 'awakening being' with a being characterised by awakening, that is, the Buddha himself *after* his awakening. According to autochthonous explanations, [the term] *bodhisattva* is understood as 'one whose energy, or heroic attitude, is directed towards awakening' (cf. also Tib. *byang chub sems dpa'*),[151] which is fine as far as content is concerned, but has the disadvantage that *sattva* (or Middle Indic *satta*) does not seem to be attested in this meaning in the old canon (where the term *bodhisattva* already occurs). What is plausible, in my view, is the assumption of an ahistorical Sanskritisation of Middle Indic *bodhisatta* < **bodhisakta* 'clinging to awakening' in the sense of 'striving for awakening,' traces of which can indeed still be found in the exegetical tradition. That this meaning was given up early on can be explained easily by the fact that *sakta* underwent a negative development in meaning, and later on only meant 'clinging to' in a spiritually negative sense.

The compound *bodhisattva*, which was very likely Sanskritised ahistorically from the Middle Indic *bodhisatta*, is open to more than one interpretation.[152] Modern scholars have taken note of the Tibetan translation of the term according to the common understanding of it, such as the one recorded in the *sGra sbyor bam po gnyis pa*.[153] The works of Rong-zom-pa, however, reveal that several other ways of construing the compound *bodhisattva* have also been explored. Explaining the term Bodhisattvayāna in his *dKon mchog 'grel*, Rong-zom-pa states:[154]

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[150] Schmithausen has often rendered *bodhisattva* into German as *nach dem Erwachen Strebende*. He states: "[Der Begriff Bodhisattva wird] oft als 'Erleuchtungswesen' wiedergegeben. Aber zum einen schließt *bodhi* keine Lichtmetaphorik ein, sondern die des Erwachens, zum anderen würde man den Ausdruck 'Erwachens-Wesen' doch natürlicherweise auf ein durch Erwachen charakterversiertes Wesen beziehen, also auf den Buddha selbst *nach* seinem Erwachen. Einheimische Erklärungen verstehen *bodhisattva* als 'den, dessen Energie, oder heroische Gesinnung, auf das Erwachen gerichtet ist' (vgl. auch Tib. *byang chub sems dpa'*), was inhaltlich treffend ist, aber den Nachteil hat, daß *sattva* (bzw. mittelindisch *satta*) in dieser Bedeutung im alten Kanon (wo der Begriff *bodhisattva* bereits vorkommt) nicht belegt zu sein schein. Näherliegend ist m.E. die Annahme einer unhistorischen Sanskritisierung von mittelindisch *bodhisatta* < **bodhi-sakta* 'am Erwachen hängend' im Sinne von 'nach dem Erwachen strebend', wovon sich in der Tat in den Auslegungstraditionen noch deutliche Spuren finden. Daß diese Deutung schon früh aufgegeben wurde, läßt sich leicht mit der Tatsache erklären, daß *sakta* eine negative Bedeutungsentwicklung durchlaufen hat und später nur noch 'haftend an', in spirituell stets negativem Sinne, bedeutet" (SCHMITHAUSEN 2002: 13, n. 40).

[151] Cf. *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 4.§14 (p. 511–2): *yathā pratyarthikanirghātāc chūrā ity ucyante, evam eva jarāvyādhimaraṇaduḥkhopaśamanād bodhisattvā ity ucyante* |.

[152] See also the explanation of *bodhisattva* and *mahāsattva* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (pp. 9.22–10.22); Tibetan translation (T, fols. 14a4–15b7; D, fols. 10b2–11b4).

[153] *sGra sbyor bam gnyis* (no. 65): *bodhisatva zhes bya ba bodhau satvan‹a› yeṣāṃ te bodhisatva zhes bya ba ste* | *bodhi ni byang chub* | *satva ni sems dpa*['] *ba'am snying stobs che ba la bya* | *bla na med pa'i byang chub sgrub pa la gcig tu brtul zhing mi nur bas na byang chub sems dpa'* |. See also the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtravyākhyāna* (P, fol. 34b2–3; D, fol. 28b6–7; S, vol. 115, p. 1076.12–16): *byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya ba'i* [ba ni PN] *tshig gi don ni bla na med pa'i byang chub dang sems can thams cad la dmigs te sems bskyed pa'o* || *yang gcig* [cig PN] *tu na byang chub ces bya ba ni rtogs pa dang ldan pa yin la* | *sems dpa' zhes bya ba ni snying stobs dang ldan pa la bya'o* ||.

[154] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 19a2–5; B, p. 46.3–10): *ci'i phyir byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya zhe na* || *bo dhi satwa zhes bya ba bo dhi ni a ba bo dhi ste* | *khong du chud cing rtogs pa'i tshig go* || *yang bo dhi ni skyon dag cing byang ba la yang bya bas don des na byang chub* [add. sems A] *zhes bya'o* || *satwa ni sgra don drug la 'jug ste* | [1] *snying stobs te zhe sdang dang* | [2] *dpa' zhing brtan pa dang* | [3] *'dun pa dang* | [4] *shes rig dang* | [5] *srog chags dang* | [6] *bsdus pa rnams la 'jug go* || *de las 'dir yang byang chub kyi phyir bsam pa brtan zhing mi nur ba yod pas byang chub 'dod pa dang* | *byang chub dang sems can la dmigs pa yod pas byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya'o* || *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa las ni* | *sems can byang chub pas byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya'o* ||.

Why is *bodhisattva* called [so]? [Of the two components of] the term *bodhisattva*, *bodhi* is [semantically identical with] *avabodhi*,[155] which means [cognitive] penetration and realisation. *Bodhi* also refers to the purification and cleansing of all imperfections, and hence [the Tibetan term] *byang chub* (lit. 'purification and [cognitive] penetration') [was coined].[156] The [term] *sattva* is applied in six senses: (1) 'vital energy' or 'vehemence,' (2) 'courage' and 'firmness,' (3) 'resolution,' (4) 'consciousness,' (5) 'sentient being,' and (6) 'essence.'[157] Whence, in this [system], [someone] is called a *bodhisattva* on account of his having a steadfast and unyielding[158] resolve to [attain] *bodhi*, and his fixing on *bodhi* and *sattva* as his objects. According to the [system of] Prajñāpāramitā, however, [someone] is called *bodhisattva* because [he] is a *sattva* characterised by *bodhi*.[159]

A similar explanation can also be found in his commentary to the *lTa phreng*:[160]

Within the word *byang chub sems dpa'*, the [first two syllables] *byang chub*, [used to translate the Sanskrit word] *bodhi*, mean the 'purification and exhaustion of all defilements' and 'correct realisation and [cognitive] penetration,' [respectively]. This is the reason why the term *byang chub* is applied. As for the word *sems dpa'*, it is derived from [the Sanskrit] word *sattva*, which signifies [1] 'desire,' [2] 'courage,' [3] 'stable and unwavering resolve,' [4] 'sentient being,' [5] 'consciousness,' and [6] 'compendium.' Here, it is called so because of one's desire [to attain] awakening, or the stability of [one's] resolve [to attain] awakening, or one's possessing [the resolve that] is directed towards awakening and sentient beings, as stated in the following [verse]:[161]

Awakening, the characteristic [of which is similar to that] of space,
Is free from all [dualistic] conceptions;
One who desires to realise this
Is called a *bodhisattva*.

The Prajñāpāramitā [texts], however, explain that 'it is because sentient beings are awakened that they are called *bodhisattvas*.' This would imply a realisation that sentient beings are of an awakened [nature]. Furthermore, in the phrase 'a sentient being [resolved to attain] awakening,'

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155 *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 2885; *BHSD*, s.v. *samyagavabodhi*. However, note that only *avabodha* is recorded in Pāli and classical Sanskrit.

156 To render the Sanskrit *bodhi*, Tibetans have coined the technical term *byang chub*, which actually contains two components, namely, *byang* and *chub* (JÄSCHKE 1881, s.vv. *'byang ba* and *chub pa*).

157 Cf. *PW*, s.v., where nine meanings of *sattva* are given (cf. also *MW*, s.v. *sattva*).

158 Cf. JÄSCHKE 1881, s.v. *nur ba*.

159 Ānandagarbha, *Paramādyaṭīkā* (P, vol. *li*, fol. 29b2; D, vol. *i*, fol. 26b1; S, vol. 31, p. 61.13): *byang chub kyi rang bzhin gyi sems dpa' ni byang chub sems dpa'o* ||. See also the following translation from the *lTa 'grel*.

160 *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 233a1–b2; B, pp. 313.13–314.2): *byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya ba la* | *byang chub ni bo dhi zhes bya ba'i sgra* | *dri ma thams cad zad cing dag pa' la yang snyegs* | *phyin ci* [ni A] *ma log par rtogs shing khong du chud pa la yang snyegs pas byang chub ces* [cing A] *btags* | *sems dpa' zhes bya ba ni* | *sa twa zhes bya ba'i sgra las drangs na* | [1] *'dod pa dang* [2] *snying stobs dang* [3] *bsam pa brtan zhing mi nur ba dang* [4] *sems can dang* [5] *shes rig dang* [6] *sdud pa dag la 'jug ste* | *de la 'dir ni byang chub 'dod pa'am* | *byang chub kyi phyir bsam pa brtand pa'am* | *byang chub dang sems can la dmigs pa yod pas de skad ces bya ste* | *'di' ltar* | «*byang chub nam mkha'i mtshan nyid de* || *kun tu* [du B] *rtog pa* [pa' A] *thams cad spangs* || *gang zhig de rtogs 'dod pa de* || *byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya 'o* ||» *zhes bya ba la' stsogs pa gsungs pa' bzhin no* || *shes rab kyi pha* [pa A] *rol tu phyin pa las ni* | *sems can byang chub pas byang chub sems dpa'o* [pa' 'o A] *zhes bshad de* [do A] | *de lta na yang sems can byang chub tu rtogs pa'o zhes bya bar 'gyur ro* || *gzhan yang byang chub sems can zhes bya ba'i sgra ltar na* | *sems can ni srog chags kyi sgra ste* | *byang chub kyi sems dang ldan pa'i* [dpa'i A] *srog chags gang dag yin pa de ni* | *byang chub sems dpa' 'o zhes bya bar 'gyur ro* || *byang chub kyi* [kyī A] *sems ni mdor bsdu' na shes rab dang snying rje zung du 'brel ba'o* ||.

161 This verse is from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fol. 153b6–7; D, fol. 251a2). Compare the English translation of the verse in HODGE 2003: 378.

> a sentient being is a 'living creature' (*prāṇin*), and a living creature who possesses *bodhicitta* is called a *bodhisattva*.[162] *Bodhicitta*, in short, is the union of insight (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*).

Jñānagarbha states that one who is endowed with *prajñā* and *upāya* is a *bodhisattva*.[163] It has been pointed out that *bodhicitta* is sometimes used as an equivalent of *bodhisattva*.[164] In such a case *bodhisattva* should perhaps be understood as 'one whose *citta* is [directed towards] *bodhi*.' To sum up, the term *bodhisattva* may be explained in the following ways: (1) one who is attached (*sakta*) to awakening (*bodhi*), (2) one whose energy (*sattva*) is directed towards awakening, (3), one who has sentient beings (*sattva*) and awakening as objects of concern, (4) a sentient being (*sattva*) who possesses [the resolve to strive for] awakening, and (5) a sentient being (*sattva*) who is characterised by awakening. The meaning of *bodhi* obviously affects the way the compound *bodhisattva* is understood. For example, it would be impossible to explain the compound *bodhisattva* according to no. 5 if we only allow the conservative Buddhist notion of *bodhi*, but it would not be if *bodhi* is understood in a metaphysical or ontological sense. Following Schmithausen, we can assume that meaning no. 1 is the original one and hence also the oldest. Nos. 2–4 may be grouped together as belonging to the non-tantric Mahāyāna in general. And no. 5 is perhaps exclusive to selected Mahāyāna traditions, both tantric and non-tantric.

(d) Synonyms of *Bodhisattva*

Fifteen synonyms (or more accurately perhaps: metonyms) of *bodhisattva* are given in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18[165] and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 19.73–74:[166] (1) *bodhisattva* (*byang chub sems dpa'*), (2) *mahāsattva* (*sems dpa' chen po*),[167] (3) *dhīma(n)t* (*blo (gros) ldan (pa)*,[168] (4) *uttamadyuti* (*gsal ba'i mchog*), (5) *jinaputra* (*rgyal ba'i sras*),[169] (6) *jinādhāra* (*rgyal ba'i gzhi*), (7) *vijetṛ* (*rgyal bar byed pa / rnam par rgyal bar byed pa*), (8) *jinānkura* (*rgyal ba'i myu gu*), (9) *vikrānta* (*rtsal ba dang ldan pa*), (10) *paramārya* (*'phags pa'i*

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[162] A similar explanation can be found, for example, in the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (T, fol. 43a5; D, fol. 283b2): *shā ri'i bu byang chub sems dpa' bsam* [bsams T] *pa dang | byang chub kyi sems de lta bu dang ldan pa ni byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya'o ||*.

[163] *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīṭīkā* (p. 117.22–25): *shes rab dang thabs dang ldan pa ni byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya ba ste | sgra 'di gnyis ni shes rab dang thabs la bya bar don yod zhags pa'i mdo las 'byung ba'i phyir ro ||*.

[164] SPARHAM 1992: 239–240, n. 17.

[165] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18 (WOGIHARA, p. 299.17–20; DUTT, p. 203.10–12). It is interesting to note that the Tibetan *lo tsā ba*s translated the pertinent prose passage in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* into verses almost identical with the translation of the corresponding verses in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

[166] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 174.2): *bodhisattvasāmānyanāmavibhāge aṣṭau ślokāḥ* |; *ibid.* (174.7): *etāni ṣoḍaśa sarvabodhisattvānām anvarthanāmāni sāmānyena* |; see also the *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 261a3–5; D, fol. 222a2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 631.8–13). See also *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 625–643.

[167] For the usage of the word *mahāsattva* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, see VETTER 2001: 69.

[168] See *TSD*, s.vv. *blo gros ldan pa* and *ldan*, where several Sanskrit equivalents (such as *buddhimān*, *dhīman*, *prājñā*, *matimān*, *buddha*, and *dhīra*) are given.

[169] Cf. *Madhyamakahṛdaya* 1.24:

> *triratnavaṃśasthitaye sthāpayitvā guṇākarān |*
> *satputrān devanāgādicūḍāmahitaśāsanān ||*.

For commentary on the verse, see the *Tarkajvālā* (P, fol. 50b5–7; D, fol. 47b1–3; S, vol. 58, p. 120.11–17); *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* (p. 13.12). See also *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 103.

mchog),[170] (11) *sārthavāha* (*ded dpon*), (12) *mahāyaśas* (*grags pa'i mchog*), (13) *kṛpālu* (*snying rje can*), (14) *mahāpuṇya* (*bsod nams che ba*), (15) *īśvara* (*dbang phyug*), and (16) *dhārmika* (*chos dang ldan pa*). The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* states that these designations reflect the qualities of a *bodhisattva*, implying that they are not mere empty titles.[171] There may be, of course, several other metonyms, such as *bodhiputraka*[172] and *bodhisattvayānika*.[173] Most of these terms are also found in one lexicon or another.[174] According to Paul Harrison, some modern scholars have suggested a distinction between *mahāsattva* and *bodhisattva*, for which he sees no evidence, either in the Chinese translations of the eleven earliest Mahāyāna *sūtra*s or in later Mahāyāna sources, such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.[175] Jñānagarbha, for example, seems to be referring to the cognitive (i.e. cognition of the great non-essentiality), emotive (i.e. great altruistic inclination), and conative (i.e. great resolution) elements of a *bodhisattva* in his three alternative explanations of *mahāsattva*.[176]

(e) Types of *Bodhisattva*s

One necessary preamble to a discussion of *bodhisattva* and *bodhicitta* is distinguishing between the various types of *bodhisattva*s. The different kinds of *bodhisattva*s in Mahāyāna are analogous to the various kinds of *bhikṣu*s in the Vinaya tradition.[177] It may be assumed that in the beginning there were not many kinds of *bodhisattvas*.[178] However, these gradually burgeoned, reflecting the historical development of the concept, and in particular such things as gender, mode of life, degree of magnanimity, background, and spiritual maturity. Reginald A. Ray, in his *Buddhist Saints in India*, classified *bodhisattva*s into three types: those of forest, city, and monastery.[179] We find numerous other ways of classifying *bodhisattva*s, some of which I shall discuss below.

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[170] Lévi's edition reads *paramāścarya*, but according to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the Tibetan translations of both the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* it should read *paramārya*.

[171] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18 (WOGIHARA, p. 299.17–20; DUTT, p. 203.10–12).

[172] See *TSD*, s.v. *byang chub sras*. The *Hevajratantra* is indicated as the source.

[173] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 294b4; D, fol. 251a7; S, vol. 64, p. 705.6): *rang bzhin gyi rigs dang ldan zhing sems bskyed pas na theg pa chen po pa'o* ||; see also HARRISON 1987: 73. It is also noted there that the word *bodhisattva* is almost always transliterated as *pusa* in the Chinese translations of early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, and occasionally translated as *kaishi* ('the revealer') or *mingshi* ('the awakened one').

[174] For example, see the *mNgon brjod tshig mdzod*, s.vv. *byang chub sems dpa'* and *byang sems*.

[175] HARRISON 1987: 79.

[176] *Anantamukhanirhāradhāraṇīṭīkā* (pp. 117.25–118.4): *stong pa nyid la gnas pa dang ldan pa ni sems dpa' chen po zhes bya ba ste | chos thams cad kyi ngo bo nyid med pa chen po la sems pa'i phyir ro || yang na sems can gyi khams ma lus pa yongs su bskyab pa'i bsam pa dang ldan pa ste | bsam pa che ba'i phyir ro || yang na smon lam chen po dang ldan pa ste | sngon byang chub tu smon lam btab pa'i phyir te | de bas na de dag gi bsam pa che ba'i phyir sems dpa' chen po smos so* ||.

[177] *mChims chen* (p. 378.19–21).

[178] See, however, SKILLING 1996: 160–165, where the concept of three types of *bodhisatta*s found in Theravāda sources is discussed.

[179] RAY 1994: 251.

(i) Historical, Celestial, and Earthly *Bodhisattvas*

From the point of view of the historical development of the concept of *bodhisattva*, the following three types may be distinguished: (1) the Bodhisattva who was the historical Buddha prior to his awakening (found also in the Pāli canon[180] and presupposed by the Mahāyāna systems), (2) celestial *bodhisattvas* such as Maitreya,[181] Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, and Mañjuśrī, and (3) those sentient beings who aspire to become *buddhas*. These three types of *bodhisattvas* will be referred to here as 'historical,' 'celestial' and 'earthly' *bodhisattvas*, respectively.[182] It is the latter that we are particularly concerned with in this study.

While it may be possible that the idea of celestial *bodhisattvas* came into existence under outside influence,[183] I hold the idea of a *bodhisattva* endowed with *bodhicitta* to be uniquely Buddhist. We have seen that only two *bodhisattvas* are mentioned in the early Pāli sources: the *bodhisattva* who later became Gautama Buddha, and the *bodhisattva* who will become the future *buddha* Maitreya.[184] However, the *bodhisattva* Maitreya is mentioned only once in the early Pāli canon.[185] Elsewhere he is mentioned as the fifth *buddha* of this aeon.[186] According to Mahāyāna, Maitreya is a celestial *bodhisattva*, like Mañjuśrī, but according to the non-Mahāyāna tradition, he belongs to the category of historical *bodhisattvas*, like Gautama Buddha prior to his awakening. It is conceivable that, for an earthly *bodhisattva*, a celestial figure may be a more attractive ideal or model than a historical one. This may perhaps explain why some celestial *bodhisattvas*, such as Avalokiteśvara, Vajrapāṇi, and Mañjuśrī, occasionally play a more important role than the historical Buddha himself.[187]

The concept of historical *bodhisattvas* is undoubtedly older than that of celestial and earthly *bodhisattvas*. Nevertheless, as we can assume that the concepts of the various celestial *bodhisattvas* came into existence gradually over a fairly long period of time, some of them may be older than that of earthly *bodhisattvas*.[188] Historical and celestial *bodhisattvas* are perhaps possible without the notion of *bodhicitta*, but the concept of earthly *bodhisattvas* is

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[180] According to the conservative tradition, the historical Buddha had been a *bodhisattva* not only in his previous lives but also in his last earthly life before he became a *buddha*, which implies that he was not born as a *buddha*. For additional sources on the *bodhisattva* concept in the Pāli canon and Theravāda tradition, see SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 11, n. 15.

[181] Note that some earlier scholars, including Sir Charles Eliot and A. Basham, have maintained that the idea of a future *buddha* (Maitreya) came into being under Zoroastrian influence (KITAGAWA 1980: 93–94).

[182] The classification of *bodhisattva* into these three types has been, as far as I am concerned, not made explicit by previous scholars. Nonetheless, it has been in one way or another implied, for example, in SNELLGROVE 1987a: 58–79 and *id.* 1987b.

[183] DAYAL 1932: 38–39.

[184] Cf., however, NAKAMURA 1980: 152, where it is stated: "In early Buddhism there was only one Bodhisattva (*singular*) who was regarded as the Śākyamuni in his previous existences. The Bodhisattva idea was fused later into *Jātaka* stories." See also VETTER 2001: 69.

[185] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000c: 13, n. 43; NORMAN 1983: 93, n. 423, 41; KITAGAWA 1980: 94. Cf. *BHSD*, s.vv. *maitrīya* and *maitreya*.

[186] NORMAN 1983: 161. For the development of the account of Maitreya in Pāli sources, see COLLINS 1998: 355–357.

[187] See Schmithausen's remark on the *bodhisattva-buddha* relationship in BSTEH 2000: 394–395.

[188] For a general outline of such a development, see SNELLGROVE 1987a: 59–61.

clearly not, either historically or doctrinally. Nevertheless, it may be presumed that the idea was later retrospectively imposed upon all three types of *bodhisattvas*, thereby creating a uniform concept according to which, doctrinally, *bodhicitta* serves as the universal mark of a *bodhisattva*.[189]

It is noteworthy that celestial *bodhisattvas* are identified with proper names, whereas earthly *bodhisattvas* are commonly anonymous. We may consider, for example, the Vimalakīrti of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, as a named *bodhisattva* belonging to the category of earthly *bodhisattvas*, but we do not know whether such a person ever existed. Such a model was perhaps felt necessary in order to forestall the social problems that might ensue as a result of individuals claiming themselves to be *bodhisattvas*.[190] To be sure, a person with altruistic traits might be designated as a *bodhisattva* by others, but to my knowledge, rarely would a person advertise himself or herself as one. Doing so would be blatant self-praise in contradiction of the very norms of a *bodhisattva*. Yet have not historical persons made that claim for themselves? Śāntideva states:[191]

> Today my birth is fruitful.
> My human life is justified.
> Today I am born into the family of the Buddha.
> Now I am the Buddha's son.

From both the tone and context of the verse, however, it is clear that Śāntideva is here celebrating the arising of *bodhicitta* in himself with joy and extreme humbleness. He compares himself to a blind man who happens to stumble upon a precious jewel in a heap of rubbish. In stating that he is fortunate to be born into the *buddha*-family, he manages to assign more weight to the *buddhas* than to his being a *bodhisattva*. This may thus be seen as an attempt to avoid or lessen such intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*) as arrogance. The first two kinds of *bodhisattvas* are meant to serve as models for the third kind. For example, Mañjuśrī—who is seen as a paragon of insight and the father of all *buddhas*, and who is invoked with songs of praise, *mantras*, *mudrās*, and *samādhi*—is ultimately explained (particularly in the tantric context) as nothing less than *bodhicitta* itself.

(ii) Human and Non-human *Bodhisattvas*

It has been stated above that Buddhism may be designated as a sentient-centric religion and that sentient-centrism is conspicuous in Mahāyāna Buddhism. It is hence not surprising to find the presence of non-human *bodhisattvas* in Mahāyāna literature. There are several Mahāyāna scriptures where non-humans are portrayed as generating *bodhicitta* or conceived as highly developed *bodhisattvas*.[192] This is in keeping with the notion that it is the attitude (i.e. *bodhicitta*) that makes one a *bodhisattva* and not one's temporary physical frame. We shall see, however, when discussing the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, that the more conservative-practical Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition rejects non-human candidacy for *bodhicittotpāda*, whereas the more liberal-idealistic Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition admits such

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[189] See also RAY 1994: 261.

[190] Schmithausen has remarked on the *bodhisattva* ideal and the tension caused in society by it; see BSTEH 2000: 388–390.

[191] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3.25:
adya me saphalaṃ janma sulabdho mānuṣo bhavaḥ|
adya buddhakule jāto buddhaputro 'smi sāmprataṃ [= °tam] ||.
The English translation is according to CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 22.

[192] For example, see the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 59.17–19): *asmin khalu punar dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe triṃśatāṃ niyutānāṃ sadevamānuṣāsurāyāś ca prajāyā anutpadantapūrvāṇy anuttarasyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittāny utpannāni* |.

candidates. Interestingly, the idea that a *bodhisattva* can be non-human can be traced back to non-Mahāyāna sources. The Buddha, while still a *bodhisattva*, is said to have assumed various forms of life, including those of different animals, as illustrated in the *Jātaka* stories. Thus even the historical *bodhisattva* is not always conceived as a human being. It is, however, maintained that in his last incarnation, in which he attains Buddhahood, he is inevitably a male human being.

(iii) Male and Female *Bodhisattvas*

It is beyond the scope of this study to delve into gender issues in Buddhism, but because the question as to whether a woman can be a *bodhisattva* or not is indeed pertinent to the study of the *bodhisattva*—and thus also of the *bodhicitta*—concept, a brief treatment of the issue seems called for. There is, however, no single position on (or interpretation of) the matter that is binding for all Buddhist traditions. In general, it has been claimed that a female cannot attain the following statuses: (1) a universal king (*cakravartin*), (2) Śakra, (3) Brahmā, (4) the four guardian gods, (5) Māra, the evil one, (6) a solitary awakened one (*pratyekabuddha*), (7) a *bodhisattva* who is irreversible (*avinivartanīya*), and (8) a perfectly awakened one (*samyaksaṃbuddha*). Of the eight, the *Kāraṇaprajñapti*, a non-Mahāyāna text, indicates that it requires extraordinary will (*chanda: 'dun pa*), strength (*bala: stobs*), and faculties (*indriya: dbang po*) to attain the status of a universal king, Indra, Brahmā, Māra, a *pratyekabuddha*, and a *buddha*, and because only a male is endowed with these qualities, only a male can attain these statuses.[193] In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīkasūtra*, a Mahāyāna text, Śāriputra tells the daughter of Sāgara, the Nāga king, that there are five stations a female cannot occupy, namely, those of Brahmā, Indra, the four guardian gods, a *cakravartin*, and an irreversible *bodhisattva*. The Nāga princess nonetheless becomes a *buddha* by transforming herself into a male.[194] The ability of a woman to attain Arhatship, however, has never been questioned.[195]

Peter Harvey, who discusses sexual equality in his book on Buddhist ethics, devotes several passages to the issue of whether a woman can be a *bodhisattva* or not.[196] In my view, the question as to whether an earthly *bodhisattva* can be female is especially pertinent, and thus it is imperative that the concept of historical, celestial, and earthly *bodhisattvas* be taken into account. For the non-Mahāyāna traditions that do not recognise the three types of *bodhisattvas*, a *bodhisattva* (understood in the sense of the historical *bodhisattva*) can be said to be invariably a male.[197] While there is some doubt as to whether the idea of a female historical *bodhisattva* can be traced in the Mahāyāna sources,[198] the existence of female celestial and earthly *bodhisattvas* seems to be simply taken for granted.[199]

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[193] *Kāraṇaprajñapti* (P, fols. 166b8–167a5; D, fol. 139a6–b3; S, vol. 78, pp. 980.18–981.10); HARVEY 2000: 371–372.

[194] KAJIYAMA 1982: 56.

[195] See, for example, HARVEY 2000: 357–361.

[196] HARVEY 2000: 373–376.

[197] Hence the expression '... no Bodhisattva can be female' in GOMBRICH 1980: 70, refers only to the non-Mahāyāna idea of *bodhisattva*. In the *Jātaka* stories of the Pāli canon, there indeed seem to be no female *bodhisattvas*. See also HARVEY 2000: 373.

[198] I have not been able to trace a Mahāyāna source where the historical Buddha (as the Bodhisattva) is said to have taken birth as woman. But there is an idea prevalent in Tibet that the historical Buddha had taken five hundred pure births (*dag pa'i skye ba lnga brgya*) and five hundred impure births (*ma dag pa'i skye ba lnga brgya*). See, for example, the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 62.15–16): ... *bcom ldan 'das kyis dag pa'i skyes rabs*

However, the fact that certain sources concede the ability of a female to become a *bodhisattva* does not automatically imply that such sources concede her ability to become a *buddha*. For example, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.7 does not rule out the Bodhisattvahood of female aspirants, but it does explicitly state that they cannot attain *bodhi* (clearly meant in the sense of the *samyaksaṃbodhi* of a *buddha*). This statement of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.7 and the statement in the *Kāraṇaprajñapti* that a female cannot attain the status of a *buddha* are perhaps based on the idea that a historical *bodhisattva* in his last existence, during which he is destined to become a *buddha*, must be a male human being, and that too a full-fledged monk (*bhikṣu: dge slong*)—an idea which is probably professed by both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna traditions.

This gender inequality is, of course, subject to scrutiny and interpretation, an example of which can be found in the aforementioned book by Peter Harvey, and in an article by Yuichi Kajiyama.[200] It is perhaps up to the modern Buddhists to resort to creative and constructive interpretations, without, however, denying the historical past by failing to acknowledge the fact that some of the sources indeed contain elements of androcentrism that are unacceptable by modern standards.

It is necessary to make a distinction between the ways a woman is perceived in non-Mahāyāna, tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna, and try to determine how and why a woman is perceived in a certain way in the ethico-spiritual context of the *prātimokṣa*, *bodhisattva*, and *mantra* vows. It may be that some of the alleged misogynistic components are not so misogynistic as they first appear to be, or some of the apparently feministic images depicted in a number of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources so feministic as we would like to have them.

I do not believe that the sexual disparity in the Vinaya has much to do with machismo, misogyny, or misogamy, but may be best understood in its socio-cultural and spiritual contexts. In a culture or society where a woman who chose not to commit herself to a marital relationship could easily be perceived as having chosen immorality or infidelity instead, the difficulty in gaining the respect of a society, without whose support she could not live as a nun, is not at all difficult to comprehend. Perhaps the only viable way for a full-fledged Buddhist nun (*bhikṣuṇī: dge slong ma*) to win a degree of acceptance, support and respect from the society in which she lived, and thus be able to pursue her salvific quest, was to set a standard of integrity higher than that of her male counterpart, a full-fledged Buddhist monk (*bhikṣu: dge slong pha*). This seems to have been indeed the strategy of the Buddha, and it serves to explain, too, why a *bhikṣuṇī* has more vows to keep than a *bhikṣu*.

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lnga rgya dang | ma dag pa'i skye ba lnga brgya ste stong bzhes pa'i sa na.... (This statement, however, suggests that the one thousand births occurred in one place.) The impure births may refer to various non-human species such as animals. It would be surprising if the Bodhisattva was conceived of as having taken birth only as a male human or non-human being.

[199] See, for example, *Kalyāṇadeva's *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārasaṃskāra* (P, fol. 27b5–6; D, fol. 22b2–3; S, vol. 62, pp. 52.19–53.2): *byang chub sems dpa'i so sor* [so PN] *thar pa las kyang rigs kyi bu mo zhes gsungs te | bud med nyon mongs pa'i shas chung ba byang chub don du gnyer ba byang chub sems dpa'i bslab pa la slob par 'dod pa dag la yang byang chub kyi bar du sdom pa 'di skye bar 'gyur zhing | skye ba gzhan dag tu yang 'gyur ro* ||; and also Vibhūticandra's *Viśeṣadyotanī* (P, fol. 253b6; D, fol. 213a2; S, vol. 62, p. 558.4–5): *sdom pa 'di bud med la yang nyon mongs pa chung zhing 'gro ba la phan pa'i phyir byang chub 'dod 'pas skye'o* [pa skye P] ||. As noted by SNELLGROVE 1987a: 65, in the *Śūraṅgamasamādhisūtra*, too, women are portrayed as generating *bodhicitta*.

[200] HARVEY 2000: 373; KAJIYAMA 1982.

(iv) Ordained and Lay *Bodhisattva*s

The historical *bodhisattva* in his last existence, like a *pratyekabuddha*, is conceived of as a self-ordained monk. Interestingly, a celestial *bodhisattva* is never regarded as a monk or nun, but as a princely male or female, such as Mañjuśrī or Tārā (although these are mainly thought of as *buddhas*). One of the reasons perhaps for not portraying a celestial *bodhisattva* as a monk or nun is that according to the Vinaya tradition a non-human *bhikṣu* or *bhikṣuṇī* is impossible. This, however, does not rule out the possibility of a celestial *bodhisattva* manifesting as a monk or nun, just as a *nāga* sometimes does. The fact that an earthly *bodhisattva* can be either a householder (*gṛhapati*) or ordained mendicant (*pravrajita*) is confirmed by a number of tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources.[201] One, however, also occasionally comes across references where the distinction between the laity and mendicancy of a *bodhisattva* is played down. The *Aśokadattavyākaraṇasūtra*, for instance, states that a *bodhisattva* should not be viewed in terms of being a householder (i.e. living in family surroundings) or ordained mendicant (i.e. homeless), for a *bodhisattva* is defined not on the basis of livelihood but on that of altruistic inclination (*āśaya*), discerning insight (*prajñā*), and gnosis (*jñāna*).[202] In theory, a *bodhisattva* could dwell anywhere, in a forest, city, or monastery, or may not have a fixed place of residence at all. However, a *bodhisattva* who apart from observing his *bodhisattva* vows also observes full *prātimokṣa* vows is more esteemed than a lay *bodhisattva* who observes only *bodhisattva* vows.[203]

(v) *Bodhisattva*s with Different Backgrounds

As already stated, according to the Yogācāra school, which considers the plurality of spiritual dispositions (*gotra*) and vehicles (*yāna*) as definitive, an individual who possesses the *gotra* of a *śrāvaka* would follow the Śrāvakayāna, and one who possesses the *gotra* of a *bodhisattva* the Bodhisattvayāna. Even those whose *gotra* has not yet been fixed or decided may follow one of the vehicles. But according to the Madhyamaka and Tathāgatagarbha traditions, which postulate the singularity of *gotra* and *yāna* as definitive, even the *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s will have to one day enter the Bodhisattvayāna. It is under this doctrinal presupposition that three kinds of *bodhisattva*s are theoretically possible: (1) a *bodhisattva* with a *śrāvaka* career behind him, (2) a *bodhisattva* with a *pratyekabuddha* career behind him, and (3) a *bodhisattva* who began his career from the very outset as a *bodhisattva*. In the Tibetan tradition, the first and the second are collectively called '*bodhisattva*s who have a

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[201] For example, see the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fol. 208b2–3; D, fol. 220b1–2): *gsang ba pa'i bdag po de la byang chub sems dpa' ni rnam pa gnyis te | gnyis gang zhe na | 'di 'lta ste'* [ltar D] *khyim pa dang | rab tu byung* ['byung D] *ba'o* ||. For an English translation, see HODGE 2003: 341. This is cited also in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 160a1; B, p. 257.5–6). See also NAKAMURA 1980: 151.

[202] *Aśokadattavyākaraṇasūtra* (T, fol. 394a6–7; D, fol. 236a7–b1): *btsun pa rab 'byor byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po la ni khyim pa'am | rab tu byung ba zhes gzung bar mi bya'o || de ci'i phyir zhe na | de dag ni bsam pas phye ba yin | shes rab kyis phye ba yin | ye shes kyis phye ba yin pa'i phyir ro* ||. The passage is also cited by sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs in his *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 153a6–7; D, fol. 248a3–4; S, vol. 115, p. 673.7–10).

[203] The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, while recognising both ordained and lay *bodhisattva*s, also clearly recognises the hierarchical difference between the two. See, for example, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.2 (WOGIHARA, pp. 310.10–311.4; DUTT, p. 213.12–24). See also Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 300b6–7; D, fol. 256b5–6; S, vol. 64, p. 718.15–18). In SKILLING 1997: 605–606 attention is drawn to an issue taken up in Bhavya's *Tarkajvālā* and Candrakīrti's *Triśaraṇasaptati* regarding whether a monk abiding by *prātimokṣa* vows should show his respect to a *bodhisattva* who is a householder, and to 'the practical ramifications of the controversy,' as exemplified in the biography of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal (1197–1263/64). Cf. the account of King Khri-srong-lde'u-btsan's encounter with Śāntarakṣita and Padmasambhava in the *dBa' bzhed* (pp. 40–41, 54, n. 152).

lesser path behind them' (*dman lam sngon song gi byang chub sems dpa'*), and the third a '*bodhisattva* whose spiritual disposition has been certain [from the very beginning]' (*rigs nges kyi byang chub sems dpa'*).[204]

(f) The *Śrāvaka-Bodhisattva* Distinction

Understanding how the difference between the *śrāvaka* and *bodhisattva* is conceived of in Mahāyāna literature will help us to better understand the concept of *bodhisattva*, and hence also of *bodhicitta*. In general, it may be stated that in India the Yogācāra-Tathāgatagarbha tradition played up the difference between a *śrāvaka* and a *bodhisattva*, whereas the Prajñāpāramitā tradition played it down. The position of the Madhyamaka tradition is varied and open to debate.

The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, before discussing at length the *śrāvaka-bodhisattva* distinction, mentions four kinds of *śrāvakas*:[205] (1) manifested *śrāvakas*, (2) conceited *śrāvakas*, (3) *śrāvakas* who have turned to the supreme awakening, and (4) *śrāvakas* who are on a single-track journey to cessation. It is clear from the explanations that follow that the first kind is in reality a *bodhisattva* who has manifested in the form of a *śrāvaka*; the second kind is one who merely knows the non-existence of a substantial self or person (*pudgalanairātmya*) and has a misconceived notion of the non-substantiality of phenomena (*dharmanairātmya*); the third kind is one who has been a *śrāvaka* before and is now striving for the attainment of the supreme awakening; and the fourth kind is a main-stream *śrāvaka*.[206] The fourth kind is compared with a *bodhisattva* on the basis of thirteen points:[207]

> Suppose that there are two princes born in similar circumstances and equal in terms of royal luxury. Of the two, one is skilled in the fields of royal administration, science, and art; the other one is not. The two would be distinguished merely on this basis, and the distinction would not be on account of [their] royal luxury. So should the distinction in the undefiled sphere between a *bodhisattva* and a *śrāvaka* who is on a single-track journey to cessation be understood. The distinction between the two should be understood on the basis of the following: [1] inclination

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[204] These two terms, which require verification, seem to correspond to two other types of *bodhisattva* (or *mahāyānika*), namely, one whose spiritual disposition is certain (*rigs nges pa*) and one whose is not (*ma nges pa*). See the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v. *theg chen pa gnyis*). That two such kinds of *bodhisattvas* are presupposed can be deduced from the context of several Tibetan controversies, such as the ones regarding the status of a *bodhisattva* with a *śrāvaka* career behind him and whether a third category of Buddhist saint (*'phags pa phung gsum pa*) is possible. See, for example, the *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. 2, p. 541.1–4) and *Grub mtha' mdzod* (pp. 160.2–161.2).

[205] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fol. 127b3–5; D, vol. *zi*, fols. 113b7–114a1; S, vol. 74, p. 1015.5–10): *nyan thos ni du | ... nyan thos ni rnam pa bzhi'o || ... sprul pa'i nyan thos dang | mngon pa'i nga rgyal can gyi nyan thos dang | byang chub tu yongs su 'gyur pa'i'* ['gyur ba'i PN] *nyan thos dang | zhi ba'i bgrod pa gcig pa'i nyan thos so ||*.

[206] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fols. 127b5–128a4; D, vol. *zi*, fol. 114a1–6; S, vol. 74, pp. 1015.10–1016.8).

[207] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fol. 128a4–8; D, vol. *zi*, fol. 114a6–b3; S, vol. 74, p. 1016.8–20): *'di lta ste dper na rgyal po'i bu gnas mtshungs par skyes shing | rgyal po'i bde ba'i longs spyod kyis mtshungs mnyam par gyur pa gnyis shig yod pa las | de la gcig ni rgyal po'i bya ba dang | bstan bcos dang | bzo'i gnas la mkhas pa yin la | cig shos ni de lta ma yin na | de gnyis ni yan lag des bye brag tu gyur par zad kyi | rgyal po'i bde ba'i longs spyod kyis bye brag tu gyur pa ni ma yin pa de bzhin du zag pa med pa'i dbyings na byang chub sems dpa' dang zhi ba'i bgrod pa gcig pa'i nyan thos kyi bye brag kyang rig par bya ste | de gnyis kyi bye brag ni* [1] *bsam pa dang |* [2] *dkar po'i chos yang dag par 'grub pa dang |* [3] *shes pa yang dag par sgrub pa dang |* [4] *rjes su 'gro ba dang |* [5] *rigs dang |* [6] *gdung yang dag par 'dzin pa dang |* [7] *sbyor ba dang |* [8] *mthu dang |* [9] *sgrub pa dang |* [10] *sbyin gnas kyi 'os nyid dang |* [11] *khyad par can las khyad par du 'phags pa dang |* [12] *rgyu dang 'bras bu dang |* [13] *'byung ba'i rten las kyang rig par bya'o ||*.

(*āśaya*), [2] attainment of wholesome qualities, [3] attainment of insight, [4] following the course, [5] spiritual disposition (*gotra*), [6] proper upholding of the lineage, [7] practical undertakings (*prayoga*), [8] splendour (*prabhāva*), [9] attainment [of the power to heal], [10] worthiness of offerings, [11] transcending the transcendental ones, [12] cause and result, and [13] the point of origination.

The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* then goes on to explain the thirteen features distinguishing a *śrāvaka* from a *bodhisattva* as follows:[208]

[1] A *śrāvaka* is characterised by the inclination to abide alone in [the state of] cessation for [he] is not predisposed to impulses (*saṃskāra*) or intellectual-emotional defilements or to the welfare of sentient beings. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, is opposed to it (i.e. cessation), despite [his] attainment of cessation.[209] [2] A *śrāvaka* is endowed with a few wholesome qualities that cause his own happiness to increase. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, is endowed with countless wholesome qualities that cause the happiness of all sentient beings to increase.[210] [3] A *śrāvaka* renders himself free (lit. ineffective or hollow) of [his] intellectual-emotional defilements through [his] insight into the non-conditioned (i.e. *nirodha*). A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, [renders the intellectual-emotional defilements of] all sentient beings of the four directions [ineffective].[211] [4] A *śrāvaka*, despite having arrived (*samudāgata*) [at his soteriological goal] by focusing his attention on the supreme qualities of complete release (*vimukti*), is not the son of the Buddha. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, despite having arrived [at his soteriological goal] by focusing his attention on impulses (*saṃskāra*), sentient beings, and negative phenomena, is the son of the Buddha.[212] [5] A *śrāvaka* may have exerted himself, be skilled in the [four noble] truths (*satya*), and [be able to] properly place the mind in meditative equipoise, but lacking the characteristics of a *buddha*'s spiritual disposition (or lineage), he is, unlike a *bodhisattva*, not embraced (*parigṛhīta*) by the *buddha*s. With a *bodhisattva*, however, the case is just the opposite.[213] [6] A *śrāvaka*, despite [having acquired] matured faculties, is afterwards incapable of carrying out the activities of a *buddha*, since [he] has come to the ultimate end [of his career]. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, is capable [of doing so] the very instant he generates his initial resolve.[214] [7] A *śrāvaka*, despite having come to the ultimate end [of his career], is not worthy of the tributes and praise of gods or humans, [not even] like a beginner *bodhisattva* who has [just] launched upon [his] practical undertaking. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, is [worthy of such tributes and praise].[215] [8] A *bodhisattva*, despite not having come to the ultimate end [of

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[208] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fols. 128a8–129b2; D, vol. *zi*, fols. 114b3–115b2; S, vol. 74, pp. 1016.20–1019.3). The Tibetan text has been numbered and inserted as separate footnotes after the corresponding translations.

[209] [1] *nyan thos ni 'du byed dang nyon mongs pa dang | sems can gyi don la mi phyogs pa'i phyir gcig tu zhi bar gnas pa'i bsam pa can yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni zhi ba thob kyang de las bzlog pa yin no ||*.

[210] [2] *nyan thos ni bdag nyid kyi bde ba yang dag par 'phel bar byed pa dkar po'i chos chung ngu dag dang ldan pa yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni sems can thams cad kyi bde ba yang dag par 'phel bar byed pa dkar po'i chos tshad med pa dang ldan pa yin no ||*.

[211] [3] *nyan thos ni 'dus ma byas kyi shes pas bdag nyid nyon mongs pa rnams kyis gsog dang gsob tu byed par zad kyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni phyogs bzhi'i sems can thams cad do ||*.

[212] [4] *nyan thos ni rnam par grol ba'i chos mchog la dmigs pa'i yid la byed pa las yang dag par grub kyang sangs rgyas kyi sras su mi 'gyur gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni 'du byed dang | sems can dang | chos ngan pa la dmigs pa'i yid la byed pa las yang dag par grub kyang sangs rgyas kyi sras su gyur pa yin no ||*.

[213] [5] *nyan thos ni brtson 'grus brtsams shing bden pa la mkhas pa dang | sems legs par mnyam par gzhag kyang sangs rgyas kyi rigs kyi mtshan nyid dang mi ldan pa'i phyir byang chub sems dpa' ltar sangs rgyas rnams kyis yongs su mi gzung gi | byang chub sems dpa' ni de las bzlog pa yin no ||*.

[214] [6] *nyan thos ni mthar thug par gyur pa yin pa'i phyir dbang po yongs su smin pa yin yang phyis sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa byed mi nus pa yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni skad cig de la dang po sems bskyed pas kyang nus so ||*.

his career], is [able to] overwhelm all *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s by [his] splendour (*prabhāva*) and knowledge.[216] [9] A *śrāvaka*, despite having obtained the medicine of insight to heal the disease of intellectual-emotional defilements, does not heal the disease of intellectual-emotional defilements of sentient beings. The case of a *bodhisattva*, however, is just the opposite, for [he] is one who engages in benefiting other [sentient beings].[217] [10] A *śrāvaka*, despite having come to the ultimate end [of his career], is not like a *bodhisattva*, who has not [yet] exhausted [all] intellectual-emotional defilements [and yet] is worthy of the offerings of the world [of sentient beings], including gods, because [he] provides the light of insight to sentient beings. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, is [worthy of such offerings].[218] [11] The *tathāgata*s greatly transcend *śrāvaka*s at all times. *Bodhisattva*s transcend them both even more, since the latter originate among them (i.e. *bodhisattva*s). It should be known that [*bodhisattva*s] greatly transcend [*tathāgata*s and *śrāvaka*s] for two reasons, namely: [i] they cause sentient beings to mature completely and [ii] cause the qualities of a *buddha* to mature completely. For these [two reasons], a result, awakening, is attained. They [also] make [other] sentient beings attain release according to the manner in which they have caused them (i.e. sentient beings) to mature. For example, a sense of amazement (or admiration) arises towards one who arranges and prepares [delicacies], not towards one who eats. It should be known that this case is similar.[219] [12] A *śrāvaka*, despite having correctly taken on and supported the cause of the absolutely pure *dharma* (i.e., perhaps, *nirvāṇa*) and having been taken care of by many [spiritually] favourable companions, will not accomplish the result, namely, great awakening. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, will accomplish [it] even under the opposite [conditions].[220] [13] *Śrāvaka*s arise on account of *bodhisattva*s. *Bodhisattva*s do not arise on account of *śrāvaka*s.[221]

(g) The Concept of *Vajrasattva*

The idea of *vajrasattva* is particularly relevant to the concept of ontological *bodhicitta*, as we shall see in chapter seven. Although *vajrasattva* is commonly depicted and understood as a tantric deity, it is the adamantine true nature of all *sattva*s (including *bodhisattva*s), of all

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215 [7] *nyan thos ni mthar thug par gyur kyang ji ltar byang chub sems dpa' las dang po pa'i sbyor ba la zhugs pa de ltar lha dang mi rnams kyis mchod par bya ba dang bstod par bya ba'i 'os ma yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni yin no ||*.

216 [8] *byang chub sems dpa' ni mthar thug par gyur pa ma yin yang mthu dang shes pa dag gis nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad zil gyis gnon pa yin no ||*.

217 [9] *nyan thos ni nyon mongs pa'i nad zhi bar byed pa ye shes kyi sman yongs su grub pa yin yang sems can rnams kyi nyon mongs pa'i nad zhi bar byed pa ma yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni gzhan gyi don la zhugs pa'i phyir de las bzlog pa yin no ||*.

218 [10] *nyan thos ni mthar thug par gyur pa yin yang ji ltar byang chub sems dpa'* [dpa'i DC] *nyon mongs pa ma* [om. DC] *zad pa sems can rnams la ye shes kyi snang ba byed pa'i phyir lha dang bcas pa'i 'jig rten gyi sbyin gnas kyi 'os nyid du gyur pa de lta bu ma yin gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni yin no ||*.

219 [11] *de bzhin gshegs pa rnams ni dus rtag tu nyan thos pas ches khyad par du 'phags pa yin la | de dag bas kyang byang chub sems dpa' rnams ches shin tu khyad par du 'phags pa yin te | de dag las de dag yang dag par 'grub pa'i phyir ro || de dag ni rgyu gnyis kyis* [om. DC] *na ches shin tu khyad par du 'phags pa yin par rig par bya ste | 'di ltar de dag gis sems can yongs su smin par byas pa dang | sangs rgyas kyi chos yongs su smin par byas pa'i phyir te | de las byang chub kyi 'bras bu brnyes pa dang | ji ltar* [add. na DC] *yongs su smin par byas pa'i sems can rnams rnam par grol bar mdzad de | 'di lta ste dper na sgrub pa po dang g.yos mkhan la ngo mtshar gyi blo 'byung ba ltar | za ba po la de lta ma yin pa de bzhin du 'di la yang rig par bya'o ||*.

220 [12] *nyan thos ni gcig tu rnam par dag pa'i chos kyi rgyu yang dag par blangs te gnas shing dge ba'i bshes gnyen du mas yongs su gzung yang | byang chub chen po'i 'bras bu mngon par 'grub par mi 'gyur gyi | byang chub sems dpa' ni de las bzlog pas kyang 'grub par byed do ||*.

221 [13] *byang chub sems dpa' la brten nas ni nyan thos rnams 'byung bar 'gyur gyi | nyan thos la brten nas ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams mi 'byung ngo ||*.

cittas (including *bodhicitta*, as understood in its conventional sense), and, in fact, of all phenomena. In other words, *vajrasattva* is conceived of as a new and deeper metaphysical dimension of *sattvas*, *bodhisattvas*, and *bodhicitta*, as something which transcends all manifold divisions, and yet is the indivisible and universal foundation of all manifold existence. In the world of Vajrayāna, all conceivable phenomena are expressed and viewed in terms of their adamantine *vajra*-like nature, and *vajrasattva* forms the common substratum and common nucleus of everything. There are various principal deities in Vajrayāna Buddhism, but all of them are expressed either implicitly or explicitly as *vajrasattva*. Perhaps one could call *vajrasattva* the 'grandfather' of all principal deities in Vajrayāna. The one and the same *vajrasattva* is given different names and appearances in different tantric systems.[222]

The *Bodhicittabhāvanānirdeśa* attributed to Mañjuśrīmitra explains the term *vajrasattva* in the following manner:[223]

> [It] is not destroyed by anything in any place or time, and if one realises it, the nets of obscuration are cut away. Hence [it] is called 'diamond' (*vajra*), while the non-erroneous cognition of the reality (*dharmatā*) of the mind (*citta*) is called *vajrasattva*. [It] is also called *bodhicitta*. On account of the non-cognition of the characteristics (*lakṣaṇa*) of the mind, [things] appear wholly as defiled phenomena, but then when one realises the unmistakable diamond[-like] (*vajra*) nature of the mind, [they] appear as a cluster of the excellent results of liberation (*vimukti*).[224]

Rong-zom-pa provides a very comprehensive and systematic explanation of *vajrasattva*[225]—something rather rare. Given the difficulty in identifying his sources, a translation of the entire passage will, however, not be attempted here. I shall merely summarise his presentation. He basically seems to classify *vajrasattva* into two parts, namely, the signified and the signifier (without, however, employing these terms). The expressions he uses are the 'intrinsic nature of reality' (*don rang gi ngo bo*) and 'its appearance [in the form] of symbolic signs' (*de'i rtags kyi phyag rgyar snang ba*). The signified *vajrasattva* is nothing but *bodhicitta*, designated by him as *bodhicitta par excellence* (*samantabhadraṃ bodhicittam*), an expression also found in Indian sources.[226] The signifier *vajrasattva* is the representation of *bodhicitta par excellence* in forms of deities, explained by him according to Mahāyoga, Yogatantra, Kriyātantra, and non-tantric Mahāyāna. What is interesting is that the *bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi is considered the signifier *vajrasattva* according to the non-tantric Mahāyāna. In the tantric context, one also encounters terms such as *samayasattva*, *samādhisattva*, and *jñānasattva*,[227] and it remains to be seen if these are in one way or another related to the idea of *vajrasattva*.

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[222] See, for example, *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 105.7–8): *vajrasattva ity evam kathito dharmakāyo* |; *Guṇavatī* (pp. 27.19–28.5): *vajrasattvaḥ śrīherukaḥ, tena samaḥ sadṛśaḥ* |; *Ratnāvalīpañjikā* (p. 44.17): *vajrasattva eva kṛṣṇa iti kṛtvā*....

[223] *Bodhicittabhāvanānirdeśa* (P, fol. 57b3–5; D, fol. 46b4–6; S, vol. 33, p. 185.13–19): *dus dang gnas kun tu cis kyang mi* [ma PN] *shigs la | de rtogs na sgrib pa'i dra ba gcod pas rdo rje ste | sems kyi chos nyid ma nor bar rig pa la rdo rje sems dpa' zhes kyang bya | byang chub kyi sems zhes kyang bya ba ste | sems kyi mtshan nyid ma rig pa'i bla thabs kyi* [kyis PN] *sgo nas | kun nas nyon mongs pa'i chos thams cad du snang la | sems kyi rang bzhin ma nor ba'i rdo rje la sems pa* [dpa' PN] *de'i tshe | rnam par grol ba'i 'bras bu phun sum tshogs pa rnams su yang snang*....

[224] See also *Hevajratantra* 1.1.4:

abhedyaṃ vajram ity uktam sattvaṃ tribhavasyaikatā |
anayā prajñayā yuktyā vajrasattva iti smṛtaḥ ||.

[225] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 24b6–26b4; B, pp. 52.14–54.11).

[226] *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 43.1): ... *samantabhadraṃ bodhicittaṃ*.... See also the *Samayasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 258b3–4; D, fol. 48a6; S, vol. 41, pp. 700.19–701.1).

[227] For a long note on these terms, see ENGLISH 2002: 470–472, nn. 411–413.

One cannot help but wonder if these three terms correspond to *śīla*, *samādhi*, and *prajñā*, respectively.

4. The Term *Bodhicitta* and Its Definition

Terminologies and ideas often go hand in hand, and hence an attempt will be made in the following passages to understand the development of the concept of *bodhicitta* on the basis of its terminological development. Two early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s (the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*) and one early Mahāyāna *śāstra* (the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) will be considered here. I shall argue that the concept of *bodhicitta* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is more archaic and conservative than the one found in the two early Mahāyāna *sūtra*s.

(a) The Term *Bodhicitta* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and its metrically corresponding *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* are generally regarded as the oldest extant Mahāyāna scriptures. The relative chronology of the two has, however, not yet been fixed.[228] In any case, the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* is the only known Prajñāpāramitā text composed in Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit, and according to some scholars its first two chapters, which represent the initial phase of Prajñāpāramitā thought, may well go back to 100 BCE.[229] The first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, in which the term *bodhicitta* appears,[230] may be the oldest part of the text and thus significant for the study of the development of the *bodhicitta* concept. However, as Schmithausen has demonstrated, the textual history of the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is full of incoherencies and other complex problems. What is more, the term *bodhicitta* lies at the very centre of these textual problems.

The decisive question is whether the term *bodhicitta* featured at all there *ab initio* or was a later interpolation. Which of the two readings—**bodhisattvacitta* (in Chinese translations) and *bodhicitta* (in the Sanskrit text)—is authentic? According to Schmithausen, neither of the two is without its problems. It is conceivable that either the original but incoherent reading *tenāpi bodhicittena* was replaced by the smoother reading *tenāpi bodhisattvacittena*; or that the original but non-terminological **bodhisattvacitta* was replaced by the later terminological *bodhicitta*.[231] If *tenāpi bodhicittena* is the authentic reading, then the first chapter of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* can be regarded as one of the earliest Mahāyāna sources (if not the earliest) that documents the term *bodhicitta*.[232]

The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*—assumed to be the earliest Mahāyāna scripture to mention the term *bodhicitta*—seems to represent a stage of development where the process of de-emotionalisation of *bodhicitta* was seen to be necessary. The *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* professes that a *bodhisattva* should practise the *prajñāpāramitā* in such a way that he or she, by relying on *bodhicitta*, does not fall into a misconceived haughtiness. The reason given is that *citta* in reality is not *citta* at all, its true nature being luminously pure.[233]

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228 SCHMITHAUSEN 1977: 35, 39.

229 NAKAMURA 1980: 162.

230 See, for instance, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 10.5); Tibetan translation (T, fol. 15a3–5; D, fol. 11a4).

231 SCHMITHAUSEN 1977b: 47ff.

232 The term *bodhicitta* occurs also in the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* but, as already stated, its chronological relation to the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* has not yet been determined.

233 See FRAUWALLNER 1956: 152–153; SCHMITHAUSEN 1977b: 41.

(b) The Term *Bodhicitta* in the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*

Although no Sanskrit text of the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* is extant, on the basis of the Chinese and Tibetan translations it can confidently be asserted that the *sūtra* must have explicitly mentioned the term *bodhicitta*. The *sūtra* belongs to a small group of Mahāyāna scriptures translated into Chinese in the second half of the second century CE (i.e. 170–190 CE) by the Indo-Scythian Lokakṣema. Lokakṣema's translation of the *sūtra* is therefore one of the earliest datable literary sources for the study of Mahāyāna. The second Chinese translation is by Kumārajīva from the early fifth century. The *sūtra* was translated into Tibetan roughly six centuries after Lokakṣema's Chinese translation. A comparison of the three versions made by Paul Harrison has yielded the following results: the two Chinese versions are very close, and they do not vary substantially from the Tibetan.[234]

The first occurrence of the term *bodhicitta* in the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* is at the very beginning of the *sūtra*, where numerous attributes of the *bodhisattva*s gathered there to listen to the pertinent teaching are listed:[235]

> ... [those who] themselves do not abandon *bodhicitta*, [those who] cause other sentient beings to assume *bodhicitta*....

The position of these two attributes associated with *bodhicitta* in the list is noteworthy, given that the list is not arranged randomly but obviously follows a certain (if not strict) sequential pattern. The two attributes are preceded by *āśaya*, *adhyāśaya*, and *prayoga*, and followed by the *pāramitā*s. My impression is that already at this stage *bodhicitta* roughly corresponds to both *āśaya* and *adhyāśaya*, and *prayoga* to the *pāramitā*s. The fact that one or more near synonyms of certain elements are given by way of explanation can be noticed elsewhere in the list.

The second occurrence of the term *bodhicitta* is in the context of ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*). One of the several questions the *bodhisattva* *Divyamukuṭa (Lha'i-cod-pan) asks after paying homage to the Buddha is:[236]

> How are *bodhisattva*s adorned with the ornament of impeccable ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*)?

The Buddha answers:[237]

> O Son of a noble family (*kulaputra*), *bodhisattva*s are adorned with the ornament of impeccable ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*) if [they are] endowed with four attributes. What are the four? [1] Being endowed with the ornament of *bodhicitta* [even] while being a universal king (*cakravartin*), [2] being endowed with the ornament of *bodhicitta* [even] while being Indra, the king of gods, [3] being endowed with the ornament of *bodhicitta* [even] while being Brahma, the lord of the world (*sahāpati*), [4] being endowed with the ornament of *bodhicitta* [even] while taking birth as gods or human beings once they have terminated all lower destinations. O Son of

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[234] The details on the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* are based on Paul Harrison's introduction to his critical edition of the Tibetan translation (HARRISON 1992: xiii–xv).

[235] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 4.6–8): *bdag nyid byang chub kyi sems mi 'dor ba | sems can gzhan byang chub kyi sems yang dag par 'dzin du 'jug pa |*.

[236] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 19.11–12): *ji ltar na byang chub sems dpa' tshul khrims kyi rgyan gyis brgyan pa rnams lags |*.

[237] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 27.12–28.8): *rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na | tshul khrims kyi rgyan gyis brgyan pa rnams yin te | bzhi gang zhe na | 'khor lo sgyur ba'i rgyal por 'gyur zhing | byang chub kyi sems kyis brgyan pa dang | lha'i dbang po brgya byin du 'gyur zhing | byang chub kyi sems kyis brgyan pa dang | mi mjed kyi bdag po tshangs par 'gyur zhing | byang chub kyi sems kyis brgyan pa dang | ngan 'gro thams cad yang dag par bcad nas lha dang mir skye ba yongs su bzung bar gyur* [= 'gyur] *cing | byang chub kyi sems kyis brgyan pa yin te | rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po 'di dag dang ldan na | tshul khrims kyi rgyan gyis brgyan pa rnams su rig par bya'o ||*.

a noble family, know that *bodhisattvas* endowed with these four attributes are adorned with the ornament of impeccable ethical-moral discipline.

It should be noted that the term *bodhicitta* is obviously not understood here as the initial generation of the resolve to strive for awakening, but rather as its maintenance.

The third occurrence of the term *bodhicitta* is the Buddha's answer to the following question:[238]

> In what way are *bodhisattvas* those who never fail to see the *tathāgatas*?

The Buddha answers:[239]

> O Son of a noble family (*kulaputra*), *bodhisattvas* are those who never fail to see the *tathāgatas* if [they are] endowed with four attributes (i.e. if they fulfil four criteria). What are the four? They are the following: [1] causing sentient beings to take on themselves [the meditative practice of] encountering *buddhas*, [2] causing sentient beings to take on themselves [the practice of] listening to the teachings, [3] causing sentient beings to assume *bodhicitta*, and [4] not parting from the meditative absorption (*samādhi*) of recollecting or visualising) *buddhas* (*buddhānusmṛti*). O Son of a noble family, those *bodhisattvas* endowed with these four attributes never fail to see the *tathāgatas*.

Associating *bodhicitta* with the practice of *buddhānusmṛti* is from a historical perspective significant, for we have seen in chapter three that one of the measures taken by Buddhists to meet their psychological need to compensate for the absence of the historical Buddha was the practice of *buddhānusmṛti*, and that the conception of *bodhicitta*, too, could have been triggered by a similar motive, namely, to propagate the lineage of the Three Jewels so as to guarantee their continual felt presence in the world.

The questions and answers conclude with two more references to *bodhicitta*, one while presenting the idea that those sentient beings who do not part from *bodhicitta* are under no circumstances endowed with inferior basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*),[240] and the other while stating that after the teaching *bodhicitta* arose in 84,000 gods and human beings.[241]

The chapter that follows begins with a piece of 'propaganda,' in which the Buddha tells the *bodhisattva* *Divyamukuṭa that those who uphold and teach such a *sūtra*[242] are endowed with eight qualities. Although the term *bodhicitta* is not explicitly mentioned, near synonyms of it, such as *āśaya*, are listed among the attributes.[243] The next occasion *bodhicitta* occurs is in a somewhat polemical context. The spectacular arrival of the powerful *bodhisattva* Drumakinnararāja with thousands in his retinue and the demonstration of their magnificence, miracles, and music unsettle the *śrāvakas*, causing them to shake and quiver like small children. The *bodhisattva* *Divyamukuṭa asks Mahākāśyapa the cause of their nervousness.

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[238] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 21.8–9): *ji ltar na byang chub sems dpa' de bzhin gshegs pa rnams mthong ba dang mi 'bral ba rnams lags |.*

[239] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 40.9–41.1): *rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na | de bzhin gshegs pa mthong ba dang mi 'bral ba rnams yin te | bzhi gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | sems can rnams sangs rgyas la lta ba yang dag par 'dzin du 'jug pa dang | sems can rnams chos nyan pa yang dag par 'dzin du 'jug pa dang | sems can rnams byang chub kyi sems yang dag par 'dzin du 'jug pa dang | sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa'i ting nge 'dzin dang mi 'bral ba yin te | rigs kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po 'di dag dang ldan na | de bzhin gshegs pa mthong ba dang mi 'bral ba rnams yin no ||.*

[240] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 45.7–8): *byang chub kyi sems dang mi 'bral ba'i sems can de dag ni dge ba'i rtsa ba ngan ngon dang ldan pa ma lags te |.*

[241] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 46.5–6): *lha dang mi'i srog chags brgyad khri bzhi stong ni bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems skyes so ||.*

[242] Interestingly, the *sūtra* is not referred to here as the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (or any similar name) but as the **Tathāgataparinirvāṇasūtra* (*Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*, p. 47.8–9).

[243] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 47.8–48.12).

Kāśyapa explains that the aspirations (*praṇidhāna*), beneficial resources (*puṇya*), and meditative insight (*jñāna*) of the *bodhisattva* King Drumakinnararāja far surpass those of the *śrāvaka*s. In response the *bodhisattva* *Divyamukuṭa tells Mahākāśyapa:[244]

> O Venerable Mahākāśyapa, the music of the *vīṇā* cannot move or sway the irreversible *bodhisattva*s, on account of their glory (*śrī*), splendour (*ojas*/*tejas*), and power (*bala*). Therefore, O Venerable Mahākāśyapa, who would not [then] generate the resolve for the sake of the highest perfect awakening (*samyaksaṃbodhi*)! Why [should one do] so? Just consider that this music from a *vīṇā* [is able to] overshadow the power and splendour of those endowed with limited insight [but] is not able to overshadow the power and splendour of those who have set out on the path of Mahāyāna.

It is interesting to note that the power and splendour of a *bodhisattva* are obviously portrayed here as incentives (if not as primary motives) for the generation of *bodhicitta*.[245] It is clear from the context that it is the *praṇidhāna*, *puṇya*, and *jñāna* of a *bodhisattva* that lend him his power and splendour, and not vice versa.

Further on in the *sūtra*, Drumakinnararāja requests the Buddha to give teachings on the *samādhi* of the *bodhisattva*s called the 'Jewel Mine' (*ratnākara*). The Buddha proceeds to talk about eighty jewels of *cittotpāda* (**cittotpādaratna*), beginning thus:[246]

> O Drumakinnararāja, a *bodhisattva* observes these eighty *cittotpāda* jewels in order not to allow a break in the continuity of the Buddha Jewel, the continuity of the Dharma Jewel, and the continuity of the Saṃgha Jewel. What are the eighty? They are: [1] not forgetting the jewel thought of omniscience, [2] not abandoning the jewel thought of altruistic inclination (*āśaya*), ... [58] the jewel thought of remembering ethical-moral discipline (*śīlānusmṛti*) in order not to deviate from *bodhicitta*....

All eighty jewels of *cittotpāda* are seen to be measures that the *bodhisattva*s take to guarantee the continuity of the Three Jewels (*triratna*). The eighty 'jewel thoughts' include major Buddhist topoi found elsewhere in the Mahāyāna literature. (The eighty 'inexhaustibles' in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* may be related to them.) It may be noted that our list apparently begins with the idea of *bodhicitta*, although the term is not explicitly used there, but first occurs in the fifty-eighth item—again, in the context of remembering ethical-moral discipline (*śīlānusmṛti*). The term *bodhicitta* also occurs several times in the later part of the *sūtra*, but these instances will not be discussed here.[247]

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244 *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 59.9–60.4): *btsun pa 'od srungs chen po phyir mi ldog pa'i byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi dpal dang | gzi brjid dang | stobs la gang gi phyir pi wang gi sgra des bsgul ba'am | bskyod par mi nus pas | btsun pa 'od srungs chen po su zhig bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems mi skyed | de ci'i phyir zhe na | gang nyi tshe ba'i ye shes dang ldan pa rnams kyi stobs dang | gzi brjid de ni pi wang gi sgra 'dis zil gyis non to || gang theg pa chen po la yang dag par zhugs pa rnams kyi stobs dang | gzi brjid de la ni zil gyis gnon par mi nus pa la ltos* |.

245 Various motives for becoming a *buddha* seem to be implied.

246 *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 77.7–82.12): *mi 'am ci'i bdag po 'di la byang chub sems dpa' ni sangs rgyas dkon mchog rgyun mi 'chad pa dang | chos dkon mchog rgyun mi 'chad pa dang | dge 'dun dkon mchog rgyun mi 'chad par bya ba'i phyir | sems bskyed pa rin po che brgyad cu po 'di dag la 'jug go || brgyad cu gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | de thams cad mkhyen pa'i sems rin po che mi brjed pa dang | lhag pa'i bsam pa'i sems rin po che mi gtong ba dang | ... byang chub kyi sems las mi g.yo ba'i phyir | tshul khrims rjes su dran pa'i sems rin po che dang* |.

247 In addition to the passages already discussed, the term *bodhicitta* (*byang chub kyi sems*) is found in the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 96.10, 120.9–10, 134.11, 147.12, 152.7–10, 153.2–5, 161.13–16, 190.5–6, 259.8–10, and 284.4). Likewise the expression *byang chub tu sems bskyed* can be found in *ibid.* (pp. 150.7–8, 173.5–7, 185.11–12, 205.1, 225.2–9, 247.11–14, 251.6, 256.11–12, 274.7, and 276.1–6).

(c) The Term *Bodhicitta* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* belongs to the earliest strata of the *Yogācārabhūmi*. It must have already been in existence in the early third century CE. There are reasons to believe that, within the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* itself, the first part (*yogasthāna*), containing the chapter on *cittotpāda*, may well be the oldest.[248] However, since we do not know how long it took to compile the entire *Yogācārabhūmi*, we do not know to what extent the oldest material of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* goes back to before the third century.

The term *bodhicitta* does not seem to be attested in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. All three instances in which the term *bodhicitta* occurs certainly do not represent the original reading.[249] The absence (or the rarity) of the technical term *bodhicitta* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* suggests that, at this stage, it had not yet been fixed or established. We cannot, however, assume that the compiler (or compilers) did not know or was not concerned with the theory of *bodhicitta*. In fact, one whole chapter is devoted to the idea of *cittotpāda*, the generation of *bodhicitta*. It seems that the idea of *bodhicitta* in its rudimentary stages merely entailed a verbal (or conceptual) formulation of the aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*) to become a *buddha*, but that formulations such as *cittam utpadyate bodhāya* and *bodhāya cittaṃ praṇidadhād*[250] in particular contributed to the eventual crystallisation of the compound *bodhicitta*.

(d) The Relative Chronology of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

Virtually nobody contests the chronological anteriority of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. However, in view of the history of the *bodhicitta* concept, this chronology can be called into question. If we assume that the term *bodhicitta* indeed stood *ab intitio* in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*, we shall have to conclude that the concept of *bodhicitta* was already fixed terminologically in the milieu in which that work was compiled (or composed), whereas it had just begun to form in the milieu in which the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was compiled.

What conclusion if any can one draw from this? One possibility would be to challenge the hitherto assumed relative chronology of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and propose that the former is in fact not older than the latter. Such a proposition, however, would cause insurmountable problems and needs to be ruled out. The other possibility is to assume that although the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* is indeed older than the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the parts of the text containing the term *bodhicitta* are a later interpolation. This is conceivable, but how could one then explain the fact that other Mahāyāna *sūtra*s that are older than the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also contain relatively developed ideas of *bodhicitta*. The third and perhaps best solution may be to assume that although the redaction of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* took place earlier than that of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* contains elements or strata that are even more archaic than those of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. At least this seems to be the case in the context of the development of the *bodhicitta* concept.

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[248] ROTH 1975/76: 171–172.

[249] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.7 (NAKAMURA 2004: 28): *yasminn eva divase pakṣe māse saṃvatsare ekena 'bodhau cittaṃ'*[a] *praṇihitaṃ | tasminn eva divase pakṣe māse saṃvatsare sarvaiḥ |*. [a] Note that the readings of several manuscripts (recorded by NAKAMURA 2004: 28) tell against the reading *bodhicittaṃ* in WOGIHARA, p. 92.12–15. This is also the case in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.2.1 and §4.6.0), where the reading *bodhicitta* in some versions of the text is opposed by other readings.

[250] See below, n. 255 and *BHSD*, s.vv. *praṇidadhāti* and *praṇidheti*. See also, for instance, the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* (p. 52.3): … *prasannacitto bodhāya cittam utpādya*…. The Tibetan translation reads (T, fol. 77a6; D, fol. 57b1): … *sems dang bas byang chub tu sems bskyed nas |*.

(e) The Terms *Cittotpāda*, *Bodhicitta*, and *Bodhicittotpāda*

We have seen in the chapter on previous studies of *bodhicitta* that Gareth Sparham attempted to differentiate *cittotpāda*, *bodhicitta*, and *bodhicittotpāda* in terms of their origin and meanings. According to him, the origin of the term *cittotpāda* is what he calls the Origin-Passage of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. He does not specify the origin of the term *bodhicitta*, but merely states that the opening verses of the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 'refer explicitly to *bodhicitta*,' without, that is, asserting that these verses or the passage in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* containing the term *bodhicitta* coined it. For Sparham, *bodhicittotpāda* is the outcome of a later systematisation of the early notions of *cittotpāda* and *bodhicitta*, with the original *cittotpāda* being designated as conventional *bodhicittotpāda* and the original *bodhicitta* as absolute *bodhicittotpāda*. Later, however, *bodhicitta* came to be used (in a historically inappropriate way) as an abridged form of *bodhicittotpāda*. Sparham's attempted explanation, if not quite convincing, is certainly food for thought.

In the following few paragraphs I intend to assess Sparham's discussion of these terms and point out where I agree or disagree. Firstly, I find it necessary to distinguish between the idea as such and the corresponding technical term for it (*cittotpāda*, *bodhicitta*, and *bodhicittotpāda*), which Sparham does not seem to do. For example, although the term *cittotpāda* (i.e. a noun) does not occur in what he calls the Origin-Passage, he treats it as if it does. In general, it can be presupposed that the attempt to express an existing idea in words gives rise to a technical term and not vice versa. That is, a certain idea may be extant for some time before a technical term for it is coined.

Secondly, it is useful to distinguish technical terms from their non-terminological counterparts. This seems to be particularly necessary in the case of the term *cittotpāda*. (As far as I can tell, the terms *bodhicitta* and *bodhicittotpāda* are employed in the Mahāyāna context only terminologically, and hence there does not arise the need to distinguish them from non-terminological expressions.) The term *cittotpāda* is apparently not used in non-Buddhist sources, and, according to Franklin Edgerton, it is a common Hybrid Buddhist Sanskrit term,[251] its Pāli equivalence being *cittuppāda*.[252] However, even in the Buddhist context it need not necessarily mean an 'act of generating the resolve to strive for awakening,' but can also refer to the resolve to attain any profane goal driven by any profane motive. Also, even if the term is employed in a soteriological sense, it does not necessarily mean generating the resolve to become a *buddha*, since three kinds of *bodhi* are presupposed, namely, those of a *śrāvaka* saint, *pratyekabuddha*, and *buddha*.

Must generating the resolve to strive for perfect awakening (*samyaksaṃbodhi*), then, necessarily mean *cittotpāda* in its technical Mahāyāna sense? Not necessarily. As I have tried to make clear in the chapter on the doctrinal and historical background of the *bodhicitta* concept, the non-Mahāyāna traditions have their own idea of the historical Buddha (and also of other *buddhas*, such as the Buddha Dīpaṃkara), and accordingly their own idea of the initial resolve to strive for perfect awakening supposedly made by them in the past. I differentiate such ideas found in non-Mahāyāna sources from those found in Mahāyāna sources. The former may have been the historical or doctrinal precursors of the latter, but the two cannot be treated as though they were identical. I thus contend that *cittotpāda* in its Mahāyāna technical sense always denotes the resolve to become a *bodhisattva* or a *buddha*, which can be generated by ordinary individuals equipped with the correct and sufficient emotive, cognitive, and conative prerequisites.

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251 *BHSD*, s.v. *cittotpāda*.

252 *PED*, s.v. *cittuppāda*.

Some Tibetan scholars, such as Sa-paṇ, felt the necessity to distinguish between various kinds of *cittotpāda*, even when used in the Buddhist soteriological context. Sa-paṇ classifies *cittotpāda* into two categories: non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna. He further classifies non-Mahāyāna *cittotpāda* into three types, namely, those of a *śrāvaka* saint, *pratyekabbudha*, and *buddha*, and the Mahāyāna *cittotpāda* into those of the Madhyamaka and Cittamātra traditions.[253] Particularly noteworthy is his distinction between generating the resolve to strive for the supreme awakening according to the non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna traditions. It is clear that for him, too, such generation according to the non-Mahāyāna traditions should be understood primarily as involving the resolve to become a *buddha* made by the historical Buddha sometime in the distant past, whereas according to the Mahāyāna as involving the resolve to become a *buddha* that can be made by any sentient being with the right prerequisite.

Given the multiple applications of the term *cittotpāda*, it was perhaps necessary to specify it as *bodhicittotpāda*. Occasionally generating the resolve to become a *śrāvaka* saint or *pratyekabuddha* is also referred to as *bodhicittotpāda*, but such cases should be considered to be non-terminological.[254] Apparently the term *bodhicittotpāda* came to be used in these senses only retrospectively, and in analogy to the *bodhicittotpāda* of a *bodhisattva*. If this were not the case, we ought to find the term also in non-Mahāyāna sources, where it is, to my knowledge, not attested.

Thirdly, although Sparham somehow makes clear that the original terms *cittotpāda* and *bodhicitta* are more archaic than the term *bodhicittotpāda*, he does not specify which of the former two is more archaic. It is perhaps reasonable to assume that the technical term *cittotpāda* is more archaic than the term *bodhicitta*. Having said that, I hasten to recall that a terminological archaism need not necessarily correspond to the age of a text, for even a recent work may contain very archaic terms and conservative ideas.

Fourthly, Sparham has sought to point out the difference in origin, and the original meanings, of *cittotpāda* and *bodhicitta*, as if they had originally nothing to do with each other. Examination of the conventional-absolute classification seems to indicate that there existed two strands: Strand A (represented by texts such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*), which conspicuously employs terminologies such as *pāramārthikacittotpāda* and *sāṃketikacittotpāda*, and Strand B (represented by the Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka literature), which rather employs terms such as *pāramārthikabodhicitta* and *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* in making this particular distinction (see chapter eight). The two strands seem to have conceived the conventional-absolute classification differently, at least in the beginning. However, in some later texts the two strands have converged, or else the distinctions between them have become less pronounced.

In addition, I find the implication that the term *bodhicitta* from the very beginning had a gnoseological and ontological connotation quite problematic. My own hypothesis is that the terms *cittotpāda*, *bodhicitta*, and *bodhicittotpāda* have enjoyed varying degrees of

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[253] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.1–2:

sems bskyed la ni nyan thos dang ||
theg pa chen po'i lugs gnyis yod ||
nyan thos rnam la sems bskyed gsum ||
dgra bcom rang rgyas sangs rgyas so || …
theg pa chen po'i sems bskyed la ||
dbu ma sems tsam rnam pa gnyis ||.

For an English translation and comments, see RHOTON 2002: 81, 90–91, n. 1.

[254] For example, Rong-zom-pa on one occasion employed the expression *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa* (*bodhicittotpāda*) in these senses. See the *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 232b4–5; B, p. 313.6–8): *rnam pa gcig du byang chub sems dpa' ltar sems can mang po'i phyir byang chub tu sems mi bskyed kyi | bdag gcig pu grol bar bya 'ba'i phyir'* [ba'i phyī A] *sems bskyed pas de skad ces bya'o ||.*

terminological predominance in various Mahāyāna texts and traditions, but semantically they have always been associated with the resolve to become a *buddha* or a *bodhisattva*, that is, even in cases where *citta* is described as *acitta*, as in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*. The fact that *bodhi* and *citta* (like all other phenomena) are deconstructed in the context of the doctrine of emptiness (*śūnyatā*) is, in my view, by no means an indication that *bodhicitta* has a different origin and meaning in the Prajñāpāramitā. On the contrary, it is an indication that even such traditions have presupposed the conservative idea of *bodhicitta*. Thus we can regard the attempts made by the Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka traditions to establish all phenomena as empty (*śūnya*) as attempts to expose the underlying essencelessness of all phenomena, so that the deconstruction, or rather de-emotionalisation, of *bodhicitta* is in itself an indication of the basic presupposition regarding *bodhicitta*.

Fifthly, Sparham's claim that *cittotpāda* in its original sense was later called conventional *bodhicittotpāda*, and *bodhicitta* in its original sense was later called absolute *bodhicittotpāda* requires further investigation. What I merely want to point out here is that both *cittotpāda* and *bodhicitta* seem to have each been subdivided into conventional and absolute forms, while, as already mentioned, the technical term *cittotpāda* (if not always explicitly) seems to have meant *bodhicittotpāda*. I argue that the terms *cittotpāda* (in the sense of the generation of the resolve to become a *buddha*), *bodhicitta*, and *bodhicittotpāda* all owe their formation to expressions such as: *cittam utpadyate bodhāya*.[255] In any case, *bodhicitta* and *cittotpāda* came to be understood synonymously. For instance, the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (at least in the Tibetan translation) equates *bodhicitta* with *cittotpāda*. In the pre-commentary to verses 1.4cd and 1.5ab, it states:[256]

> Desiring to explicate the ten types of *bodhicitta* of the *bodhisattva*s [and] taking into consideration the first [type of] *bodhicitta*....

The post-commentary of the same verses goes on:[257]

> The *bodhisattva* stage (*bhūmi*) of Utter Joy (*pramuditā*) is the first [type of] *cittotpāda* of the *bodhisattva*s, and the Cloud of Dharma (*dharmameghā*), [which is] the last, is the tenth *cittotpāda*.

The fact that the ten stages of the *bodhisattva*s are designated by Candrakīrti as either *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* suggests that, for him too, the two terms are synonymous. No semantic distinction between the two is made either among Tibetan scholars, as can be seen in various writings on the topic.[258]

(f) Some Definitions of *Bodhicitta* or *Cittotpāda*

There is no formal definition of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* given in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* or its two commentaries. However, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, in explaining the (intentional) aspect (*ākāra*) of *cittotpāda*, states:[259]

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[255] See, for example, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§.1.1.2, 2.2.0 and 4.5.0); see also *ibid.* 1.11 (WOGIHARA, p. 191.26; DUTT, p. 132.7–8): ... *bodhāya cittam utpādayatā*....

[256] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 11.15–16): *byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi byang chub kyi sems kyi dbye ba rnam pa bcu brjod par 'dod pas | je* [= de] *byang chub kyi sems dang po'i dbang du byas nas*....

[257] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 12.13–15): *de la byang chub sems dpa'i sa rab tu dga' ba ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi sems bskyed pa dang po yin la mthar chos kyi sprin ni sems bskyed pa bcu pa'o* ||.

[258] See, for example, the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 77a4–5; B, p. 500.16–17): *de la byang chub kyi sems ní 'dir shes rab dang snying rjes bsdus pa'i sems bskyed pa'o* ||.

[259] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.1.2).

> Furthermore, the *bodhisattva*, when fixing his thought on awakening, collects [his] thoughts and articulates [his] words thus: "Oh, may I be perfectly awakened unto the highest, perfect awakening, may I be the benefactor of all sentient beings and may I establish [them] in the absolutely perfect (or firm) extinction and in the insight of the *tathāgata*!" In this way, one generates the resolve [to become a *buddha*] when striving for one's own awakening and for the welfare of sentient beings.

And in explaining the objective support (*ālambana*) of *cittotpāda*, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* states:[260]

> Furthermore, one strives to generate the resolve [to become a *buddha*] by taking this awakening and the welfare of sentient beings as an [objective] support for it (i.e. the resolve) [and] under no circumstances without taking [them] as [an objective] support. Thus generation of resolve [to become a *buddha*] has awakening [as its objective] support, and the welfare of sentient beings [as its objective] support [as well].

The *Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* by Guṇaprabha (only on *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1–1.9) and the *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* by Sāgaramegha contribute little to the definition of *cittotpāda*. What is striking in the latter work is that, while some significant developments can be noticed in it, the term *bodhicitta* is not employed by Sāgaramegha. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* states:[261]

> The arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*, comprising] two objectives,
> Is the will of the *bodhisattva*s,
> [Characterised by] great enthusiasm, great endeavour,
> Great purpose, [and] great outcome.

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* makes it clear that the verse deals with the definition of generating the resolve (*cittotpādalakṣaṇa*):[262]

> A verse concerning the definition of generating the resolve [to become a *buddha*]: ...[*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkā* 4.1].... [The generation of the resolve] is characterised by: [1] great enthusiasm (*mahotsāha*), in view of [the preparatory] perseverance in [putting on] the armour (*saṃnāhavīrya*), knowing that [it] will withstand serious (*gambhīra*), difficult (*duṣkara*), and long-lasting (*dīrghakāla*) obstacles (*pratipakṣa*); [2] great undertaking (*mahārambha*), in view of [his] persevering in practical application in accordance with [the preparatory putting on of] the armour; [3] great purpose (*mahārtha*), in view of [his being dedicated to] the benefit of oneself and others; and [4] great outcome (*mahodaya*) due to the complete attainment of the great awakening (*mahābodhi*). The following three merits are elucidated in this [verse]: the merit of exertion (*puruṣakāra*),[263] as expressed by two words (i.e. *mahotsāha* and *mahārambha*), and the merit of salvific activity [for the sake of others] (*arthakriyā*) and that of accepting the result (*phalaparigraha*), as expressed by two [other] words (i.e. *mahārtha* and *mahodaya*, respectively). [The generation of resolve is] characterised by a twofold purpose, for [it has] the great awakening and activities for the welfare of sentient beings as its objective supports. Thus a

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260 *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.1.3); JOSHI 1971: 71.

261 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.1:
mahotsāhā mahārambhā mahārthātha mahodayā |
cetanā bodhisattvānāṃ dvayārthā cittasaṃbhavaḥ ||.
For a French translation of the verse, see LÉVI 1911: 32; see also JOSHI 1971: 71.

262 *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (pp. 13.18–14.4): *cittotpādalakṣaṇe ślokaḥ |... [Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra 4.1]... mahotsāhā saṃnāhavīryeṇa gambhīraduṣkaradīrghakālapratipakṣotsahanāt | mahārambhā yathāsaṃnāhanaprayogavīryeṇa | mahārthā ātmaparahitādhikārāt | mahodayā mahābodhisamudāgamatvāt | so 'yaṃ trividho guṇaḥ paridīpitaḥ puruṣakāraguṇo dvyābhyāṃ padābhyām arthakriyāguṇaḥ phalaparigrahaguṇaś ca dvyābhyāṃ | dvayārthā mahābodhisattvārthakriyālambanatvāt | iti triguṇā dvayālambanā ca cetanā cittotpāda ity ucyate |*.

263 The term *puruṣakāra* is called so because of the resemblance to manly activity. See the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 95.2–4): *puruṣabhāvāvyatirekāt puruṣakāraḥ puruṣa eva | tasya phalaṃ pauruṣam | ko 'yaṃ puruṣakāro nāma | yasya dharmasya yat kāritram | puruṣakāra iva hi puruṣakāraḥ |*. See also PRUDEN 1988–90: 288; COX 1995: 357, n. 25.

> will which possesses the three merits and two objective supports is called generating the resolve (*cittotpāda*) [to become a *buddha*].

What is noteworthy here is that the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* still does not use the term *bodhicitta*. However, *Asvabhāva does seem to use the expression *bodhicittotpāda* at this point. He also correctly takes *cittasaṃbhava* in the verse to be semantically equivalent to *cittotpāda*.[264] Sthiramati for his part used the term *bodhicitta* profusely, to judge by the Tibetan translation of the *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā*.

The *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, the *locus classicus* for the definition of *bodhicitta* not only for traditional exegetics but for modern scholars as well, defines the generation of *bodhicitta* as follows:[265]

> To generate the resolve [to become a *buddha*]
> Is to desire perfect complete awakening for the sake of other [sentient beings].

The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* does not mention the term *bodhicitta*, unlike the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, which mentions it in the context of the thirty-two attributes of a *bodhisattva*.[266] However, one cannot deduce from this fact that the author of the former work did not know of the concept or was opposed to the theory associated with it. The *Abhidharmasamuccaya* indeed presupposes the concept of *bodhicitta*, the reason for not mentioning the actual term having to do with the immediate purposes of the work itself. The work, as its title shows, is not meant to be a typical discourse on the theory and practice of a *bodhisattva*, unlike the *Mahāyānasaṃgraha*, which, again as its title shows, is precisely such an exegesis.

The first chapter of the *Madhyamakahṛdaya* deals with the non-abandonment of *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittāparityāga*). The pertinent verses that contain the term *bodhicitta* shed light on the concept of *bodhicitta* in this Madhyamaka work, and the status assigned to it. It states:[267]

> Not abandoning *bodhicitta*,
> Seeking support in the discipline of the Sage,
> And questing for the knowledge of reality
> Are the [three] practices leading to the achievement of all goals.

It again states:[268]

> *Bodhicitta* is the seed of Buddha[hood] (*buddhabīja*),
> Which has great friendliness (*maitrī*), compassion (*karuṇā*)
> And gnosis (*jñāna*) as [its] ornaments (*bhūṣaṇa*).
> Therefore the wise exerts himself not to abandon it.

The *Tarkajvālā* provides the following explanation of this verse:[269]

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[264] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 60b3; D, fol. 53b3; S, vol. 71, p. 135.3–4) states: *sems 'byung ba zhes bya ba la | 'byung ba dang bskyed pa zhes bya ba ni don tha dad pa ma yin no ||*.

[265] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 1.18ab: *cittotpādaḥ parārthāya samyaksaṃbodhikāmatā |*.

[266] *Mahāyānasaṃgraha* 2.§34 (p. 45.18–19): *spyod lam thams cad du byang chub kyi sems yongs su spyod par byed pa....* See also *ibid.* (p. 46.3): *byang chub kyi sems de sngon du 'gro ba....*

[267] *Madhyamakahṛdaya* 1.5:
bodhicittāparityāgo munivratasamāśrayaḥ |
tattvajñānaiṣaṇā ceti caryā sarvārthasiddhaye ||.

[268] *Madhyamakahṛdaya* 1.6:
bodhicittaṃ mahāmaitrīkaruṇājñānabhūṣaṇam |
buddhabījaṃ yato vidvāṃs tadatyāgāya yujyate ||.

[269] *Tarkajvālā* (P, fols. 45b5–46a5; D, fols. 42b4–43a4; S, vol. 58, pp. 108.19–109.20): *byang chub kyi sems zhes bya ba de ji lta bu zhe na |... [Madhyamakahṛdaya* 1.6] *zhes bya ba ste | byams pa chen po zhes bya ba ni* [1] *sems can thams cad bsgral ba dang |* [2] *sgrol ba dang |* [3] *mngon par byang chub par bya ba dang |* [4] *yongs*

What is so-called *bodhicitta*? ...[*Madhyamakahṛdaya* 1.6].... '[Endowed with] great friendliness' means having the [following] four [reasons for] generating resolve (*cittotpāda*): [1] all sentient beings are to be rescued [from *saṃsāra*], [2] [I am] rescuing (or going to rescue them), [3] [I will] cause [them] to become fully awakened, and [4] [cause them to] attain complete extinction (*parinirvāṇa*). '[Endowed with] great compassion' means having the [following] four [reasons for] generating resolve (*cittotpāda*): [1] carrying out [beneficial activities] for the sake of all sentient beings, [2] protecting [them] from lower destinations, [3] retrieving [them] from lesser vehicles (*hīnayāna*), and [4] establishing them in the correct path. 'Great gnosis' is of two kinds: the gnosis of strategic means (*upāya*) and the gnosis of discriminating insight (*prajñā*). Of the [two], the gnosis of strategic means implies perfecting the three [kinds of] accumulation[270] [by, for example], generating all basic wholesome virtues endowed with the total purity of the 'three circles' (*trimaṇḍala*),[271] sharing [them] with all sentient beings, dedicating [the anticipated beneficial resources] to [the attainment of] the highest perfect awakening, confessing misdeeds, rejoicing at beneficial resources, and so forth. The gnosis of discriminating insight (*prajñā*) implies the generating of gnosis (*jñāna*), both [of the type] characterised by analytical investigation and [that] endowed with one moment (*ekakṣaṇa* or *ekakṣaṇacitta*),[272] for all factors of existence (*dharma*) are imperceptible, without signs [of appearance] (*nimitta*), without agitating impulse, unborn, without substance, and wholly non-existent. The seed of Buddha[hood] adorned with these is *bodhicitta*. [As for] *bodhi*, [it] is the knowledge, perfect in all respects, of all factors of existence. *Bodhicitta* is resolve (*citta*) [gathered up] for the sake of awakening (*bodhi*). Because it is the seed of Buddha[hood], it is judicious on the part of the wise, who have [the welfare of] sentient beings in view, not to abandon [altruistic] inclination (*āśaya*), superior [altruistic] inclination (*adhyāśaya*), confidence (*adhimokṣa*), and great confidence.

Later exegetes discussed whether *bodhicitta* is mind (*citta*) or a mental associate (*caitta*), but this will have to be dealt on another occasion.

(g) How Indispensable Is *Bodhicitta* for a *Bodhisattva*?

The importance of *bodhicitta* has been expressed in numerous ways: through logical reasoning, authoritative scripture, similes, and eulogies. Although it is by no means conceived

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su mya ngan las 'da' ba'i sems bskyed [bskyad P] *pa bzhi dang ldan pa'o* || *snying rje chen po zhes bya ba ni* [1] *sems can thams cad kyi don bya ba dang* | [2] *ngan 'gro las yongs su bskyab pa dang* | [3] *theg pa dman pa las bslang ba dang* | [4] *yang dag pa'i lam du dgod pa'i sems bskyed pa bzhi dang ldan pa'o* || *shes pa chen po zhes bya ba ni rnam pa gnyis te* | *thabs kyi shes pa dang* | *shes rab kyi shes pa'o* || *de la thabs kyi shes pa ni 'khor gsum yongs su dag pa dang ldan pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad skyed* [bskyed PN] *cing* | *sems can thams cad dang thun mong du byas shing* | *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu yongs su bsngo ba dang* | *sdig pa 'chags pa dang* | *bsod nams kyi rjes su yi rang ba la sogs pa dang* | *tshogs* [tshigs P] *gsum yongs su rdzogs par byed pa'o* || *shes rab kyi shes pa ni chos thams cad dmigs su med pa dang* | *mtshan ma med pa dang* | *mngon par 'du bya ba med pa dang* | *skye ba med pa dang* | *dngos po med pa dang* | *yongs su ma grub pas so sor rtog* [rtogs PN] *pa'i ngo bo nyid kyi shes pa skad cig gcig dang ldan pa bskyed pa'o* || *de dag gis brgyan pa'i sangs rgyas kyi sa bon ni byang chub kyi sems yin te* | *byang chub ni chos thams cad rnam pa thams cad du* [da P] *yongs su mkhyen pa'o* || *byang chub kyi sems ni byang chub kyi phyir sems pa'o* [dpa' 'o PN] || *gang gi phyir de sangs rgyas kyi sa bon yin pa de'i phyir mkhas pa sems can la blta bas bsam pa dang* | *lhag pa'i bsam pa dang mos pa dang mos pa rgya chen po de mi gtang* [btang PN] *bar bya ba'i rigs so* ||.

[270] It is not clear what the three kinds of accumulation (*saṃbhāra*) are.

[271] See *BHSD*, s.v. *trimaṇḍala*. From a Mahāyāna perspective, the practice of giving (*dāna*), for example, is only pure (or supramundane) if the giver, act of giving, and recipient can be viewed as empty (*śūnya*) and if there is no attachment to the three. See, for example, *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.16, 2.9, 3.10.

[272] I do not understand the meaning of this expression, but I should guess that *jñāna* characterised by analytical investigation is conceptual gnosis (perhaps in the post-meditative state of a *bodhisattva*) and *jñāna* endowed with one moment (*ekakṣaṇa*) the non-conceptual gnosis that is the direct perception of true reality in the meditative state. For the occurrence of terms such as *ekakṣaṇa*, see, for example, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 7.5.

of as the only (i.e. as a self-sufficient) cause of Buddhahood, it is considered to be virtually an indispensable cause—a *sine qua non*. It determines the very nature of a *bodhisattva*. The question is: Is *bodhicitta* really indispensable in all forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism? I shall contend that the concept of *bodhisattva* is accentuated or presupposed in all forms of Mahāyāna, and that the idea of *bodhicitta* is as well. In other words, it will be argued that *bodhicitta* is explicitly or implicitly considered to be indispensable, both within traditions that propose or presuppose the validity of multiple spiritual dispositions and vehicles, and within others that propose or presuppose the validity of one ultimate spiritual disposition and one ultimate vehicle. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which propounds the theory of five spiritual dispositions and three vehicles as final and valid, states explicitly that the generation of *bodhicitta* is indeed indispensable for the attainment of Buddhahood:[273]

> Moreover, by generating that resolve, a *bodhisattva* gradually awakes completely unto the highest, perfect awakening, and by failing to do so does not, under any circumstances.[274] Therefore, this generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] is the basis of the highest, perfect awakening.

If we view the structure of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as encapsulated in its synoptic verses (*uddāna*), we see that the work is conceived in such a way that its ten topics encompass the entire *bodhisattva* path (*mārga*) and its fruition (*phala*).[275] In particular, *gotra*, *cittotpāda*, and *bodhisattvacaryāprayoga* ('exertion in accomplishing the deeds of a *bodhisattva*') form an integral part of the first topic, called the 'substratum' (*ādhāra*).[276] The *gotra* is conceived as indispensable for *cittotpāda*, *cittotpāda* indispensable for *bodhisattvacaryāprayoga*, and *bodhisattvacaryāprayoga* indispensable for Buddhahood.[277] The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, however, makes unequivocally clear that while the presence of the right *gotra* is no guarantee for the attainment of Buddhahood,[278] the absence of such a *gotra* totally undermines the possibility of

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[273] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.2.2).

[274] Cf. *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.18 (WOGIHARA, pp. 290.24–291.2; DUTT, p. 197.10–13), where the generation of the resolve to become a *buddha* for the first time is counted as one of the five things a *bodhisattva* aspiring to complete awakening cannot afford to do without.

[275] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, p. 1.1–6): *daśeme dharmāḥ saphalasya bodhisattvamārgasya mahāyānasya saṃgrahāya saṃvartante | katame daśa | ādhāro liṅgaṃ pakṣo 'dhyāśayo vihāra upapattiḥ parigraho bhūmiś caryā pratiṣṭhā ca || uddānam |*

> *ādhāro liṅgaṃ*[a] *'pakṣo 'dhyāśayo vihārā'*[b] *upapattiḥ |*
> *parigraho bhūmiś caryā pratiṣṭhā paścimā bhavet ||*

[a] liṅgaṃ] *em.*, liṅga DUTT; [b] pakṣo °] *em.*, pakṣādhyaśayavihārā WOGIHARA, DUTT. Note that the metre of *pāda*s a and b in the *uddāna* verse is obviously an Āryā, but as it stands it is flawed. Gustav Roth has asked the question why this *uddāna*, which introduces the whole text, is of such an aberrant type. According to him, the structure of the introductory *uddāna* seems to be closely linked with the history of the composition as a whole (ROTH 1975/76: 171–172). Note that the Sanskrit text at the beginning of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 does not appear in WOGIHARA.

[276] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, p. 1.7–8): "What is the [one] among these [called] the substratum? [It is] one's own spiritual disposition (i.e. that of a *bodhisattva*), the first act of generating the resolve [to become a *buddha*]; and all the factors having to do with the awakening are here called the substratum" (*tatrādhāraḥ katamaḥ | iha bodhisattvasya svagotraṃ prathamaś cittotpādaḥ sarve ca bodhipakṣyā dharmā ādhāra ity ucyate |*).

[277] See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, pp. 1.8–2.3).

[278] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1. (DUTT, p. 1.19–20): *sacet punar gotrasthaś cittaṃ notpādayati bodhicaryāsu na prayujyate na kṣipraṃ bodhim ārāgayati....* The Tibetan translation (filling the lacunae in WOGIHARA, p. 2.20–23) reads here *byang chub myur du 'grub par mi 'gyur ro* and seems to suggest *na kṣipraṃ bodhim ārādhayati.* See also *ibid.* (WOGIHARA, p. 11.2–3; DUTT, p. 7.13–14): *caturbhiḥ kāraṇair* [°naiḥ WOGIHARA] *evaṃ gotrasampanno 'pi bodhisattvo* [°aḥ WOGIHARA] *na śaknoty anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃboddhum* [°dhuṃ WOGIHARA].

becoming a *buddha*.[279] According to it, the excellence of the spiritual disposition (*gotrasampad*) is the first of the four prerequisites (*hetu*) for the arising of the resolve to become a *buddha*.[280] It also makes clear that the first of the four causes (*kāraṇa*) of the relapse (*vyāvṛtti*) of *cittotpāda* is not being endowed with the spiritual disposition (*gotrasampanna*) of a *bodhisattva*.[281] This shows that a person without the *bodhisattvagotra* may generate *bodhicitta* and may temporarily even follow the path, but he or she is prone to relapse. What is important to note here is that works such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* do not question the validity of the *bodhi* of a *śrāvaka* saint or a *pratyekabuddha*, nor do they contend that the generation of *bodhicitta* is mandatory for all who seek release from *saṃsāra*.

Other forms of Mahāyāna Buddhism, such as Madhyamaka, Prajñāpāramitā, Tathāgatagarbha, and Vajrayāna, all of which propose the validity of one ultimate spiritual disposition and one vehicle, would not reject the indispensable role of *bodhicitta* for the attainment of Buddhahood either. Those who maintain the immanence of *buddha* qualities in all sentient beings (and follow the revelation or nature model of soteriology) and those who do not accept the immanence of *buddha* qualities (and follow the generation or nurture model), may disagree in regard to what *bodhicitta* is or how it is brought about, but none of them would deny the indispensability of it. Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī* states that those who wish to attain Buddhahood should rely on *bodhicitta*.[282] Likewise, the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* ascribed to Nāgārjuna asserts that the very best feature of Mahāyāna is *bodhicitta* and that other than *bodhicitta* no means of benefiting oneself and others has ever been discovered by the *buddhas*.[283] Occasionally we may get the impression that the notion of *bodhicitta* is undermined in the Prajñāpāramitā sources, but, as already pointed out, if we consider the *bodhisattva* ideals proposed there, it should become clear that such a process is not meant as a denial of *bodhicitta*, but rather as an attempt to de-emotionalise the attitudes and actions of a *bodhisattva*. I may, however, point out what seems to be an anomaly. In the *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra*, one of the Mahāyāna *sūtra*s expounding the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, it is

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[279] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, p. 1.16–18; cf. WOGIHARA, p. 2.13–17): *agotrasthaḥ pudgalo gotre 'sati cittotpāde 'pi yatnasamāśraye saty abhavyaś cānuttarāyāḥ samyaksaṃbodheḥ paripūraye*|; *ibid.* (WOGIHARA, p. 11.18–19; DUTT, p. 7.23–24): *asati tu gotre sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā bodher aprāptir eva veditavyā* |. For a discussion, see D'AMATO 2003.

[280] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.1.2).

[281] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.2.0).

[282] *Ratnāvalī* 2.73cd–74ab:
bdag nyid dang ni 'jig rten 'dis ||
bla med byang chub thob 'dod na ||
de yi rtsa ba byang chub sems ||
ri dbang rgyal po ltar brtan dang ||.
No Sanskrit text of these verses has survived. Cf. also *ibid.* 3.86.

[283] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 105–106:
byang chub sems 'di theg chen po ||
mchog ni yin par bshad pa ste ||
mnyam par gzhag pa'i 'bad pa yis ||
byang chub sems ni bskyed par gyis ||
rang dang gzhan don bsgrub don du ||
srid na thabs gzhan yod ma yin ||
byang chub sems ni ma gtogs pas ||
sangs rgyas kyis sngar thabs ma gzigs ||.
The Sanskrit text is said to be extant in Tibet (or China) but not accessible. For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 69. See also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.3; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 25.

stated that one can become a *bodhisattva* by merely hearing the name of Buddha Śākyamuni:[284]

> By merely hearing the name of Tathāgata Śākyamuni, one in whom the resolve [to become a *buddha*] has not [yet] arisen[285] will become a *bodhisattva*.

Such a statement gives the impression that there is an alternative to *bodhicitta*, and if taken at face value could be problematic within the general Mahāyāna system. However, we know quite well that the main concern of such texts is not *bodhicitta* (in a conservative sense) but rather the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine, and that their tone is fairly propagandistic. The firm conviction is that even if those who condemn the theory of *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine were to hear the name of Śākyamuni Buddha, they would become *bodhisattva*s and ultimately *buddha*s, on account of the aspirational wish made by him in the past. One may, of course, interpret this statement as meaning that hearing the name of Śākyamuni would cause *bodhicitta* to arise in one, for being a *bodhisattva* automatically implies possession of *bodhicitta*. This is essentially the same as in the cases where the resolve to become a *buddha* is made possible by hearing about the excellent qualities of a *buddha*. In any event, it will be instructive to collect more such passages, which seemingly bypass or subordinate the role of *bodhicitta*.

In general, the extent to which the role of *bodhicitta* is relativised or absolutised seems to depend on how narrow or broad *bodhicitta* is defined. If *bodhicitta* is understood in the narrow sense of the resolve to become a *buddha* (sometimes even oblivious of the need for compassion and discriminating insight), as apparently in *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.1cd (where *bodhicitta* is juxtaposed to *kṛpācitta* and **advayamati*), its role is accordingly relativised. But if it is understood in such a way as to incorporate all conative, emotive, and cognitive components, and as both the initial resolve and the resolve that accompanies all of the *bodhisattva*'s attitudes and actions at all stages of the path, then its role is absolutised, and it is regarded as the single necessary and sufficient condition for attaining Buddhahood. The idea of *bodhicitta* as such a condition is perhaps best demonstrated by dPal-sprul's comparison of *bodhicitta* to a panacea, a single medicine for a hundred ills, which we encountered in chapter one.[286]

The question whether *bodhicitta* is indispensable also in the eyes of the Pure Land Buddhism, a form of Mahāyāna called by some the 'school of devotionalism,' according to which one can be assured entry into the pure realm of Sukhāvatī by invoking the grace of Buddha Amitābha (or Amitāyus) with absolute devotion, may best be answered by specialists. One could tentatively argue that the indispensability of *bodhicitta* is implied in Pure Land Buddhism by the idea of a *bodhisattva* propounded, for example, in the two *sūtra*s called the Larger and Smaller *Sukhāvatīvyūhasūtra*. That is, to be born in Sukhāvatī means to become a *bodhisattva* (although perhaps not invariably, because *śrāvaka*s are also said to exist there), and the idea of *bodhisattva* (as understood in the Mahāyāna sense) always implies *bodhicitta*. The fact that Pure Land Buddhism emphasises *śraddhā* ('faith') would pose no doctrinal inconsistencies, for, as I have tried to show above, Buddhism offers both faith-oriented and

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[284] *Aṅgulimālīyasūtra* (T, fol. 249a7; D, fol. 193b4): *gang de bzhin gshegs pa shākya thub pa'i mtshan* [add. de T] *thos pa tsam gyis kyang sems ma skyes* [bskyed D] *pa yang byang chub sems dpar* [dpa' T] *'gyur ro* ||.

[285] According to the reading in D, "one who has not [yet] generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*]."

[286] dPal-sprul's use of the metaphor of the 'sufficient white remedy' (*dkar po gcig thub*) recalls the Tibetan controversies surrounding the issue of awakening by a single means (studied in JACKSON 1994 and 1990), and one cannot help but feel a subtle sense of irony. He seems to suggest that if there is any necessary and sufficient remedy in Mahāyāna Buddhism at all, it is *bodhicitta* and nothing else.

reason-oriented soteriological models. According to some Tibetan scholars, the generation of *bodhicitta* is considered to be one of the criteria for entry into Sukhāvatī.[287]

The indispensability of *bodhicitta* (in its most conservative meaning of the resolve to become a *buddha*) is also presupposed in Vajrayāna Buddhism. The *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* states that one will be ruined if magical formulas (*mantra*) are recited without having obtained knowledge formulas (*vidyā*) and tantric commitments (*samaya*), without having compassion (*karuṇā*), without having generated *bodhicitta*, without having respect for *buddha*s, and by relying on other deities.[288] The *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantra* states:[289]

> O Mañjuśrī, only those *bodhisattva*s who are engaged in the practice of *bodhicitta* and have become accomplished in *bodhicitta* should, O Mañjuśrī—[if they wish to] resort to *bodhisattva* practices [involving] the methods (*sgo*) of Mantra[yāna]—be permitted into this *maṇḍala* of mnemonic formulas (*dhāraṇī*) [employed] for initiating [candidates] into the great gnosis [or empowering them with it]. Those whose *bodhicitta* has not been perfected should not be permitted into the *maṇḍala*, and they should not even be permitted to look at it. They should not be shown the *mudrā*s and *mantra*s either.

Rong-zom-pa adds that the foundation stone (*rdo gzhi*) for the recipient of tantric teachings is endowment with *bodhicitta*.[290] He also notes in passing that relying on *bodhicitta* in the effort to harness one's body, speech, and mind to the yogic practice associated with tantric deities is the actual (*dngos gzhi*) tantric commitment (*samaya*)—an idea shared by both the Kriyā and Yoga tantric systems—and that the *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantra* seeks to reinforce this point by appealing to three authorities, namely, valid instructions (*man ngag tshad ma*), valid scriptures (*lung tshad ma*), and valid logical reasoning (*rigs pa tshad ma*).[291] The *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* for its part avers that the practitioner, having generated *bodhicitta*, should not resort to worldly deities in order to obtain the fruits of tantric accomplishment (*siddhi*);[292] in order to obtain such fruits the practitioner should rather be the bearer of a stable

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[287] SCHWIEGER 1978: 78–79, 119–120.

[288] *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 391a4–5; D, fol. 119a5):
'rig dang' [rigs dad T] *dam tshig ma thob* [mthong T] *snying rje med* ||
de bzhin byang chub sems ni ma bskyed cing ||
sangs rgyas ma dad [dang T] *lha gzhan la brten pas* ||
nga yi [yis T] *gsang sngags bzlas na phung bar 'gyur* ||.
These verses are also cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 185b5; B, p. 287.13–15).

[289] *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantra* (T, fol. 224a3–6; D, fol. 149b4–6): *'jam dpal gang dag byang chub kyi sems sgom pa la zhugs pa dang* | [om. D] *gang gi tshe de dag gi byang chub kyi sems grub par gyur ba de'i tshe* | *'jam dpal byang chub sems dpa'i spyod* [spyad D] *pa gsang sngags kyi sgo spyod pa'i byang chub sems dpa' de dag ye shes chen por dbang bskur ba'i gzungs sngags kyi dkyil 'khor 'dir* [du D] *gzhug par bya'i* | *gang dag gi* [gis T] *byang chub kyi sems rdzogs par ma gyur pa de dag ni gzhug par mi bya ste* | *de dag ni* [gis T] *dkyil 'khor yang ltar mi gzhug go* || *de dag la ni phyag rgya dang gsang sngags kyang bstan par mi bya'o* ||; cf. the text cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 201b1–2; B, p. 305.17–21). See also the citation in Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 222a1–2) and the corresponding English translation in LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2002: 87.

[290] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 201b2–3; B, p. 305.21–22): *gsang ba bstan pa'i snod kyi rdo gzhi yang byang chub kyi sems dang ldan pa nyid yin no* ||.

[291] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 201a5–6; B, p. 305.13–17): *mdor na byang chub kyi sems la brten nas rang gi lus ngag yid gsum lha'i rnal 'byor du bya ba 'di ni dam tshig thams cad kyi dngos gzhir gyur pa bya ba'i rgyud dang rnal 'byor gyi rgyud gnyis gar thun mong du grags par gyur pa* [ba B] *yin te* | *man ngag dang lung dang rig* [= rigs] *pas grub pa'o zhes lung nyid las gsungs pa'o* ||.

[292] *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 412b6–7; D, fol. 135a4–5):
gang zhig byang chub sems ni blangs pa las ||
rmongs pas 'jig rten lha tshogs phyag byas na ||
de dag de la mi dgar gyur nas su ||

bodhicitta.[293] The *Vajraśikharatantra* also makes it clear that in order to attain *siddhi*, the practitioner must generate *bodhicitta*, be without doubt, follow instructions, and have faith (*śraddhā*).[294] A commentary on the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* states that even those who are proficient in the *tantra*s should be initiated only after practising *bodhicitta*.[295] The stability of *bodhicitta* is considered by the *Trisamayarāja* to be one of the factors responsible for the success of *mantras*,[296] although Śāntideva clarifies that the stability of *bodhicitta* as a prerequisite for the attainment of the goal is meant for worldly people (*pṛthagjana*), not for those on the *bodhisattva* stages.[297] He further states that the force of *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittavega*) along with the force of faith (*śraddhāvega*) and similar factors is more important than the precision of *mantra* recitation.[298] Indeed, not generating *bodhicitta* is often seen as one of the hindrances to the attainment of tantric accomplishments.[299]

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de yi gsang sngags dngos grub nyams par byed ||.
See also the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 194b6; B, pp. 297.24–298.2).

293 *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 415b1–2; D, fol. 137a4–5):
gang zhig theg mchog rgya chen klog pa dang ||
de la dad cing de nyid 'chad par spro ||
brtson 'grus che zhing byang chub sems brtan pa ||
de la nga yi gsang sngags mchog sbyin mdzad ||.
See also the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 196a4–5; B, p. 299.14–16).

294 *Vajraśikharatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 220b3–4; B, p. 328.2–3):
byang chub sems ni ma bskyed dang ||
the tshom yod pa nyid dang ni ||
gang zhig bka' stsal mi byed dang ||
ma dad pas ni mi 'grub bo ||.
See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 141a1–2; B, p. 176.2–4). Cf. the *Vajraśikharatantra* (T, fol. 56b5; D, fol. 182b1):
dad pa med par gnas pa dang ||
gang tshe the tshom za 'gyur ba ||
de nyi rnal 'byor nyams par 'gyur ||
byang chub sems ni yongs ma bzung ||.

295 **Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantrabhāṣya* (P, fol. 134b1–4; D, fols. 109b7–110a1; S, vol. 35, p. 288.8–13): *rgyud la sogs pa rnams la ni mkhas kyang | byang chub kyi sems ma bsgoms pa na | byang chub kyi sems sgom du bcug ste phyis dbang bskur bar bya'o || de las gzhan* [add. rnams PN] *phal rnams kyis ni* [add. sa nas kyang PN] *rgyud kyang mi shes | byang chub kyi sems kyang ma bsgoms phyis kyang shes par mi 'gyur | byang chub kyi sems kyang mi sgom pa ni* [om. PN] *phal rnams te | dus gnyis kar yang dbang mi bskur gyi | byang chub kyi sa bon du 'gyur ba'i phyir dkyil 'khor du gzung ngo* ||.

296 *Trisamayarāja*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 140.2–3; VAIDYA, p. 77.28–29):
bodhicittaṃ dṛḍhaṃ yasya niḥsaṃgā ca matir bhavet |
vicikitsā naiva kartavyā tasyedaṃ siddhyati dhruvam ||.
For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 137.

297 *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 140.4–5; VAIDYA, p. 77.30–31): *bodhicittadṛḍhatā cātra pṛthagjanacalacittatāyā*[a] *niyamārtham uktā na tu bhūmipraviṣṭam adhikṛtya* ||. [a] Note that the Tibetan translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (P, fol. 92b1; D, fol. 79a2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 1191.1–3) reads: *so so* [so'i DC] *skye bo'i sems stobs dang ldan par*, suggesting that the Tibetan translators read *bala* instead of *cala*.

298 *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 140.10–12; VAIDYA, p. 78.2–3): *kiṃ tu śraddhāvegaṃ bodhicittavegaṃ sarvotsargavegaṃ ca pramāṇīkṛtyāvicārataḥ pravartitavyam avaśyaṃ buddhabodhisattvam*[a] *ihaiva yatheṣṭasiddhiś ca bhavati* ||. [a] The Tibetan translation suggest here a different reading, perhaps °*bodhisattvadarśanam* (*byang chub sems dpa' mthong ba*). The exact meaning of the passage is, however, not clear to me. For an English translation of the passage, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 137–138.

299 One of the four hindrances to the attainment of tantric accomplishments is not generating *bodhicitta*. See the *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 25b1; B, p. 485.8–9): *dngos grub kyi gegs kyi rtsa ba byang chub kyi sems ma*

(h) Benefits and Functions of *Bodhicitta*

Countless positive effects are attributed to *bodhicitta*. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, for example, presents six pairs of such effects that accrue to the *bodhisattva* from having generated *bodhicitta*. The first pair is the so-called two unique (*lokāsādhārāṇa*) qualities:[300]

> These two are the unique, amazing, [and] extraordinary qualities of a *bodhisattva* who has firmly generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*]. What are the two? [a] [He] embraces[301] all sentient beings as [though they were his] wife, and [b] yet is not tainted by the fault of having taken a wife. In this regard, the fault of taking a wife is this: the defiled gratification or hostility (*kliṣṭānurodhavirodha*) that comes from the benefit [received or] detriment [sustained by one's] wife. But these two are not found in a *bodhisattva*.

The second pair of benefits attributed to the *bodhisattva* who has generated *bodhicitta* is the two kinds of altruistic inclination (*adhyāśaya*):[302]

> These two sublime altruistic inclinations of a *bodhisattva* who has firmly generated the initial resolve [to strive for] awakening [that are directed] towards the sentient beings originate-and-continue. [What are the two]?[303] [a] An altruistic inclination [aimed at] benefiting (*hitādhyāśaya*) [sentient beings], and [b] an altruistic inclination [directed towards] the happiness (*sukhādhyāśaya*) [of sentient beings] as well.[304] The altruistic inclination [aimed at] benefiting [sentient beings] consists in [his] being desirous of establishing [them] in a wholesome state (i.e. a state characterised by wholesome attitudes and activities) after first lifting [them] up out of an unwholesome state.[305] The altruistic inclination [directed towards] the happiness [of sentient beings] consists in being desirous of providing gratifying things—

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bskyed pa |. See also the *Trisamayavyūhatantra* (T, fol. 383b7; D, fol. 216b1): *'grub par mi 'gyur ba ni gnyis te* | *dad pa* [ma T] *med pa dang* | *byang chub tu sems ma bskyed pa'o* ||.

300 *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.1.0).

301 The choice of the verb *parigṛhṇāti* is noteworthy here because it means not only 'to embrace' and 'to assist' (among many other things), which fit the context better when sentient beings in general are the object, but also means 'to take (a wife)' or 'to marry' (*MW*, s.v. *pari-√grah*). The pun, which is certainly intended, conveys the idea that a *bodhisattva* cares for all sentient beings as a man does for his wife but still remains unaffected by the worldly aspects of such a bond. This issue is addressed once again in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 3.2 (WOGIHARA, p. 362.5–10; DUTT, p. 249.5–7): "Even upon his having first generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*], all sentient beings are embraced by a *bodhisattva* as [though they were his] wife. [He will make the following resolution:] 'For them, all types of [resources required for] their benefit and happiness will be gathered by me to the best of [my] ability and to the best of [my] power.' And [he indeed] does just that. This is the *bodhisattva*'s simultaneous embracing of all sentient beings" (*prathama eva cittotpāde bodhisattvena sarvaḥ sattvadhātuḥ kalatrabhāvena parigṛhītaḥ* | *eṣāṃ mayā yathāśakti yathābalaṃ sarvākārahitasukhopasaṃhāraḥ karaṇīya iti* | *tathaiva ca karoti* | *ayaṃ bodhisattvasya sakṛtsarvasattvaparigrahaḥ* |). This simile was already noted by DAYAL 1932: 63.

302 *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.2.0).

303 The Tibetan translation adds the question *gnyis gang zhe na* (**katamau dvau*) which is not found in any of the Sanskrit manuscripts.

304 The terms *hitādhyāśaya* and *sukhādhyāśaya* seem to be, respectively, synonymous with the terms *hitāśaya* and *sukhāśaya*, which are enumerated as two of the fifteen *adhyāśaya*s in the *Adhyāśalapaṭala* in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.3 (WOGIHARA, p. 314.1–3; DUTT, p. 215.12–13). The two are defined there in the following manner: "The desire to confer wholesome virtues upon sentient beings is called benefit-directed altruistic zeal. The desire to confer favours (in matters concerning the present life) upon sentient beings is called happiness-directed altruistic zeal (*sattveṣu kuśalopasaṃhartukāmatā hitāśaya ity ucyate* | *sattveṣv anugrahopasaṃhartukāmatā sukhāśaya ity ucyate* |).

305 Note that the relative pronoun *yā* is used here and in the following paragraph (i.e. §4.2.0) as a periphrastic idiom and hence is not rendered in the English. See SPEIJER 1886: 352–353.

excluding defiling ones (i.e. things that lead to unwholesome attitudes or activities)—for sentient beings who are needy (*vighāti*), helpless (*anāthāna*), or without protection (*apratisaraṇāna*).[306]

The third pair of benefits is the two kinds of exertion (*prayoga*):[307]

These two are the exertions (*prayoga*) of a *bodhisattva* who has firmly generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*]: [a] the exertion entailed by altruistic inclination (*adhyāśayaprayoga*), and [b] the exertion entailed by conduct (*pratipattiprayoga*). The exertion entailed by altruistic inclination is the daily enhancing of exactly the same altruistic inclination [just mentioned], [aimed at] benefiting [others] and [advancing] their happiness. The exertion entailed by conduct is the daily exertion of ripening one's own *buddha* qualities (*buddhadharmaparipākaprayoga*)[308] and the exertion of conferring benefit and happiness (*hitasukhopasaṃhāraprayoga*) upon sentient beings by simply relying on the altruistic inclination to exert oneself to the best of [one's] ability [and] with all [one's] power.

The fourth pair of benefits is the two sources of income (*āyadvāra*) in the form of wholesome factors:[309]

These two are great sources of income (*āyadvāra*) [in the form] of wholesome virtues (*kuśaladharma*) in a *bodhisattva* who has firmly generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*]: [a] exertion for one's own sake (*svārthaprayoga*), so that [one] completely attains the highest, perfect awakening, and [b] exertion for others' sake (*parārthaprayoga*), so that all sentient beings are freed from all [types of] suffering (*sarvaduḥkhanirmokṣa*). Just as the two sources of income [have been explained], so [too[310] should] the two great gatherings of wholesome virtues, the two immeasurable (*aprameya*) heaps of wholesome qualities (*kuśaladharmaskandha*), and so forth[311] [be understood].

The fifth pair of benefits is the two kinds of superiority in terms of possessing wholesome virtues (*kuśalaparigrahavaiśeṣya*), which is explained as follows:[312]

These two are the two [kinds of] superiority in terms of acquiring wholesome virtues (*kuśalaparigrahavaiśesya*) [required] for the awakening—ever since the initial generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]—of a *bodhisattva* who has [firmly] generated the initial resolve [to attain the state of] awakening, [the attainment of which stands out] when compared[313] to the acquiring of wholesome virtues (*kuśalaparigraha*) other than that. [The two are]: [a] the

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[306] The Sanskrit text of these two definitions has been cited and translated into German by MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 238–239, n. 64, where he also discusses the term *upasaṃharaṇa* at length.

[307] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.3.0).

[308] Both *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.6 (*Paripākapaṭala*) and the ninth chapter of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* are devoted to the theme of 'ripening' (*paripāka*). According to the former, one of the twenty-seven strategies directed towards ripening (*paripākopāya*) is that of exertion (*prayoga*).

[309] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.1.0).

[310] The Tibetan has *yang* here.

[311] According to Edgerton (*BHSD*, s.v. *peyāla*), the Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit word *peyālam* (probably an accusative adverb) occurs regularly, whereas the instrumental form *peyālena* is rarely found. He assumes *peyālam* to be a Middle Indic form (Pāli *peyyālam*, for which see *PED*, s.v.) for the classical Sanskrit *paryāya* (in the accusative case). Following Edgerton, I have translated *peyālam* here as the equivalent of *et cetera*. However, the Tibetans have regularly translated it as *sbyar ba* 'apply' (e.g. *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 5435). Thus, *de bzhin sbyar ba* 'applying similarly,' *gong ma bzhin du sbyar ba* 'applying as [stated] above,' *snga ma bzhin du sbyar ba* 'applying as [stated] earlier.'

[312] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.5.0).

[313] WDN read *upanidhāya*; W^C reads *upadhāya*. In Sanskrit, the former reading means 'having put down near to' (*MW*, s.v.), and the latter 'having placed or rested upon' (*MW*, s.v.). Contextually, the reading *upanidhāya*, which in both Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (*BHSD*, s.v. *upanidadhāti*) and in Pāli means 'comparing or drawing a comparison between,' is definitely preferable here.

superiority of the cause (*hetuvaiśeṣya*) and [b] the superiority of the result (*phalavaiśeṣya*). This very acquiring of wholesome virtues (*kuśalaparigraha*) by a *bodhisattva* is the cause of the highest, perfect awakening—and this [highest, perfect awakening] is the result of it. [An acquiring] other than that,[314] [that is], the acquiring of all the wholesome virtues by *śrāvaka*s and *pratyekabuddha*s,[315] is not [the cause of the highest, perfect awakening], and how much less (*prāg eva*) [the acquiring of the wholesome virtues] by sentient beings other than them! Therefore, the acquiring of wholesome virtues by *bodhisattva*s is distinguished from the acquiring of all wholesome virtues other than that [definable] in terms of causality and fruition.

The sixth pair, which is explicitly referred to as the two 'benefits of generating resolve' (*cittotpādānuśaṃsa*), is explained as follows:[316]

These two are the benefits of generating the resolve of a *bodhisattva* who has firmly generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*]: [a] On the one hand, immediately after the generation of the resolve, [he] becomes a [worthy recipient] of reverential offerings (*dakṣiṇīyabhūta*), a venerable [person] (*gurubhūta*),[317] a field of beneficial resources (*puṇyakṣetra*)[318] for all sentient beings, and like a father (*pitṛkalpa*)[319] for the people, and [b] on the other hand, [he] comes into possession of beneficial resources that produce invulnerability.[320]

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314 Note that WDN read *na tadanyaḥ*, whereas P reads *na tv anyaḥ*.

315 I am not certain if *sarva* in the compound *sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhakuśalaparigraha* should be construed with *kuśala* or with *śrāvakapratyekabuddha*, as the Tibetan translation apparently does: *nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dge ba yongs su 'dzin pa*.

316 *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§4.6.0).

317 Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.9; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 5.

318 In general, the so-called 'field' (*kṣetra*) in such Buddhist contexts seems to be the domain (usually sentient beings, ordinary or transcendental) in which one can sow the seeds of either positive or negative thoughts or actions and from which one would consequently reap the corresponding beneficial or unpleasant fruits. Vasubandhu (*Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, p, 271.10) defines it thus: "[The object] upon which [the thoughts or acts of] benefit and harm are exercised is called the field" (*kṣetraṃ nāma yatra kārāpakārāḥ kriyante* |). Four types of ideal 'fields' are mentioned (*Abhidharmakośa* 4.17ab): "The field is distinguished on account of the state of existence, suffering, benefit, and quality" (*gatiduḥkhopakāritvaguṇaiḥ kṣetraṃ viśiṣyate* ||). Hence one may use the terms 'field with reference to state of existence' (**gatikṣetra*), 'field with reference to suffering' (**duḥkhakṣetra*), 'field with reference to benefit' (**upakārakṣetra*), and 'field with reference to qualities' (**guṇakṣetra*), as is done by Yaśomitra (*Abhidharmakośavyākhyā*, p. 435.9: *gatiduḥkhopakāriguṇakṣetra*). The compound *guṇopakārikṣetra* also occurs in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5.81cd. For the use of the terms *sukṣetra* and *kukṣetra*, see the *Abhidharamakośavyākhyā* (p. 463.23–29). In our passage, a *bodhisattva* is said to become the *puṇyakṣetra* of all sentient beings. However, it is equally true that all sentient beings may conversely be considered the *puṇyakṣetra* of the *bodhisattva*s, although the term used is *sattvakṣetra* ('sentient beings who are the fields') in contradistinction to *jinakṣetram* ('the Victorious Ones who are the fields'). See *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 6.122ab: *sattvakṣetraṃ jinakṣetram ity ato muninoditam* |; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 61. The term *buddhakṣetra* used in the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, BENDALL, p. 153.7–8; VAIDYA, p. 85.8–9) does not seem to be semantically identical with *jinakṣetra*: "For a *bodhisattva*, the sentient beings [who are] the fields are the field of a *buddha*, and it is [that] field of the *buddha* from which *buddha* qualities are obtained" (*sattvakṣetraṃ bodhisattvasya buddhakṣetraṃ yataś ca buddhakṣetrād buddhadharmāṇāṃ lābhāgamo bhavati* |). Here, *buddhakṣetra* does not seem to mean a 'field [that is] a *buddha*' but rather a 'field [from which] *buddha* [qualities] can be obtained.' Cf. BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 152. One also comes across other related terms elsewhere, such as *siddhikṣetra* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 155.7; VAIDYA, p. 86.15): "There is no field of attainment [of Buddha qualities] in the world other than sentient beings" (*siddhikṣetraṃ nānyat sattvebhyo vidyate jagati* ||). Cf. also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 6.113–118; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 60–61.

319 See also *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 19.12–13, where a *bodhisattva* is said to be like a father to all sentient beings on account of five actions engaged in by him: "[1] On account of planting [seeds of] faith in all sentient beings at all times, [2] coaching [them] in ethical-moral discipline and so forth, and [3] directing [them] to freedom, [4] appealing to the *buddha*s [on their behalf], and [5] freeing them from hindrances. [In playing these] five kinds of roles, the Sons of the Victorious One are like a father to sentient beings" (*śraddhāyāḥ sarvasattveṣu sarvadā cāvaropaṇāt* | *adhiśīlādiśikṣāyāṃ vimuktau ca niyojanāt* || *buddhādhyeṣaṇataś caiṣāṃ āvṛteś ca*

The beneficial resource that produces invulnerability is [i][321] one thanks to which a *bodhisattva* endowed with [it] is protected (lit. by a protection) twice as strongly as a universal king (*cakravartidviguṇenārakṣeṇārakṣita*).[322] The protection [provided] by it (i.e. *puṇya*) being always present, wild animals (*vyāḍa*), malignant beings (*yakṣa*), demons (or perhaps 'inhuman beings') (*amanuṣya*),[323] or monsters (*naivāsika*)[324] are not able to do [him] any harm, even during sleep, insanity, [or] carelessness.[325]

[ii] Further, this *bodhisattva*, who has exchanged [his] life [for another] (i.e. in his next and following lives), [will,] possessing as he does the beneficial resources, become someone who hardly suffers from disease, [someone who] is healthy by nature and [will] never be affected by either long-term or severe disease. And when he strains [himself] bodily for the sake of sentient beings, concerning the affairs of sentient beings, and expounds the teachings

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vivarjanāt | pañcabhiḥ karmabhiḥ sattvapitṛkalpā jinātmajāḥ ||). See also the *guṇādhikāra* of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, where a *bodhisattva* is compared to a mother (*mātṛ*), a relative (*bandhu*), a friend (*mitra*), a servant (*dāsa*), a teacher (*ācārya*), and a preceptor (*upādhyāya*) of sentient beings, based on corresponding sets of five roles that he plays.

320 For the term *avyābādhya*, see *CPD*, s.v. *avyāpajja*, where two meanings are provided: (a) 'not (to be) injured,' and (b) 'not injuring.' Cf. also *BHSD*, s.v. *avyābādhya*. In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *avyābādhya* has been used to refer to beneficial resources (*puṇya*) (as in this case), to happiness (*sukha*), and to a *bodhisattva*. See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.3 (WOGIHARA, pp. 25.11–13, 26.9–12, 27.6–8; DUTT, pp. 17.14–15, 18.3–4, 18.17–18), *ibid.* 1.5 (WOGIHARA, p. 73.20–21; DUTT, p. 51.20–21).

321 In my division of the passage (i–v), I follow here Sāgaramegha's *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 35a5–6; D, fol. 30b7; S, vol. 75, p. 679.15–16), who comments under five points on the advantages for a *bodhisattva* in possessing beneficial resources that produce invulnerability. According to him, such a *bodhisattva* enjoys: (i) invulnerability in this lifetime and the next, (ii) indefatigability (i.e. experiencing neither mental nor physical exhaustion), (iii) ideal physical and mental bases (i.e. being free from baseness), (iv) effectiveness of speech (i.e. *mantra*s used by him are effective), and (v) magnanimity of mind (i.e. tolerance and benignity).

322 It should be noted that the text does not intend to imply here that a universal king (*cakravartin*) is defended or protected (*ārakṣita*), or needs protection at all. On the contrary, a universal king is portrayed as being invincible. He is said to be accompanied by a spontaneous presence of his armed forces at all times. See SCHMITHAUSEN 1999a: 55a.

323 W and MS N add 'or human' (*manuṣyā vā*). Nevertheless, its omission by D and MS P, and by both Chinese and Tibetan translations as well, is too significant to be brushed aside. I have the impression that *manuṣyā vā* could well be a secondary reading. The phrase could have been added by the scribe/s as a result of the erroneous presumption that *amanuṣyā vā* must be preceded by its antithesis *manuṣyā vā* (as is commonly the case when listing classes of sentient beings). Contextually, however, the text obviously does not intend to provide such a list but rather to express the notion that a person who has generated the resolve to become a *buddha* is immune to harm caused by *yakṣa*s or any potentially dangerous non-humans, even when in the most vulnerable states, such as sleep, insanity, or carelessness.

324 The word *naivāsika* as an adjective of *nivāsa* (*PW*, s.v. *naivāsika*)—also recorded by *BHSD*, s.v. *naivāsika*, *PED*, s.v. *nevāsika* and *CPD*, s.v. *āvāsika*—means 'resident.' Especially when referring to Buddhist monks, *naivāsika* is used in contradistinction to *āgantuka* 'visiting.' See *CPD*, s.vv. *āgantuka* and *āvāsika*. In the present context, however, *naivāsika* is used to denote a category of beings explained by Edgerton (*BHSD*, s.v. *naivāsika*) as 'some sort of monster, *python* or the like.' This meaning does not seem to be known in Pāli or in classical Sanskrit. The Tibetan translation does not appear to have taken *naivāsika* as a category of beings but rather as an adjective qualifying other categories, which may indicate that the manuscript(s) used by the Tibetan translators did not read *vā* after *naivāsikā*: *gdug pa'am gnod sbyin nam | mi ma yin pa gnyug mar gnas pa rnams kyis gtse bar mi nus pa'o |*. The Chinese translation has characters for 'house spirit.'

325 Cf. *Ratnāvalī* 3.17–18; *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.19:
tataḥ prabhṛti suptasya pramattasyāpy anekaśaḥ |
avicchinnāḥ puṇyadhārāḥ pravartante nabhaḥsamāḥ ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 41.

(*dharma*) verbally, [his] body does not become at all exhausted, or [his] attention lax, [and his concentrative] thought (*citta*)[326] does not deteriorate.

[iii] A *bodhisattva* who abides in [his] spiritual disposition (*gotrastha*) is, in the first place, of lesser baseness by [his] very nature. However, [a *bodhisattva*] who has generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*] (*utpāditacitta*)[327] becomes of much less baseness,[328] [as far as] the baseness of body (*kāyadauṣṭhulya*),[329] the baseness of speech (*vāgdauṣṭhulya*),[330] and the baseness of mind (*cittadauṣṭhulya*) [are concerned].

[iv] And even those magical formulas (*mantrapada*) [and] formulas of knowledge (*vidyāpada*)[331]—[namely], the pacifiers of plague, calamities, [and] contagious diseases [that affect] sentient beings—[that were previously] ineffective in the hands of sentient beings other than that [*bodhisattva*], become effective [once they] have come into his hands. What need is there to speak of [formulas being] effective [in the hands of other sentient beings]!

[v] And [he] happens to be endowed with additional patience [and] benignity (*kṣāntisauratya*).[332] [He] is someone who endures the pain caused by others but who does not inflict pain on others. [He] is extremely distressed upon perceiving someone being hurt by somebody else. And [even if] his defilements, such as wrath, jealousy, deviousness, and evasiveness, occasionally arise in him, yet [their] impetus is impeded, and being weakened, [they] soon recede. And in what[ever] locale in the village [he] resides, the hitherto unarisen hazards of danger, terror, [and] famine and calamities caused by non-humans do not arise there, while [those that have already] arisen become pacified. Moreover, if a *bodhisattva* who has generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*] happens to be (re)born in the hell realms, the

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[326] Contextually, the term *citta* here does not seem to stand for *bodhicitta* or to be used in a technical sense (set off against *caitta*) but rather is a virtual synonym of *samādhi*.

[327] Cf. W and D[J] which read °*bodhicittas*.

[328] The comparative form *mandatara* (as read by PDW[K]) is perhaps contextually preferable to *manda*° (read by W and D[J]). MS N, too, though badly damaged, seems to have the same reading as PDW[K].

[329] See the explanation of *kāyadauṣṭhulya* given in the *Daśadharmasūtra* (cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, BENDALL, p. 116.16–17; VAIDYA, p. 66.14–15): "[This has] also been taught in the *Daśadharmasūtra*. The shaking of hands, the shaking of legs, running, roaming, and jumping—this is called the baseness of body" (*tathā daśadharmasūtre 'pi deśitam | hastavikṣepaḥ pādavikṣepo dhāvanaṃ paridhāvanaṃ laṅghanaṃ plavanam idam ucyate kāyadauṣṭhulyam iti ||*). According to this explanation, *kāyadauṣṭhulya* seems to mean 'physical hyperactivity' or the 'lack of bodily control.' However, it can also mean 'physical heaviness or stiffness.'

[330] Note that *vāgdauṣṭhulyena* has been omitted in MSS P and N. Wogihara remarks that it was also omitted in both the Chinese and Tibetan translations. However, in the case of the Tibetan, this is not quite precise. Although the Tibetan translation indeed omits *vāg*, it does not seem to have omitted *dauṣṭhulyena* (if not this very form), for it reads *sems kyi gnas ngan len gyi gnas ngan len* for the immediately following *cittadauṣṭhulyena*. It is unclear whether the original reading had *vāgdauṣṭhulyena*, which was later mistakenly omitted (first partially, provided the MS/S used for the Tibetan translation had *dauṣṭhulyena* three times, and later wholly, as in MSS P and N) or whether it had nothing corresponding to *vāgdauṣṭhulyena* at all, which would mean that the phrase may be a later interpolation (possibly first mistakenly adding *dauṣṭhulyena* and later deliberately adding *vāg*, assuming that all three—body, speech, and mind—are contextually relevant here).

[331] Perhaps it is necessary to note that the occurrence of the terms *mantrapada* and *vidyāpada* here by no means implies any affiliation with Vajrayāna. The belief in the power of *mantra*s and their use for non-soteriological purposes seem to be a common pan-Indian phenomenon (within both Buddhist and non-Buddhist traditions). See SCHMITHAUSEN 1997, where a detailed study of aspects of the Buddhist attitude toward what by nature is dangerous, particularly the use of friendliness (*maitrī*) and magical formulas as methods of self-defence. See also SKILLING 1992: 109–182. In non-tantric Mahāyāna sources, then, there are various references to *mantra*, *vidyā*, and *dhāraṇī*, which cannot be discussed here (*Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 24.11; *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3.19; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 21). The various *mantra*s prescribed in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 138.14–142.15; VAIDYA, pp. 77.8–79.5), for example, are obviously all meant for non-soteriological purposes.

[332] For the word *sauratya* (Pāli *soracca*), see *BHSD*, s.v. *sūrata*.

lower destinations, he is freed from hell[333] very quickly, experiences the feeling of suffering less vehemently and generates intense agitation (*saṃvega*)[334] (i.e. a great sense of renunciation) and compassion in his heart (*karuṇācitta*) towards these sentient beings, in virtue of possessing the beneficial resources that produce invulnerability.

In this way, a *bodhisattva* who has generated the initial resolve [to become a *buddha*] experiences many such benefits, because he possesses the beneficial resources that produce invulnerability.

One finds similar eulogies of *bodhicitta* in several other Mahāyāna sources. For example, it is said that all the remaining *bodhisattva* practices are ancillaries of *bodhicitta*.[335] According to Atiśa, *bodhicitta* is that which causes the erosion of all lower modes of existence, release from all obstructions, and bestows the state of complete awakening.[336] According to the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, *bodhicitta* precedes all courses of actions of a *bodhisattva*.[337] The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* states that the benefit of meditating upon *bodhicitta* even a moment cannot be estimated even by the Buddha, while precious *bodhicitta* free from intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*) is the only supreme wealth that can be neither damaged nor stolen by any robber like Māra who takes the form of intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśamāra*).[338] In the *Bhadrakalpikasūtra*, it is stated that

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[333] Note that the Tibetan translation does not have an equivalent for the term *narakebhyaḥ*.

[334] The term *saṃvega* translated as 'perturbation' (*BHSD*, s.v.) or as 'eine heftige Gemüthsaufregung' (*PW*, s.v.) does not seem to mean in a Buddhist spiritual context such as this any kind of normal agitation, but rather a specific sense of agitation at what Johnston calls 'the inherent rottenness of the world' (JOHNSTON 1936: 32, n. 4), and one which causes a person to renounce worldly aspirations and to seek spiritual goals such as Buddhahood. Note, however, that all editions of the Tibetan translation consulted read *skye ba*, which makes no sense. This faulty reading does not seem to reflect a mistake made by the translators, for in the preceding chapter (*Gotrapaṭala*) the contextually relevant expression *adhimātraṃ saṃvegam utpādayati* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1, WOGIHARA, p. 10.16–17; DUTT, p. 7.4) has been correctly translated as *shas cher skyo ba bskyed par 'gyur ro*. Thus the misreading of the word *skyo ba* as *skye ba*, which can easily be explained orthographically, must have been made during the textual transmission, and that too, perhaps, at a relatively early stage, for all editions unanimously read *skye ba*. Repeated occurrences of words like *skye ba* and *bskyed* in the neighbouring text may have been the main reason why the editors of the various Tibetan editions did not become aware of the misreading. The reading *skye ba* does not make sense here, but since expressions such as *skye ba'i skye ba* (*jātijāti*) and *skye ba skye ba* (*utpāda utpadyate*) are not unknown to Tibetan scholars, they may have interpreted the adverb *shin tu* in the sentence *skye ba yang shin tu skye bar 'gyur ro* as 'repeatedly,' thus reading 'birth is also taken repeatedly.' Having an acceptable, if improvable, reading, the editors doubtless felt no need to emend the text, let alone look for similar readings elsewhere in it.

[335] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 100:

> *gzungs rnams dang ni sa rnams dang* ||
> *sangs rgyas pha rol phyin gang dag* ||
> *de dag byang chub sems kyi char* ||
> *kun mkhyen rnams kyis gsungs pa yin* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 67.

[336] *Cittotpādasaṃvaravidhi* (P, fol. 284a2; D, fol. 245a3; S, vol. 65, p. 667.5–7):

> *ngan song thams cad 'jig pa dang* ||
> *sgrib pa thams cad las grol zhing* ||
> *rdzogs sangs go 'phang stsol mdzad pa* ||
> *byang chub sems la phyag 'tshal lo* ||.

[337] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 53.17–18; VAIDYA, p. 34.4–5): *ratnakūṭe 'bhihitam—sarveryāpatheṣu bodhicittaparikarmaṇatayā bodhicittapūrvaṃgamatayā ceti* ||. Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 54.

[338] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 108–109:

> *skye bu gang zhig skad cig tsam* ||
> *byang chub sems ni sgom byed pa* ||

the amount of merit acquired by generating *bodhicitta* once would surpass even the amount of merit accrued by providing happiness to all sentient beings for thousands of aeons.[339] The generation of *bodhicitta* is also praised as one of the three best ways to honour and render service to the Buddha.[340] The following stanza from the *Vīradattaparipṛcchāsūtra* has often been cited by Indian and Tibetan authors to demonstrate the potentiality of *bodhicitta* to generate an immeasurable amount of merit:[341]

> If the beneficial resources [accrued] from *bodhicitta* were material,
> They would fill the sphere of space, and would [even] exceed [it].

5. Concluding Remarks

The sum and substance of this rather long chapter is that *bodhicitta*—fundamentally, the desire to become a *buddha* for the sake of other *sattvas*—is what defines a *bodhisattva* and sets him apart from a normal *sattva*, and that the vehicle in which a *bodhisattva* (or a *sattva* with *bodhicitta*) advances is called Mahāyāna. We have also considered various models of vehicles corresponding to sentient beings with various predispositions and alternative destinations. According to the general Mahāyāna perception, the only way to Buddhahood is through Mahāyāna, the only person eligible to enter Mahāyāna is a *bodhisattva*, and the only factor that makes one a *bodhisattva* is *bodhicitta*. I have also tried to argue, albeit only briefly, that analysing the concept of *vajrasattva* may reveal at least a piece of the underlying philosophy of Vajrayāna or tantric Mahāyāna. Specifically, the notion that the quest for *bodhi*

> *de yi bsod nams phung po ni* ||
> *rgyal ba yis kyang bgrang mi spyod* ||
> *nyon mongs med pa'i rin chen sems* ||
> *'di ni nor mchog gcig pu ste* ||
> *nyon mongs bdud sogs chom rkun gyis* ||
> *gnod min phrogs par bya ba min* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 69.

[339] *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* (T, fol. 25b5–6; D, fol. 18a2):

> *gang gis bskal pa bye ba stong tshang bar* ||
> *sems can kun la bde ba byin pa bas* ||
> *la las byang chub mchog sems gcig bskyed pa* ||
> '*de yi*' [de'i T] *bsod nams dper yang bzod mi 'gyur* ||.

[340] *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 313.6–7; VAIDYA, p. 166.18–19): *trīṇīmāni sāgaramate tathāgatasya niruttarāṇi pūjopasthānāni | katamāni trīṇi | yac ca bodhicittam utpādayati | yac ca saddharmaṃ parigṛhṇāti | yac ca sattveṣu mahākaruṇācittam utpādayati* |. For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 279. Such an idea is expressed also in the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 305b1–4; D, fol. 201b1–3). For some additional sources, see ZANGMO & CHIME 1993: 8–9, n. 2.

[341] *Vīradattaparipṛcchāsūtra*, as cited in the First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 192.10–11):

> *bodhicittād vai yat puṇyaṃ tac ca rūpi bhaved yadi* |
> *ākāśadhātuṃ saṃpūrya bhūyaś cottaritaṃ bhavet* ||.

The verse is found also in the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 192a4–5; D, fol. 130b5–6), which is cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (p. 24.8–13). See also the *Rim gyis 'jug pa'i sgom don* (P, fol. 401a5–6; D, fol. 343b5; S, vol. 64, p. 963.9–12); *Theg pa'i bye brag* (A, fol. 172a6–b1; B, p. 40.11–14). Cf. also *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 107:

> *byang chub sems bskyed tsam gyis ni* ||
> *bsod nams phung po gang thob pa* ||
> *gal te gzugs can yin na ni* ||
> *nam mkha' gang ba las ni lhag* ||.

For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 69. Cf. Mañjuśrīmitra's *Bodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fol. 5a8–b1; D, fol. 4b2; S, vol. 33, pp. 815.20–816.1):

> *de phyir byang chub sems kyi bsod nams de la gzugs yod na* ||
> *nam mkha' bar snang de yang snod du chungs* [chugs D] *zhes rgyal bas mtshungs par gsungs* ||.

in a *sattva*'s *citta* itself, and that the true nature of *bodhi*, *citta*, and *sattva* is one, indivisible, and indestructible, like a diamond (*vajra*), seems to be crucial for understanding the concepts of Vajrayāna, *vajrasattva*, and *bodhicittavajra*. An attempt has been made to trace the historical roots of the term *bodhicitta* and discuss its definitions, benefits, and functions on the basis of some of the most important Mahāyāna sources.

Chapter Six

The Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions

> Those who hold the reins of logical reasoning (*nyāya*)
> While riding the chariots (*ratha*) of the two systems (*naya*),
> Would, for that [very] reason,
> Earn the meaningful [appellation] 'Mahāyānika.'
>
> – Śāntarakṣita, *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 93[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

Sa-paṇ raised three important issues concerning the generation of *bodhicitta* by ritual procedure (*vidhi*).[2] Firstly, he made a case for recognising the existence of two ritual traditions relating to *bodhicittotpāda*, namely, that of the Yogācāra and that of the Madhyamaka, and argued for clearly distinguishing them from one another. Secondly, he critically examined the authenticity of generating absolute *bodhicitta* by means of ritual. Thirdly, Sa-paṇ criticised what he called the tradition of the 'dream-based *cittotpāda* [rite]' (*sems bskyed rmi lam ma*) attributed to dGe-bshes Phyag-sor-ba.[3] The two traditions of *bodhicitta* (or *cittotpāda*) seem to be of great significance for the theory and practice of the

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[1] *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 93 (ICHIGŌ 1989: 222):
tshul gnyis shing rta zhon nas su ||
rigs pa'i srab skyogs 'ju byed pa ||
de dag de phyir ji bzhin don ||
theg pa chen po pa nyid 'thob ||.
Cf. the English translation in ICHIGŌ 1989: 223. See also below n. 7.

[2] For a brief discussion of the expressions 'ritual' and 'ritual procedure,' see §8.

[3] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.5:
la la skye bo 'ga' zhig gi ||
rmi lam gyi ni rjes 'brangs nas ||
sems can kun la sems skyed byed ||.
For an English translation, see RHOTON 2002: 81. The 'some' (*la la*) in the verse has been identified by Go-rams-pa bSod-nams-seng-ge (1429–1489) as dGe-bshes Phyag-sor-ba (RHOTON 2002: 92, n. 3; JACKSON 1994: 167–168, n. 343).

Indo-Tibetan Mahāyāna doctrine.[4] I shall, therefore, attempt to present in this chapter an account of the Tibetan perceptions of the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, with particular reference to the ritual procedures of each. In the process, I shall demonstrate how some Tibetan scholars have sought to distinguish or pry apart the two traditions, whereas others have tried to harmonise or synthesise them.

2. The Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions

It has widely been accepted in Tibet that two traditions of *bodhicittotpāda* once existed in India, and were designated, for example, by Sa-paṇ, as the Madhyamaka tradition (*dbu ma'i lugs*) and Cittamātra tradition (*sems tsam pa'i lugs*).[5] Some Tibetan authors have made a case for the need to keep these two traditions separate by emphasising their differences, whereas others have argued for a syncretism of the two by de-emphasising the same. Did two such traditions, however, indeed exist in India, or were they purely Tibetan inventions? While I am not sure whether the Indian authors actually employed the terms 'Madhyamaka tradition' and 'Cittamātra tradition' (which, although certainly justifiable, have for doctrinal reasons been found problematic by some Tibetan scholars), they clearly recognised the existence of two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions often associated with two distinct groups of textual authorities, such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and personal authorities, such as Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga. Moreover, the Tibetan attempts to segregate or syncretise the two traditions also seem to have their Indian antecedents.

Broadly speaking, two traditions of Mahāyāna Buddhism have existed in India, namely, Prajñāpāramitā-Madhyamaka and Yogācāra-Tathāgatagarbha. Following Tibetan and some modern scholars, we may designate these traditions as the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna 'negative-intellectual' school and the Maitreya-Asaṅga 'positive-mystical' school, respectively, around which the entire history of the Tibetan reception and systematisation of Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism (including Vajrayāna) is, in one way or another, centred.[6] For Indian scholars such as Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla, the entire Mahāyāna doctrine can be contained in the dual systems (*naya: tshul*) of Yogācāra and Madhyamaka,[7] which by and large correspond to the two pioneering Mahāyāna traditions designated by Tibetans (and probably based on *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 93 cited above) as the 'Two Chariots' (*shing rta gnyis*).

In the context of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda*, too, as I have indicated in chapter four and shall show in chapter seven, two strands of Mahāyāna can be traced in Indian sources—designated by me as Strand A and Strand B—each of which seems to differ in its

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[4] It will be interesting to know whether any comparable doctrinal issue has been raised in other Mahāyāna traditions, such as Chinese or Japanese Buddhism.

[5] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.2cd:

> *theg pa chen po'i sems bskyed la* ||
> *dbu ma sems tsam rnam pa gnyis* ||.

RHOTON 2002: 23–24, 81. See also SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 88, n. 283.

[6] For a discussion of the 'negative-intellectual' and 'positive-mystical' currents in India and Tibetan ways of dealing with them in the context of the *tathāgatagarbha* theory, see WANGCHUK 2004: 191–203.

[7] See n. 1 and the *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (P, fols. 79b7–80a3; D, fols. 79b7–80a3; S, vol. 62, pp. 964.20–965.10), where *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* 6.5 and 10.638 (see chapter five, n. 97) is also mentioned in this regard. See also Kamalaśīla's *Madhyamakālaṃkārapañjikā* (P, fol. 138b7; D, fol. 129b6; S, vol. 62, p. 1094.9–10) which states: *tshul gnyis zhes bya ba ni dbu ma pa dang rnal 'byor spyod pa zhes bya'o* ||. The attempt to harmonise the positions of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga can be seen, for example, in Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 340a6–b1; D, fol. 291b2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 807.8–12). See also SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 122–124.

terminological preferences, perhaps also in regard to the place and time of inception and in its degree of conservatism. Strand A seems to more or less correspond to the Cittamātra tradition, and Strand B to the Madhyamaka tradition. This is particularly conspicuous if one compares the criteria for candidates as prescribed in the two traditions, a point to which we shall return. It is said that according to the Madhyamaka tradition one does not even need to be a human being in order to generate *bodhicitta*, whereas according to the Cittamātra tradition one is required to have taken some sort of *prātimokṣa* vow as a prerequisite. I believe that, disregarding the various Tibetan interpretations for the time being, this point simply shows that Strand A, which corresponds to the Cittamātra tradition, is conceived along less idealistic lines and is indeed quite realistic and down-to-earth in its approach. For example, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (which I said represents the textual tradition of Strand A) was very likely compiled for human beings who wanted to become *bodhisattvas*; the possibility of a *nāga*-king reading it was not entertained! I have, however, also mentioned that the two strands do not seem to have run parallel to each other all the way along, but merged at a certain point in time.

We should certainly like to know when and where the two traditions of *bodhicittotpāda* are explicitly spelt out for the first time in Tibet. Although Sa-paṇ was indeed responsible for emphasising the distinction between the two traditions, neither he nor his Indian teacher Śākyaśrībhadra (1140–1225)[8] appear to have been the first scholar to introduce or thematise them. The position that Sa-paṇ criticised in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* must have existed even before his time. If the dating of bKa'-gdams-pa dGe-bshes Sha-ra-ba Yon-tan-grags (1070–1141)[9] is correct, and if the relevant citations from his *Lam rim*[10] are reliable, then there must have been a position that is similar to, if not identical with, the one proposed by Sa-paṇ, for it is precisely such a position that Sha-ra-ba seems to reject. We shall, however, return to this point later. Sha-ra-ba's own position may be traced back to the works of Atiśa (or works ascribed to him), for Sha-ra-ba was a direct disciple of Po-to-ba Rin-chen-gsal (1031–1105), who in turn was a disciple of 'Brom-ston rGyal-ba'i-'byung-gnas (1005–1064), one of the three main Tibetan disciples of Atiśa. But what about the position that Sa-paṇ himself maintained? While Śākyaśrībhadra influenced Sa-paṇ in these matters, he had apparently not been his only source. In fact, Sa-paṇ's response to the query of Chag Lo-tsā-ba Chos-rje-dpal, or simply Chag-lo (1197–1264), suggests that while Śākyaśrībhadra recognised the existence of the two traditions in India and disproved the mixture of the two, he did not in fact properly transmit either of them, for he had forgotten to bring the relevant manuals with him to Tibet. This suggests that the local Tibetans were already knowledgeable about the two traditions.[11] Sa-paṇ seems to have thus thematised and systematised the two traditions of *bodhicittotpāda* known to his Indian and Tibetan predecessors.[12]

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[8] For some bibliographical details of Śākyaśrībhadra, see JACKSON 1987: 183. n. 24, and for accounts of Sa-paṇ's studies with Śākyaśrībhadra and his disciples, see *ibid.* 26–27, 107–112; RHOTON 2002: 11–12.

[9] SEYORT RUEGG 2000: 26. See also *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *sha ra ba.*

[10] This may be what is also known as the *Be'u 'bum dmar po* (SEYFORT RUEGG 2000: 25–26). Cf. *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.vv. *be'u bum khra bo* and *be'u bum sngon po.*

[11] In his response to the next query, Sa-paṇ once again underscores the differences between the two traditions. For the pertinent queries, see the *Chag lo'i zhu ba* (pp. 456.5–457.2). For Sa-paṇ's responses, see the *Chag lo'i zhus lan* (pp. 463.1–466.5; 473.4–475.4). For an English translation, see RHOTON 2002: 215–218.

[12] Sa-paṇ's uncle Grags-pa-rgyal-mtshan (1147–1216), in his *sKyabs sems cho ga* (p. 438.3–5), discusses the custom of two lineages (*brgyud pa gnyis kyi lugs*) in regard to the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedures. It is clear, however, that the two lineages in question are those of the Nāgārjuna-Nāropa and the Virūpa-Gayādhara lineages, and not to be equated with the Madhyamaka and Cittamātra traditions. Kong-sprul also notes that the

3. Tibetan Assessments of the Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions

As I have just pointed out, the two strands of the *bodhicittotpāda* tradition had probably existed in Tibet prior to Sa-paṇ, although it was clearly he who spelled out the differences for the first time and thus left an indelible mark on the history of the *bodhicitta* doctrine in Tibet. This, however, by no means implies that Sa-paṇ's view of this issue was received with unanimous approval. On the contrary, it received mixed reactions from various Tibetan scholars, whom I categorise into three groups:

(a) The first group comprises mainly mainstream Sa-skya-pas along with scholars from other traditions including the rNying-ma scholars Klong-chen-pa[13] and mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen Padma-dbang-rgyal (1487–1542) who looked upon Sa-paṇ's proposition approvingly, and so for the most part followed the Madhyamaka tradition. Let us call this group, which emphasised the qualitative distinctions and other differences between the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, 'Group A.'[14]

(b) Another group, which judged the two traditions of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga to be of equal rank, seems to have viewed Sa-paṇ's position with a certain degree of ambivalence. In principle, they probably had no difficulty with the distinction between the two traditions as such, only with the basis upon which the distinction was made, namely, the philosophical view (*lta ba*). Thus this group, while accepting the distinction, attempted to harmonise them. The shift of terminology from *dbu ma'i lugs* and *sems tsam pa'i lugs* to *zab mo lta ba'i srol* and *rgya chen spyod pa'i srol*, respectively, is, in my view, not coincidental. We shall call this group 'Group B.'

(c) The third group represents the rival position towards which Sa-paṇ's critique was directed, namely, the followers of the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition (such as Sha-ra-ba) and their successors, primarily the dGe-lugs-pas. Sha-ra-ba argued that if the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual taught by Asaṅga had been exclusively according to the Cittamātra tradition, the Mādhyamikas would not have followed it, but Atiśa, who was a Mādhyamika, did. In addition, Kamalaśīla, who was also a Mādhyamika, explained in his Second *Bhāvanākrama* the generation of the resolve to strive for awakening according to the ritual taught in the *Śīlapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (ascribed to Asaṅga). Therefore, for Sha-ra-ba, the difference between the two traditions is unclear or superfluous.[15] One of the main concerns of this group seems to be to associate Atiśa and the bKa'-gdams-pas with the Cittamātra tradition. This group obviously makes a case for the syncretism of the two traditions by adopting two strategies, namely, (i) by arguing that the two traditions are essentially the same and that the claims regarding the dissimilarities between them is not justified, for they see no

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Sa-skya-pas have yet another Madhyamaka-like *bodhicittotpāda* tradition transmitted from Virūpa and Nāropa, which is, however, not counted as a third tradition. See the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.18–20): *yang grub chen bi rū pa dang nā ro pa'i gdams ngag rje btsun sa skya pa chen po la bka' babs pa dbang gi sngon 'gro'i sems bskyed kyi cho ga dbu ma dang cha mthun pa zur du bzhugs kyang shing rta'i ring srol logs su mi bgrang ngo ||*.

[13] It must be said, however, that although Klong-chen-pa mainly followed the Madhyamaka tradition, a slight tendency to harmonise the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions can be noticed in his writings.

[14] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.13–15): *bod 'dir klu thogs rnam gnyis dbu sems lta bu'i rkang btsugs mkhan du bzhed pa mang bas sems bskyed lugs gnyis kyang dbu sems kyi lugs gnyis zhes shin tu tha dad cing mchog dman che bar mdzad la....*

[15] *sPyod 'grel bum bzang* (pp. 130.22–131.3): *lugs de gnyis la dbu ma lugs dang sems tsam lugs kyi tha snyad mdzad pa sogs mi 'thad par dge bshes sha ra ba'i lam rim du bshad do || de nyid las | «lta ba tha dad pas kyang khyad par de dag sgrub par mi nus pas dbu ma pa dang sems tsam gyi sems bskyed pa gnyis mi mthun par 'dod pa gzhung gi dgongs pa ma yin no ||» zhes dang «'phags pa thogs med kyis gsungs pa'i cho ga sems tsam kho na'i lugs su nges na dbu ma pas de mi byed par 'gyur na | jo bo rje dbu ma pa yin yang cho ga de'i lugs su mdzad pa dang | slob dpon ka ma la shī las sgom rim bar pa las tshul khrims le'u las bstan pa'i cho gas sems bskyed par bshad pas lugs nges pa med par gsal lo ||» zhes gsungs |*.

basis of such dissimilarities, and (ii) by pointing out that such a syncretic tradition has its Indian antecedent, which, according to them, was practised by various Indian masters such as Bodhibhadra, Abhayākaragupta, and Atiśa.[16] The line of demarcation that Sa-paṇ drew between the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions seems to have put this group into a state of doctrinal discomfiture, and it wanted this line deleted. We shall call the third group 'Group C.' Followers of sGam-po-pa such as Kun-mkhyen Padma-dkar-po (1527–1592) and dPa'-bo gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba (1504–1564/1566) also belong to this group, which rejects any difference as far as both terminologies and contents are concerned. Padma-dkar-po even resorted to authoritative scriptures and logical reasoning to establish the uniformity and equality of the two traditions and to criticise the position which held the two traditions to be separate and qualitatively different.[17] In the following few paragraphs, we shall take a closer look at each of the attributed distinctions between the two traditions and see how each is assessed, broadly speaking, by these three different groups of scholars.

4. The Names of the Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions

The first issue I should like to discuss is the terminology used to designate the two traditions, which, as I have already noted, may vary from one group to another. As indicated above, it is doubtful whether any of the terminologies employed by Tibetan scholars to do so can be traced as such to Indian sources. Group A, represented by Sa-paṇ, labelled the two as the Madhyamaka and Cittamātra traditions. This is easily justifiable if, as one is very inclined to accept, the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* by Śāntideva is regarded as a Madhyamaka work, and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, attributed to Asaṅga by the Indo-Tibetan tradition as a Yogācāra work. However, it seems that the designation of the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition as Cittamātra was found by Group B to be imprecise, or perhaps denigrating, since the Cittamātra or Yogācāra system is considered only second in rank in the fourfold Buddhist doxographical schema. The less-favoured term 'Cittamātra tradition' was therefore replaced by the term 'Tradition of Vast Conduct' (*rgya chen spyod pa'i srol*), while the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition came to be called the 'Tradition of the Profound View' (*zab mo lta ba'i srol*).[18] Group C rejected the terms 'Cittamātra tradition' and 'Madhyamaka tradition' in deference to dGe-bshes Sha-ra-ba's *Lam rim*, according to which Atiśa (in his commentary on the *Bodhipathapradīpa*) made a distinction between the ritual procedure of *bodhicittotpāda* and that of the *bodhisattva* vow,

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[16] Tsong-kha-pa is said to have maintained that the Indian masters Bodhibhadra and Abhayākaragupta performed the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual as a mixture of the two traditions. See the *sPyod 'grel 'bum bzang* (p. 131.4–5): *gzhan yang slob dpon byang chub bzang po dang mkhas pa chen po a bhyā* [= bha yā] *ka ras shing rta chen po gnyis kyi lugs bsres nas mdzad pa dang* |. Cf. the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.16): *slob dpon a bha yas* [= yās] *de gnyis khyad par med par bzhed la* |.

[17] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.16–18): *kun mkhyen pad dkar zhabs sogs kyis de mtshungs su sgrub cing snga ma la lung rigs kyis 'gog par mdzad* | *dpal ldan gtsug lag phreng ba sogs kyang rje sgam po ba'i rjes su 'brang ngo* ||. Padma-dkar-po's discussion of the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions in general can be found in his *sDom gsum snying po* (pp. 538.5–558.2); *sDom gsum rgyan* (pp. 604.3–611.3); *sDom gsum rgyan 'grel* II (pp. 6.6–99.2). The position of gTsug-lag-'phreng-ba regarding the two traditions can be found in his *sPyod 'jug rnam bshad* (pp. 52.2–55.1).

[18] These designations are used, for example, by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen. See his *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 20.1–2):

'jam dbyangs bka' bsdus klu sgrub sogs kyis bkral ||
zhi ba lhas spel zab mo lta ba'i lugs ||
byams pas bka' bsdus thogs med sku mched bkral ||
jo bo rjes spel rgya chen spyod pa'i srol ||.

Padma-dkar-po (*sDom gsum rgyan*, p. 604.3–4), however, uses terms such as the 'Two Traditions of the Great Chariots' (*shing rta chen po'i srol gnyis*), specified in his *sDom gsum snying po* (p. 538.5–6) as the 'Route of the Vast Conduct' (*rgya chen spyod pa'i phyogs*) and the 'Route of the Profound View' (*zab mo lta ba'i phyogs*).

but since his own tradition in this regard accords with the traditions (*lugs*) of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Śāntideva, there is in reality (*don la*) no difference between the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedures of Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga.[19] This is why the terms 'Tradition of the Profound View' and 'Tradition of Vast Conduct' are preferable from the standpoint of Group C. It will be interesting to find out when these terms were used for the first time in Tibet, and whether they can be traced in Indian literature.[20]

Gro-lung-pa Blo-gros-'byung-gnas (fl. the second half of the eleventh century and early twelfth century), in his *bsTan rim chen mo*,[21] obviously recognised these two traditions of the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedures, but he did not use the terms 'Cittamātra tradition' and 'Madhyamaka tradition.'[22] This is also the case in the *Dwags po thar rgyan*.[23] Both Gro-lung-pa and sGam-po-pa have apparently followed the *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (ascribed to Atiśa)[24] in this regard. Gro-lung-pa, however, mentions Atiśa in the lineage of the Maitreya tradition. In the following, I shall employ the terms 'Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition' and 'Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition' instead of the designations 'Tradition of the Profound View' and 'Tradition of Vast Conduct' or the designations 'Madhyamaka Tradition' and 'Cittamātra Tradition' employed by Tibetan scholars.

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[19] *sPyod 'grel bum bzang* (p. 130.19–21): *jo bos sems bskyed dang sdom pa'i cho ga so sor mdzad la de yang shing rta chen po klu sgrub thogs med gnyis dang rgyal sras zhi ba'i lha dang gsum ka'i lugs yin par lam sgron 'grel par gsungs pas na klu thogs gnyis sdom pa len pa'i cho ga la don la khyad par med do* ||. Atiśa outlines positions of several Indian masters in the *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fols. 287b2–288b3; D, fols. 249b3–250b1; S, vol. 64, pp. 1670.21–1673.3; SHERBURNE 2000: 72–73), and adds that, according to his masters, one should follow the traditions one has received from one's *guru* and that since his own *gurus*, Bodhibhadra and Suvarṇadvīpa, followed the traditions of Nāgārjuna, Asaṅga, and Śāntideva, he does the same. He explicitly states that the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedure he has written is in accordance with the traditions of these three masters. See *ibid.* (P, fol. 288b3–7; D, fol. 250b1–4; S, vol. 64, p. 1673.3–14).

[20] Of course, compounds such as *gambhīrodāra* (*zab cing rgya che ba*) and *gambhīrodāradharma* (*zab cing rgya che ba'i chos*) are attested in Indian sources (*TSD*, s.v.). Interestingly, *bodhicitta* may even be equated with *gambhīrodāracitta* (*zab cing rgya che la/ba'i sems*) inasmuch as it is understood as a *citta* directed towards *gambhīrodāradharma* having the nature of emptiness and compassion (*śūnyatākaruṇātmaka*). See the *Vimalaprabhā* ad 3.4 (vol. 2, p. 7.12–13; *TSD*, s.v. *zab cing rgya che la sems*): *iti gambhīrodāradharme śūnyatākaruṇātmake cittaṃ yasya sa gambhīrodāracitta iti....* Also note that Mahāyāna has already been described as extremely vast and profound by Nāgārjuna (*Ratnāvalī* 4.79):

atyaudāryātigāmbhīryād viṣaṇṇair akṛtātmabhiḥ |
nindyate 'dya mahāyānaṃ mohāt svaparavairibhiḥ ||.

[21] For a brief survey of Gro-lung-pa's *bsTan rim chen mo*, see JACKSON 1996: 230–231. Cf. JACKSON 1989: 164–165.

[22] *bsTan rim chen mo* (fol. 205b4–5): *'di la dam pa'i skye bo mkhas pa dag gis lung so so la brten pa bla ma brgyud pa'i man ngag cho ga'i tshul tha dad pa du ma snang ste | slob dpon rje btsun dpal mar me mdzad ye shes kyis ni mgon po byams pa nas bla ma gser gling pa la thug pa'i man ngag brgyud pa las....* See also *ibid.* (fol. 206a2): *slob dpon byang chub sems dpa' zhi ba lhas ni bden pa gzigs pa'i slob dpon klu sgrub nas brgyud pa'i man ngag las....*

[23] sGam-po-pa speaks about the Śāntideva tradition transmitted in succession from Nāgārjuna and the Suvarṇadvīpa tradition transmitted in succession from Maitreya and Asaṅga. See the *Dwags po thar rgyan* (p. 145.12–18): *byang chub kyi sems de blang ba'i cho ga ni | bla ma mkhas pa dag gi brgyud pa'i man ngag las | tshul lugs tha dad pa du ma snang ngo || de ltar snang yang ni | 'dir 'phags pa 'jam dpal nas slob dpon klu sgrub na mar la brgyud pa slob dpon zhi ba lha'i lugs dang | 'phags pa byams pa nas slob dpon thogs med na mar brgyud pa | jo bo gser gling pa'i lugs dang gnyis su shes par bya'o* ||). See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.15–16): *rje zla 'od gzhon nus dbu sems kyi ming ma btags* |.

[24] See SEYFORT RUEGG 1989: 104, where it is stated that the *Bodhipathapradīpapañjikā* [= *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā*] is perhaps incorrectly ascribed to Atiśa.

5. The Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions: The Basis of the Distinctions

Let us now consider what the distinctions made between the two traditions are based on. Group A, again represented by Sa-paṇ, maintained that the philosophical-doctrinal view (*lta ba*) was the basis for distinguishing between the two traditions.[25] Group B has rejected this claim, either implicitly or explicitly. For it there is no qualitative difference between the philosophical-doctrinal views of the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna and the Maitreya-Asaṅga traditions. In this context, mKhan-po Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho (b. nineteenth century), (who, I believe, represents Group B) notes that the rNying-ma philosophical-doctrinal view accords with the Madhyamaka view professed by both traditions. That is, according to him, Asaṅga, too, had maintained a Madhyamaka view. He adds that this does not contradict the fact that Asaṅga mainly taught Yogācāra doctrines.[26] For Sha-ra-ba (who in retrospect represents Group C), the two traditions may differ in their philosophical-doctrinal views but not in their *bodhicittotpāda* ritual. The philosophical-doctrinal view has always been a complicated and sensitive issue. All three groups would agree, though, that the philosophical-doctrinal view of the Yogācāra or Cittamātra system takes second place to the Madhyamaka view. The dispute is, therefore, not really about 'rescuing' or promoting the status of Yogācāra.

Varying motives seem to be behind these disputes, and often it is the pursuit of subtle doctrinal agendas. The reason why Group B cannot accept the philosophical-doctrinal view as the basis of the distinctions between the two traditions is that such a basis implies a qualitative difference between the philosophical-doctrinal views of the two traditions. That is, if Asaṅga's tradition is regarded as the Yogācāra tradition, this would imply that his tradition is qualitatively inferior to that of Nāgārjuna. The motive of Group B, therefore, is to preserve the prestige of Asaṅga's view by detaching it from the Yogācāra view and thus give it due place of honour alongside Nāgārjuna's view, namely, Madhyamaka. The question now comes down to what the Madhyamaka view is—a question representing the tip of the iceberg of the complex Tibetan controversy over 'intrinsic' and 'extrinsic' emptiness (*rang stong* and *gzhan stong*). The primary motive of Group C for rejecting the basis of the distinction seems to be still another: not to raise the status of Asaṅga's view but rather to preclude any association of Atiśa's *bodhicittotpāda* tradition with Asaṅga's, and thus with Yogācāra.

6. The Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions: Personal Authorities

A second distinction between the two traditions can be made on the basis of the pertinent personal authorities in India and their followers in Tibet. The 'Tradition of the Profound View' is said to have come down from Mañjuśrī and been transmitted to the Sa-skya-pas.[27] Thus it is quite justifiably designated as the 'Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition.' The 'Tradition of Vast Conduct' is said to go back to Maitreya and Asaṅga and to have been passed down to the

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[25] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.3:

> *de gnyis lta ba tha dad pas* ||
> *cho ga yang ni tha dad yin* ||
> *ltung ba dang ni phyir bcos dang* ||
> *bslab par bya ba'ang so sor yod* ||.

See also RHOTON 2002: 81.

[26] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 120.9–13): *lta ba ni srol gnyis ka dang mthun par snang ngo* || *de yang rgya chen spyod pa'i srol 'byed pa por grags pa'i 'phags pa thogs med sogs kyi lta ba dbu mar nges kyang grub mtha' gdul bya rnams kyi ngor sems tsam du bkral ba shas che yang 'gal ba med do* ||.

[27] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.7–9): *dang po ni* | *rje bstun 'jam dbyangs nas 'phags pa klu sgrub yab sras la brgyud de rgyal sras zhi ba lha'i phyag srol jo bo pu ṇye* [= ṇya] *shrī las byung ba rje btsun sa skya pa rnams kyi phyag len du mdzad pa 'di nyid yin la* |.

bKa'-gdams-pas and Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pas.[28] Thus the designation 'Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition' is from this traditional point of view also quite justified. mNga'-ṛis Paṇ-chen states that the tradition inspired by Padmasambhava conforms to Nāgārjuna's tradition.[29] He is, it is clear, making a fine distinction here. He is not claiming that Padmasambhava's tradition is identical with Nāgārjuna's. There is good reason for this intended nuance. The issue of lineage in the rNying-ma tradition is, in general, a delicate one. Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho also explains that the rNying-ma *bodhicittotpāda* tradition, that is, the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual prescribed in the rNying-ma *tantra*s, along with most of the precepts that follow from it, is in conformity with Nāgārjuna's tradition.[30] The distinction between the two traditions in terms of personal authorities and followers may be expressed thus in tabular form:

	Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition	Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition
Personal Authorities	Mañjuśrī →	Maitreya →
	Nāgārjuna & Āryādeva →	Asaṅga & Vasubandhu →
	Śāntideva →	Candragomin →
	Puṇyaśrī →	Atiśa →
	Sa-skya-pas.	bKa'-gdams-pas & Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud-pas.

Group C, consisting of the followers of or other persons connected with the Old and New bKa'-gdams-pa traditions, cannot, of course, accept the distinction presented above, particularly in view of the fact that the proposed distinction excludes Atiśa from the 'Tradition of the Profound View.' As already stated, according to this group, Atiśa inherited the traditions of both Nāgārjuna and Asaṅga.

7. The Two *Bodhicittotpāda* Traditions: Scriptural Authorities

In the bsTan-'gyur, we find some practical manuals describing the ritual procedure for conferring *bodhisattva* vows. One such manual is attributed to Nāgārjuna,[31] one to Bodhibhadra,[32] one to Jetāri,[33] one to Atiśa,[34] and one to Abhayākaragupta.[35] There is also one manual by Mañjuśrīmitra[36] and one by an anonymous author.[37] Furthermore, short

[28] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.11–13): *gnyis pa ni | 'phags pa byams pa nas thogs med sku mched la brgyud de slob dpon tsandra go mī'i* [= mi'i] *phyag srol jo bo rje las byung ba bka' gdams pa dang mnyam med dwags po bka' brgyud pa rnams kyi phyag len du mdzad pa 'di nyid yin la |*.

[29] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 20.2): *padma'i ring lugs nā ga* [= gā] *rdzu na mthun ||*.

[30] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 120.6–9): *padma saṃ* [= sam] *bha ba'i rjes su 'jug pa snga 'gyur gyi ring lugs pa rnams ni sngags kyi rgyud sde rnams las gsungs pa'i byang sdom gyi thob tshul dang | de'i bslab bya'i rkang grangs phal cher nā gā rdzu na'i lugs dang mthun pa'i gnad kyis de dang mthun la....*

[31] *Bodhicittotpādavidhi* (P 5361; D 3966; S 3197, vol. 65).

[32] *Bodhisattvasaṃvaravidhi* (P 5362; D 3967; S 3198, vol. 65).

[33] *Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi* (P 5363; D 3968; S 3199, vol. 65). According to Sa-paṇ's answer (no. 8) to the query of Chag-lo, this must be Jetāri's manual of *bodhicittotpāda* rites (in accordance with the Madhyamaka tradition), which Śākyaśrībhadra forgot to take with him to Tibet (RHOTON 2002: 216).

[34] *Cittotpādasaṃvaravidhi* (P 5403; D 4490; S 3200, vol. 65).

[35] *Bodhisattvasaṃvaragrahaṇavidhi* (P 5365; D 3970; S 3201, vol. 65). This must be the ritual text which Chag-lo said was used by Abhayākaragupta to confer the *bodhisattva* precepts upon all people, and which was not seen by Sa-paṇ. See the eighth question posed by Chag-lo to Sa-paṇ (RHOTON 2002: 215–216).

manuals can be found imbedded in other works.[38] The *dBu ma'i lugs kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga* by Sa-paṇ may be one of the earliest among the numerous ritual manuals for bestowing and taking the *bodhisattva* vow composed in Tibet[39] (all of them cannot be mentioned here). It must be said that, strictly speaking, most of these manuals are not compositions but rather compilations, for the greater part of such texts merely consists of passages or verses found in Indian sources, the most popular being verses from Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra*.

There are several reasons why we cannot find one uniform and standardised *bodhicittotpāda* manual, the most important being variations in the performance of the rituals. Occasionally such texts would consist of only the minimum necessary components of the procedure. The *bodhicittotpāda* ritual prescribed in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, of its kind. The scriptural authorities associated with the two traditions are as follows:

		Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition	Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition
Scriptural Authority	*Sūtras*	*Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* *Bhadrakalpikasūtra* *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* *Ratnakūṭasūtra* *Rājāvavādakasūtra*[40]	
	Śāstras	*Bodhicittotpādavidhi* (attr. Nāgārjuna) *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (Śāntideva) *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (Śāntideva) *Bodhicittotpādasamādānavidhi* (Jetāri)[41]	*Bodhisattvabhūmi* (attr. to Asaṅga) *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* (Candragomin)[42] *Bodhipathapradīpa* (Atiśa)

8. The Historical Background of the *Bodhicittotpāda* Ritual

Before I move on to discuss the likely doctrinal and historical background of the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual, it is perhaps necessary to devote a few words to the term 'ritual procedure' or 'ritual.'. I use the expression 'ritual procedure' in the sense of the Sanskrit term *vidhi*, which can (among other things) mean 'method, manner or way of acting' or 'any prescribed act or rite or ceremony.'[43] The term *vidhi* has been translated into Tibetan as *cho*

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[36] Mañjuśrīmitra's *Cittotpādavidhi* (P 3388; D 2561; S 1467, vol. 33) is found in the tantric section of the bsTan-'gyur. The names of the translators are not given in the colophon.

[37] The *Cittotpādasaṃkṣiptavidhi* (P 4743; S 2619, vol. 43) by an anonymous author is not found in the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur. Cf. the *'Phang thang ma* (p. 33.10), where a certain *Byang chub tu sems bskyed pa* (containing forty-seven *ślokas*) is mentioned.

[38] See, for example, the *Trisaṃvarakrama* (P, fol. 304a7–b4; D, fol. 258a1–5; S, vol. 65, pp. 714.14–715.8) and the *Caturaṅgadharmacaryā* (P, fol. 298a2–8; D, fol. 258b1–4; S, vol. 65, p. 718.7–11).

[39] JACKSON 1987: 57, works nos. 8 and 17.

[40] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.10–2.11; RHOTON 2002: 82.

[41] The *śāstra* sources are mentioned by Kong-sprul in his *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.9–10): *de'ang klu sgrub kyi sems bskyed kyi cho ga dang | dze tā ri'i yi dam blangs pa'i cho ga dang | zhi ba lha'i spyod 'jug bslab btus sogs las 'byung ba ltar ro* ||. Note that Sa-paṇ did not mention the *Bodhicittotpādavidhi* attributed to Nāgārjuna and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* explicitly by name but simply stated that the Madhyamaka tradition relating to *bodhicittotpāda* can be found also in the writings of Nāgārjuna and Śāntideva (*sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.11cde; RHOTON 2002: 82).

[42] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 354.13): *de'ang byang sa dang sdom pa nyi shu pa sogs las 'byung ba ltar ro* ||.

[43] *MW*, s.v. *vidhi*. See also the *PW* (s.v.) particularly in the sense of (b) 'Verfahren, Weise, Art' or (e) 'ein feierlicher Act, Ceremonie.'

ga,[44] which commonly means 'the way or method of doing a thing.' Jäschke, however, expressed doubt as to whether the term can be used safely to mean religious rites or ceremonies in general.[45] The term 'ritual' is defined or described in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* as 'the performance of ceremonial acts prescribed by tradition or by sacerdotal decree.'[46]

Buddhism in general is not a ritual-oriented religion. It has been already pointed out that early Buddhism (according to the canonical texts) rejected Vedic-Brahmanical ritualism. Buddhist criticism was directed particularly against two aspects of ritualism: (a) the externality of ritual performances such as washing and their ineffectiveness regarding the post-death state or salvation, and (b) the killing of living animals, felling of trees, and razing of grass, which are incompatible with Buddhist ethics. Two types of reaction occurred: (1) the introduction of bloodless rituals (including 'non-injury of plants') as substitutes, and (2) the ethicising or spiritualising of rituals in the sense that the word 'sacrifice' (*yañña*) has been retained but *de facto* the ritual has been replaced by such practices as donations, the observation of moral codes and spiritual practices on the actual path of salvation. The former reaction led, in course of time, to more and more ritual elements gaining admission in or toleration by Buddhism. It may have also even led, in certain strands of development, to a reverse process. That is, contrary to the old tendency of replacing rituals with moral and spiritual practices, moral and spiritual practices have been ritualised or even repressed.[47] Thus several kinds of ritual can be found in the Vinaya tradition, not to mention ones in Mahāyāna Buddhism, particularly in Vajrayāna. Several types of texts that are entitled 'ritual procedure' (*vidhi*) can be found in the bsTan-'gyur, including ritual procedures for the confession of transgressions (*āpattideśanavidhi*), consecrations (*pratiṣṭhāvidhi*), [tantric] configurations (*maṇḍalavidhi*), sacrificial fires (*homavidhi*), [offerings of] sacrificial cakes (*balividhi*), [tantric] initiations (*abhiṣekavidhi*), [ritual] baths (*snānavidhi*), and feast [offerings] (*gaṇacakravidhi*).

For our purposes here, I shall define the 'ritual procedure for the generation of the resolve [to strive for] awakening' (*bodhicittotpādavidhi*) as 'a *modus operandi* for formally generating *bodhicitta* or for taking the *bodhisattva* vow (*bodhisattvasaṃvara*)—individually or collectively, with or without an officiant, for the first or nth time—which has a beginning (or preparatory phase), a middle (or main phase), and an end (or concluding phase), and during which the candidate is involved mentally, verbally, and physically.' The middle or main part may be seen as the compact nucleus of the ritual. The whole may be incorporated into other tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna rituals, and may even take place in totally unritualised or minimally ritualised contexts. Rituals are, I believe, tendentially spontaneous and simple by nature, although they may start off complex and be simplified or otherwise modified. One may categorise *bodhicittotpādavidhi* into two types: (a) one that is self-contained and complete in itself, whether used for the generation of *bodhicitta* or the bestowal and assumption of the *bodhisattva* vow, and (b) another which has been incorporated into and become an integral part of a whole ritual of much broader dimensions.[48] The one we are concerned with here is the former kind.

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[44] Of course, several synonyms and near synonyms of *vidhi* (e.g. *vidhāna*, *saṃvidhāna*, *kalpa*, *ācāra*, *cāritra*, *upacāra*, *prayoga*, and *tantra*) have also been translated into Tibetan as *cho ga* (see *TSD*, s.v.).

[45] See JÄSCHKE 1881, s.v. *cho ga*.

[46] For an outline of the leading theories of ritual over the past century and a discussion of the role of ritual in Zen Buddhism, which has long been regarded as the least ritualised form of Buddhism, see SHARF 2005.

[47] SCHMITHAUSEN 1999b: 229–231.

Like the concept of *bodhicitta* itself, the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual must have a history of its own. The ritual of taking the *bodhisattva* vow may have been modelled on the procedure of taking the *prātimokṣa* vows of the Vinaya tradition. The Vinaya sources known in Tibet speak broadly of two kinds of procedures for ordination: (a) the previous ritual procedures (*purākalpa*: *sngon gyi cho ga*) and (b) the present ritual procedure (*da ltar gyi cho ga*).[49] However, only the one said to have been devised by the Buddha himself and conducted by a committee of monks consisting of five or ten members depending on the remoteness of the place in which it is conducted, and which is found in both previous and present ritual procedures, is regarded as a ritual by definition.[50] The first of the ten kinds of previous ritual procedures is a sort of self-ordination. Indeed, most of the ten cases are characteristically spontaneously effectuated in the presence of the Buddha. They are simply the result of an unpremeditated decision to become a *bhikṣu* upon encountering the Buddha and obtaining his immediate consent. Such procedures were, of course, possible only as long as the Buddha still walked the earth. We can perhaps reasonably assume that not only the formalised ritual of taking the *bodhisattva* vow of ethical-moral discipline (*śīlasaṃvara*) was inspired by or modelled on the formalised Vinaya ordination (as found in the *Pravrajyāvastu*); the ritual procedures for confession (as in the *Poṣadhavastu*) and the restoration (*pratikriyā*) of broken vows, along with the Mahāyāna conventions relating to cardinal (or mortal) transgressions (*mūlāpatti*) or cardinal offences (*pārājika*), were also styled according to the corresponding Vinaya conventions. The idea of taking the *bodhisattva* vow on one's own, that is, without an officiant, may be compared to, and indeed was probably modelled on, the self-ordination of *pratyekabuddha*s and of the historical Buddha himself, who is, by the way, conceived in the Vinaya tradition as the *bhikṣu par excellence*. Similarly, the Buddha's first five disciples are said to have become *bhikṣu*s in virtue of their glimpse of true reality (*dharmatā*).[51]

Some Tibetan scholars have realised that a formalised ritual procedure for taking the *bodhisattva* vow of ethical-moral discipline (*śīlasaṃvara*), which is equated by some with the assuming of *prasthānacitta*, can be found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, but not the corresponding ritual procedure of assuming *praṇidhicitta*. They knew, of course, that Atiśa had explained the ritual procedure of assuming *praṇidhicitta* according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition—a procedure for which there seemed to exist no scriptural evidence. In order to resolve this discrepancy, somebody seems to have conjured up a new explanation: The tradition of conferring the vow of *praṇidhicitta* was initiated by Maitreya and transmitted orally (*snyan brgyud*) down to Atiśa.[52] Nevertheless, the actual reason why the ritual procedure of assuming *praṇidhicitta* is not found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* or any other work attributed by the Tibetans to Asaṅga seems to lie elsewhere. I have already stated that the terms *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* are not typical of Strand A (represented by the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) but rather of Strand B (later represented by works such as the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*). Having said

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[48] The fact that the generation of *bodhicitta* has been incorporated into most ritual procedures in Tibetan Buddhism has been, in my view, adequately demonstrated by Stephan Beyer in his studies on the cult of Tārā. See the index in BEYER 1973: 537–538, under the entry 'Thought of enlightenment.'

[49] While the Sanskrit term for *sngon gyi cho ga* is attested (e.g. *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 9281; *TSD*, s.v. *sngon gyi cho ga*; cf. *MW*, s.v. *purākalpa*), the Sanskrit term for *da lta'i cho ga* has not been traced. For a detailed discussion of *sngon gyi cho ga* and *da ltar gyi cho ga*, see the *mTso ṭīk* (pp. 46.3–61.21).

[50] See, for example, the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 37.6): *sngon chog mtshan nyid pa ni gsol bzhi'o* ||; *ibid.* (p. 39.10–11): *sngon chog gi rjes su bcas pa'i gsol bzhi'i cho ga 'khor bcas da lta'i cho ga dngos yin zhing* |.

[51] Such a precedent could be used by a lay tantric practitioner to claim the status of not only a normal *bhikṣu* but indeed of a *bhikṣu par excellence*.

[52] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.7–8): *len pa'i cho ga thogs med sogs kyi gzhung du smon sems len pa'i sgros mi gsal yang jo bo rjes gsal bar gsungs pa byams mgon nas brgyud pa'i man ngag snyan brgyud du bzhed....*

that, this does not mean that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* of Strand A has no parallel for the terms *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*. In fact, *praṇidhicitta* can be equated with or subsumed under the *prathamacittotpāda* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which is defined there as the most excellent of the *praṇidhāna*s, while *prasthānacitta* can be equated with or subsumed under *prayoga* or *caryā*, which includes the *śīlasaṃvara* formally taken by a *bodhisattva* as part of the ritual procedure (explicitly described in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10). The candidate taking the *śīlasaṃvara* is spoken of as either a householder or an ordained *bodhisattva*.[53] It is significant that he is further described as someone who has already made a resolution (*kṛtapraṇidhāna*) to strive for the highest awakening.[54] The question now is: at what point does the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* teach about formally becoming a *bodhisattva*?

The complex ritual procedure for the generation of *praṇidhicitta* according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition said to have been transmitted by Atiśa may have been based on *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.1.2), where the method for formally becoming a *bodhisattva*, that is, for generating the initial resolve (*prathamacittotpāda*) to become a *buddha*, is given in clear and simple terms, which in turn may be, as I have already tried to show, modelled on the initial resolve said to have been produced by the historical Buddha in the past. But although such initial resolve can be made during or by means of a ritual, I do not contend that the method of generating *bodhicitta* taught in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.1.2) is a full-fledged *bodhicittotpāda* ritual, at least not in the sense of what we know from later manuals. What is perhaps worth recollecting here is that the initial resolve to become a *bodhisattva* seems to be less formal or even less significant in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* than in the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition, probably because, according to its theory of spiritual disposition (*gotra*), only those who by nature possess the spiritual disposition of a *bodhisattva* can become *bodhisattva*s.

9. What Is Actually Generated by the Ritual?

There does not seem to be one simple answer to the question what is actually generated by means of the ritual. Prajñākaramati, in commenting upon the expression *sugatātmajasaṃvarāvatāra* (in *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.1c), obviously distinguishes two consecutive processes, namely, 'taking hold of *bodhicitta*' (*bodhicittagrahaṇa*) and 'fully accepting the *bodhisattva* vows' (*bodhisattvaśikṣāsamādāna*).[55] In other words, the generation of *bodhicitta* and the formal commitment to keep the *bodhisattva* vow are considered by him to be two different consecutive steps. According to some, it is only the 'conventional' *bodhicitta* that is generated by ritual, whereas according to others the 'absolute' *bodhicitta* is too. We shall return to this controversy below. Even among those who maintain that 'conventional' *bodhicitta* is generated by means of ritual, there does not seem to be a consensus. According to Kong-sprul's understanding of the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition and of Śāntideva, the arising of the 'mere thought of attaining *bodhi*' (*byang chub 'thob par 'dod pa'i blo tsam*) is not dependent on ritual, whereas *praṇidhicitta*, identified with the actual *cittotpāda*, and *prasthānacitta*, identified with the actual vow (*saṃvara*), are both dependent on ritual procedures.[56] The Sa-skya-pas are said to make distinctions between *praṇidhicitta* and *praṇidhicittotpāda*, and between *prasthānacitta* and *prasthānacittotpāda* as well. Mere *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* are, according to them, not vows (*saṃvara*),

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[53] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, p. 152.22–23; DUTT, p. 105.8).

[54] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, p. 152.24–25; DUTT, p. 105.8–9).

[55] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 2.17–18): *teṣāṃ saṃvarāvatāram | saṃvaraṇaṃ saṃvriyate vā aneneti saṃvaraḥ, bodhicittagrahaṇapūrvakaṃ bodhisattvaśikṣāsamādānam |*.

[56] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 352.30–33).

whereas *praṇidhicittotpāda* and *prasthānacittotpāda* are.[57] Kong-sprul himself distinguishes three kinds of *bodhisattva* vow taken in accordance with ritual procedures: one common (taken together with *prātimokṣa*), one uncommon, and one undergone in the tantric context.[58] In any case, we can take for granted that what is hoped will be generated by means of the ritual is resolve to become a *buddha*. In reality, as 'Jigs-med-gling-pa puts it, what is decisive here is not the act of generating *bodhicitta* but the actual arising of it.[59]

10. The Optionality of an Officiant in the Two Traditions

An officiant is not considered indispensable for either tradition. If no officiant is available, one can perform the rites on one's own before a reverential object that represents the *buddha*'s body, speech, or mind, such as a statue, scripture, or *stūpa*, respectively. If something like this is not available, one should visualise *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas* in the space in front of and above oneself.[60] Although the absence of an officiant is permissible in both traditions, the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition is stricter in its definition of situations in which this exception is made. There, one can proceed without an officiant only after searching far and wide for one, or if one's life or celibacy (in case of ordained monks and nuns) is at risk.[61] It is said that according to Bodhibhadra and others an officiant may be absent only during conferral rites, and not, therefore, during rites of restoration.[62] The difficulty is that there seem to be several kinds of restoration depending on the nature and extent of the damage, and it is not quite clear what kind of restoration is meant here. In any case, the ritual procedure for the initial *bodhisattva* vow is described in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in such a way that it seems impossible to perform without an officiant.[63] By contrast, for the ritual of reconfirming the *bodhisattva* vow, the optionality of an officiant is there made explicit.[64] Klong-chen-pa offers an alternative explanation of the optionality and obligatoriness of an officiant. According to

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[57] *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 352.33–353.4).

[58] *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 353.32–354.4).

[59] *Yon tan mdzod* (p. 44.3–4): *sems mchog bskyed pa mi gtso skyes pa gtso* ||.

[60] The optionality of an officiant in both traditions is made clear in the *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā*. For the text and translation of the pertinent passage, see SHERBURNE 2000: 154–155. See also the *Yid bzhin mdzod* (p. 77.2–3):

> *ji ltar bskyed tshul rnam pa gnyis yin te* ||
> *bla ma mchog dang dkon mchog drung du len* ||.

sDom gsum rnam nges (p. 21.4):

> *rgyal ba'i rten la'ang rung bar srol gnyis mthun* ||.

See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 355.1–3, 358.3–4).

[61] To authenticate this statement, Kong-sprul (*Shes bya mdzod*, p. 358.4–6) cites a passage from the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which I have not been able to locate, at least not in the *Śīlapaṭala*.

[62] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.6–7): *nyams na gso ba la bla ma nges pa* [= par?] *dgos pa gnas brtan byang bzang sogs bzhed do* ||. The position of Bodhibhadra, however, seems to be rather more complex and requires further verification.

[63] See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, pp. 152.22–155.21; DUTT, pp. 105.7–107.5).

[64] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, p. 181.15–18; DUTT, p. 124.25–27): *etad api bodhisattvasaṃvarasamādānam | yadi tair guṇair* [= °naiḥ WOGIHARA] *yuktaḥ pudgalo na saṃnihitaḥ syāt | tato bodhisattvena tathāgatapratimāyāḥ purataḥ svayam eva bodhisattvaśīlasaṃvarasamādānaṃ karaṇīyaṃ* |. The fact that the optionality of an officiant here applies to the reconfirmation and not the initial acceptance of the *bodhisattva* vow is clear from the context. See *ibid.* (WOGIHARA, pp. 180.21–182.5; DUTT, p. 124.10–16).

him, some superior individuals from the very outset take the *bodhisattva* vow before the Three Jewels on their own. As for average people, they take it from a master (*guru*) for the first time, but later, at the time of restoration or while repeating the acceptance of the *bodhisattva* vow, they can do so without a master before the Three Jewels.[65] However, Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho adds that the practice of performing ritual oneself (if one is capable of doing so) is in accordance with Atiśa's *Bodhipathapradīpa*, which explains this practice according to the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetrālaṃkārasūtra*.[66]

The optionality of an officiant in the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual mentioned in some sources is traditionally interpreted in such a way as to bring it into harmony with the obligatoriness of an officiant expressed in other sources. If, however, we ignore such interpretations, the practice seems to reflect the historical background of the *bodhicitta* doctrine, for it is reminiscent of self-ordination in the Vinaya tradition. In the later systematised ritual procedure of the *prātimokṣa* vow, a committee of ten (or five) members chaired by the leading officiant is indispensable. The only cases of self-ordination mentioned in the Vinaya context are that of a *pratyekabuddha* and that of the Buddha himself. Since *bodhicitta* is fundamentally the resolve to become a *buddha*, it is historically conceivable that the generation of such resolve was originally not envisaged along the lines of a ritual dependent on an officiant, but as in the case of the Buddha or of a *pratyekabuddha* in the Vinaya context. Nevertheless, for traditions that insist on the continuity and indispensability of a lineage and on dependence on a master (*guru*), the optionality of an officiant would be counterproductive, for it would render a transmission lineage redundant. In my view, it is for similar reasons that a *pratyekabuddha* came to be later reinterpreted as one who had once been a *śrāvaka* of special calibre and who, in his last existence, awakened independently, without, that is, any formal teacher and in the absence of an established teaching tradition.

11. Qualifications for Officiants in the Two Traditions

The Tibetan discussions of qualifications for teachers according to the Vinaya and the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna require a separate study. One may consult the writings of Klong-chen-pa, where the various qualifications are discussed in great detail.[67] What we shall look at here is the qualifications of the officiant performing the *bodhicittotpāda* rites. The qualifications are more or less the same within the two traditions. The following verse from the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is often cited in Tibetan sources as the scriptural authority of the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition relating to the criteria for an officiant:[68]

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[65] *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. 2, p. 824.4–6): *gang zag dam pa kha cig dkon mchog drung du rang gis len pa yin la | phal pa dag bla ma las len to || len tshul 'dra'o || phyis gso dus sam yang nas yang du bskyed dus bla ma las gzhan dkon mchog gi drung du byed pa yin no ||*.

[66] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 128.7–9): *rang stobs kyi nus pa yod na rten med kyang rgyal ba sras bcas mdun mkhar bsam la de'i drung du len par yang 'jam dpal zhing bkod kyi mdo las gsungs pa ltar lam sgron du bshad do ||*. See EIMER 1978: 116–117; First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 193.8–9): *yathā mañjuśriyā 'mbararājabhūtena bodhicittam utpāditam tathotpādanīyaḥ |*.

[67] See, for example, the *Yid bzhin mdzod* (pp. 38.3–44.4); *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (pp. 204.2–272.3); *Sems nyid ngal gso* (pp. 38.5–49.3); *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, pp. 369.5–421.2). See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 303.9–310.24).

[68] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5.102:
sadā kalyāṇamitraṃ ca jīvitārthe 'pi na tyajet |
bodhisattvavratadharaṃ mahāyānārthakovidam ||.

> Never, even at the cost of one's life, should one forsake a spiritual friend who upholds the *bodhisattva* vow and is skilled in the meaning of the Mahāyāna.[69]

Correspondingly within the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, the following verse from the *Bodhipathapradīpa* is often cited:[70]

> One who is skilled in the ritual of the vow—
> Who himself abides by the vow,
> Shows readiness to confer the vow, and is compassionate—
> Should be known as a good master.[71]

Generally, it is agreed that the spiritual friend or teacher who confers the vow should have taken the *bodhisattva* vow himself, be an expert in the ritual procedure, have no material interests and be benevolent.[72]

12. The Eligibility of Candidates in the Two Traditions

Tibetan scholars, in discussing the eligibility of candidates, often speak about two kinds of receptacles (*rten*), namely, the receptacle for the arising (*skye ba'i rten*) and the receptacle for the subsistence (*gnas pa'i rten*) of *bodhicitta* or the *bodhisattva* vow. The former is further subdivided into a physical receptacle (*lus kyi rten*) and mental receptacle (*bsam pa'i rten*).[73] It is very clear that according to the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition it is the mental receptacle, that is, the mental receptivity, that is decisive, and not the physical receptacle, or the physical form of life. In other words, being a woman, a lay person, a non-Buddhist, someone who has committed one of the five heinous deeds, or even a non-human being is in principle no barrier to the generation of *bodhicitta* or to the acceptance of the *bodhisattva* vow.[74] The notion that even non-humans can generate *bodhicitta* is based on *sūtra* references where gods (*deva*), *nāga*s, demigods (*asura*), and so forth are said to have generated the resolve to strive for the highest awakening.[75] According to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, the physical receptacle

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[69] The English translation given here is according to CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 43.

[70] *Bodhipathapradīpa* 23 (EIMER 1978: 116.1–4):
> *sdom pa'i cho ga la mkhas dang ||*
> *bdag nyid gang zhig sdom la gnas ||*
> *sdom pa 'bogs bzod snying rjer ldan ||*
> *bla ma bzang por shes par bya ||.*

For text and translations, see EIMER 1978: 116–117; SHERBURNE 2000: 8–9. For the text and translation of the commentary, see SHERBURNE 2000: 150–153.

[71] Cf. the First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 193.5–6): *saṃvaraś ca vijñātapratibalasaṃvarasthitā[t] kalyāṇamitrāt purato grāhyaḥ* |; EIMER 1978: 116–117.

[72] See, for example, the *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 21.2): *len tshul sdom gnas dge ba'i bshes gnyen la ||*. See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 125.18–126.6); *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.1–3).

[73] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 155.10–156.4). See also the *Dwags po thar rgyan* (pp. 132.17–133.5).

[74] *Grub mtha' mdzod* (pp. 190.5–191.2): *dbu ma pa'i lugs kyi theg chen la mos shing sangs rgyas thob 'dod can gyi lha dang klu la sogs pa la'ang skye bar 'dod de | shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa brgyad stong pa las | ... rgya mtshos zhus pa las | ... skyes zin gnas pa'i rten ni 'gro ba rigs lnga gang la'ang rung ngo ||*. *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 21.2): *theg chen snod gyur dad ldan slob ma....* Cf. also *ibid.* (p. 24.4–5):
> *skye ba'i rten ni lha klu 'phrog ma sogs ||*
> *sdig can la yang skye bar klu sgrub bzhed ||.*

See also *ibid.* (p. 24.5–6), where reference to the verse from the *Ratnolkādhāraṇī* cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 2.16–17; VAIDYA, p. 4.22–23) is made.

must be under at least one of the seven kinds of *prātimokṣa* vow (i.e. must be a human being who is a lay or ordained Buddhist).[76] All the criteria a candidate for the *prātimokṣa* vow is expected to fulfil according to the Vinaya tradition are thus automatically presupposed here.[77] Needless to say, according to both traditions there must be a mental receptacle that is saturated with the desire to become a *buddha* for the sake of all sentient beings.[78] Unlike the *prātimokṣa* vow, which is automatically annulled after death, the *bodhisattva* vow is supposed to persist. And hence, according to Klong-chen-pa, any of the five forms of existence can be the 'receptacle for the subsistence' of the *bodhisattva* vow.[79] This, however, presents a problem for the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, especially when it insists on the need for the physical receptacle to be under a *prātimokṣa* vow.

One of the Tibetan scholars who attempted to harmonise the two traditions regarding the eligibility of candidates was Klong-chen-pa:[80]

> [I] take the two traditions to be non-contradictory in essence for the following [reasons]: When one generates the resolve [to strive for awakening], [it] may not be called a *prātimokṣa* vow, but in reality it must be something essentially similar, such as the capacity to pledge not to kill [sentient beings]. Hence, from this standpoint, the similarity of the receptacles is ascertained. In fact, [*bodhicitta* in both cases] is certain to arise [only in an individual whose] mind has turned away from [the thought of] injury. [According to both traditions, the candidate] must be someone who is capable of observing one of the *prātimokṣa* vows; otherwise [*bodhicitta*] cannot arise in [the continuum of] anybody, inasmuch as [the non-observance of the *prātimokṣa* vow] contradicts the *cittotpāda* vow.

The point Klong-chen-pa is trying to make is that there cannot possibly be a *bodhisattva* who is incapable of observing at least one of the *prātimokṣa* vows. This notion is very much consistent with the ethical-moral discipline of the three vehicles (*yāna*), according to which a *śrāvaka* strives to refrain from harming or injuring others, a *bodhisattva* not only refrains from harming or injuring others but even tries to benefit them, and a practitioner of Vajrayāna not only tries to benefit other sentient beings, but attempts to do so in the manner of a *buddha*. And therefore, so long as there is the thought of injuring others, there cannot be the thought of benefiting others, these two thoughts being simply incompatible.

Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho who to a great extent followed Klong-chen-pa and incorporated his method of harmonising the two traditions, recorded an alternative way of resolving the apparent contradiction between the two traditions: The criteria prescribed by the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition for candidates are interpreted as applying merely to the generation of

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[75] See, for example, the *Samādhirājasūtra* (according to RÉGAMEY 1938: 48–49): *aprameyāṇāṃ ca sattvānāṃ devamānuṣikāyāḥ prajāyā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittāny utpannāni....* See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 154.17–155.1).

[76] See *Bodhipathapradīpa* 20. For text and translations, see EIMER 1978: 114–15; SHERBURNE 2000: 8–9.

[77] *Grub mtha' mdzod* (p. 190.4): *dang po ni sems tsam pa ltar na so sor thar pa rigs bdun dang ldan pa ni lus kyi rten du 'dod de | lam sgron las....* Cf. *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, pp. 538.4–539.2). See also the *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 24.5): *thogs med de'i rten so thar dgos zhes gsungs ||.*

[78] Cf. the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (p. 191.4): *bsam pa'i rten ni dad sogs bsod nams kyi blo khyad par can dang ldan pa'o ||*; *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, pp. 539.4–5): *dad sogs bsod nams kyi blo khyad par can ni bsam pa'i rten yin te | dkon mchog ta la la'i mdo las ....*

[79] *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, p. 539.6): *gnas pa'i rten ni yang | gang la skyes pa de'i rten la nyams pa'i rgyu ma byung gi bar du gnas so ||.*

[80] *Shing rta chen po* (vol. 1, p. 539.2–6): *lugs 'di gnyis kyang don gyis mi 'gal bar go ste | 'di ltar sems bskyed dus so sor thar pa'i sdom par ming ma btags kyang | don 'dra bar srog mi gcod par dam 'cha' nus pa la sogs pa dgos pas | de'i cha nas rten 'dra rung du nges te | don la gnod pa las blo log pa zhig la skye nges so || so sor thar pa'i sdom pa gang rung sdom nus pa zhig med na gang la'ang mi skye ste | sems bskyed de nyid kyi bslab pa dang 'gal ba'i phyir ro ||.*

praṇidhicitta, not, that is, to the generation of *prasthānacitta*. Conversely, the criteria prescribed by the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition are interpreted as applying merely to the generation of *prasthānacitta*, not to the generation of *praṇidhicitta*. In this way, even by the standards set by the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition, a candidate must be a human being who abides by at least one of the *prātimokṣa* vows in order to qualify as a candidate for the generation of *prasthānacitta*. Likewise, by the standards set by the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, a candidate need not be a human being who abides by at least one of the *prātimokṣa* vows in order to generate merely *praṇidhicitta*. And therefore, according to this solution, although the two traditions may appear to differ in regard to the range of the receptacles (*rten rgya che chung*), the flexibility of admission (*'jug sgo yangs dog*), and so forth, they are, in reality, of the same quintessence (*gnad gcig*).[81]

Thus Tibetan scholars have, exegetically speaking, made quite ingenious attempts to harmonise the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, namely, the naïve or idealistic Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition and the rather pragmatic and realistic Maitreya-Asaṅga one. I offer my own assessment of the two traditions in terms of the receptacle (*rten*). These idealistic and realistic perceptions of the receptacle seem, in my view, to be rooted in doctrinal or philosophical differences between the two traditions as regards sentient beings, particularly in their theories of the spiritual disposition (*gotra*). The reason why the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition professes a rather idealistic view of the receptacle is probably due to its *ekagotra* theory, according to which there is only one universal spiritual disposition, which implies that there is no sentient being that does not possess the capacity or potential to become a *buddha*. The universal spiritual disposition presupposed by it was not, however, understood in a positive sense, as was done in the Tathāgatagarbha tradition.

The pragmatic and realistic notion of the receptacle in the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, on the other hand, seems to be rooted in the Yogācāra theory of five kinds of spiritual dispositions, according to which not all sentient beings possess the same desire and capacity to reach the goal of Buddhahood, and certain sentient beings possess no spiritual disposition at all. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, representing the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, makes it unequivocally clear that while the presence of the right *gotra* is no guarantee that Buddhahood will be attained,[82] the absence of such a *gotra* (in spite of all attempts to generate the resolve to strive for awakening) totally deprives one of the chance to become a *buddha*.[83] Thus the differences in the perceptions of the eligibility of a *bodhicittotpāda* candidate in the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna and Maitreya-Asaṅga traditions is, in my view, doctrinally connected with the differences in their perceptions of *gotra*. This explanation not only supports my theory of different grades of conservatism in the two strands of *bodhicittotpāda* traditions but also supports Sa-paṇ's proposition that the differences of the two traditions rest on the differences in their philosophical view (*lta ba*). However, later Tibetan scholars seem to have understood Sa-paṇ as referring to philosophical views only in connection with reality or emptiness. If my assessment here holds, it would imply that Sa-paṇ's designation of this

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[81] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 155.1–10).

[82] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, p. 1.19–20): *sa cet punar gotrasthaś cittaṃ notpādayati bodhicaryāsu na prayujyate na kṣipraṃ bodhim ārāgayati* [= ārādhayati?].... The Tibetan translation (WOGIHARA, p. 2.20–23) here reads *byang chub myur du 'grub par mi 'gyur ro* and seems to indicate *na kṣipraṃ bodhim ārādhayati*. See also *ibid.* (WOGIHARA, p. 11.2–18): *caturbhiḥ kāraṇaiḥ evaṃ gotrasampanno 'pi bodhisattvaḥ na śaknoty anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃboddhuṃ ....*

[83] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (DUTT, p. 1.16–18; cf. WOGIHARA, p. 2.13–17): *agotrasthaḥ pudgalo gotre 'sati cittotpāde 'pi yatnasamāśraye saty abhavyaś cānuttarāyāḥ samyaksaṃbodheḥ paripūraye*|; *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (WOGIHARA, p. 11.18–19; DUTT, p. 7.23–24): *asati tu gotre sarveṇa sarvaṃ sarvathā bodher aprāptir eva veditavyā* |.

tradition as the 'Cittamātra tradition' is justified purely from the viewpoint of the *gotra* theory, especially if one takes works such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as the scriptural authority of this tradition.

13. The Preparatory Procedures of the *Bodhicittotpāda* Ritual

The *bodhicitta* ritual traditionally consists of three steps, namely, the preparatory procedures (*sbyor ba*), main procedures (*dgnos gzhi*), and concluding procedures (*rjes* or *mjug*), collectively referred to as *sbyor dngos rjes* (or *mjug*) *gsum*. For several reasons, it is quite difficult to form a clear and comprehensive picture of the supposed differences between the ritual procedures of the two traditions. Nonetheless, in order to convey an impression of how at least some Tibetan scholars have perceived these distinctions, I shall attempt to present them mainly along the lines of Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs*:

	Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition	Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition	
	Praṇidhicitta and *Prasthānacitta*	*Praṇidhicitta*	*Prasthānacitta*
Preparatory Procedures (*sbyor ba*)	(1) Rectifying one's attitude (*blo bcos pa*) through three special instructions (*gdams ngag khyad par can gsum*), i.e. three methods of generating enthusiasm (*spro ba bskyed pa'i thabs gsum*) for *bodhicitta* (2) Making a *maṇḍala* offering to the special referential object (*yul khyad par can*), i.e. the officiant (3) Taking refuge in the special receptacle (*rten khyad par can*), i.e. the Three Jewels (4) Accumulating beneficial resources (*puṇya*) by special methods (*thabs khyad par can*), i.e. the seven-limb supplication	(1) Verifying the receptacle (*rten nges par bya ba*), i.e. rectifying one's attitude (*blo bcos pa*) on the basis of three instructions (*gdams ngag khyad par can*) (2) Executing preparatory procedures, consisting of three steps, i.e. (a) making a *maṇḍala* offering and request, (b) taking refuge in the special receptacle (*rten khyad par can*), and (c) accumulating beneficial resources by special methods (*thabs khyad par can*)	(1) The candidate's making the [initial] request (*gsol ba 'debs pa*) (2) The officiant's scrutinising the attitude (*bsam pa brtag pa*) of the candidate (3) The candidate's requesting [the officiant] to bestow [the vow] without delay (*myur du sbyin par gsol ba debs pa*) (4) The officiant's enquiring after [the candidate's hidden] obstacles (*bar chad dri ba*) (5) Making [the candidate] aware of the precepts (*bslab pa'i gnas go bar bya ba*) (6) Asking [whether the candidate] is [still] interested (*spro ba dri ba*) in taking the vow.

The *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* vows are bestowed on the same occasion according to the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition,[84] but separately according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition.[85] The three methods of generating enthusiasm for *bodhicitta* mentioned in the table above are (1) generating a sense of discontent with the extreme of *saṃsāra* (*'khor ba'i mtha' la skyo ba bskyed pa*), (2) putting a stop to the attachment to the extreme of *nirvāṇa* (*zhi ba'i mtha' la zhen pa bkag pa*), and (3) avoiding the two extremes of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* (*mtha' gnyis spong ba*).[86] The preparatory procedures (*sbyor ba*) of the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual seem to differ from source to source. I have followed Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho's *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* both

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[84] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 21.2–3):
yan lag bdun mthar smon 'jug stabs gcig tu ||
len cing rang gzhan dga' ba sgom pa rnams ||
klu sgrub lugs yin....
Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs (p. 126.18–19): ... *smon 'jug gnyis stabs gcig tu len....*

[85] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 21.3–4): ... *thogs med bzhed pa ni* | ... *smon 'jug cho ga so so'i sgo nas len* ||.

[86] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.12–14).

for the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition[87] and for the *praṇidhicitta* of the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition,[88] and Kong-sprul's *Shes bya mdzod* for the *prasthānacitta* of the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition.[89] Some of the preparatory processes of the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, such as the candidate's initial request, can be found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[90]

14. The Main Procedures of the *Bodhicittotpāda* Ritual

The most significant part of the ritual is of course the main procedure (*dngos gzhi*), in regard to which the two traditions again differ. The differences may be summarised as follows:

	Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition	Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition	
	Praṇidhicitta and *Prasthānacitta*	*Praṇidhicitta*	*Prasthānacitta*
Main Procedures (*dngos gzhi*)	(1) Training one's mind (*blo sbyong*) by practising the exchange of one's happiness for the sufferings of others (*bde sdug gtong len*) (2) Drawing the attention [of *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas*] three times (*dgongs gsol gsum*) (3) Reciting the ritual text (*cho ga'i tshig*) which contains the ritual words for generating both *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* three times (4) The vow is complete at the end of the third recitation[91]	(1) Assuming *praṇidhicitta* (a) on one's own strength (*rang stobs*), by awakening one's spiritual disposition (*gotra*), (b) on the strength of others (*gzhan stobs*), by witnessing the benefit of perfect awakening and so forth, (c) on the strength of preparatory practice (*sbyor ba'i stobs*), which involves the generation of three notions (*'du shes gsum bskyed*) (2) Drawing the attention [of *buddhas* and *bodhisattvas*] three times (*dgongs gsol gsum*)[92] (3) Reciting the pertinent ritual text three times	The officiant asks the candidate three times if he or she wants to take the vow of ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*), and each time the candidate answers: "Yes, [I want to] take it."[93]

The three notions are, according to Kong-sprul,[94] discontentment with *saṃsāra* (*'khor ba la skyo ba*), detachment from *nirvāṇa* (*myang 'das la mi zhen pa*), and enthusiasm for *bodhicitta* (*byang chub kyi sems la spro ba*). We have seen that the three are also called three

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[87] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.11–16). Cf. the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 355.3–4). See also the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (p. 198.3–6): *sbyor ba ni dkon mchog gi drung du mchod pa bsham ste | slob mas phyag dang maṇḍal phul la | slob dpon gyis sems bskyed pa'i phan yon la sogs pas blo bcos te | sems tsam pa ltar na bar chad dri ba dang bslab pa khas blang pa la sogs pa byas nas sems bskyed 'bogs kyang 'dir dbu ma pa'i lugs kyis | ... yan lag bdun pa rgyas bsdus gang rung byas la |*.

[88] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 127.6–10). Cf. the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.11–12).

[89] The preparatory procedures (*sbyor ba*) are presented here according to the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.16–18). See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 127.15–17).

[90] The candidate approaches a qualified *bodhisattva* teacher and requests conferral of the *bodhisattva* vow. See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, p. 153.2–5; DUTT, p. 105.11–12): *tavāhaṃ kulaputrāṃtikād bodhisattvaśīlasaṃvarasamādānam akāṃkṣāmy ādātum | tad arhasy anuparodhena muhūrtam asmākam anukampayā dātuṃ śrotuṃ ca |*.

[91] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.16–19). Cf. the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 355.4–5).

[92] This step is included in the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 127.12) but excluded in the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.12–13).

[93] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 127.17–20); *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.18).

[94] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.14–15).

instructions (*gdams ngag gsum*) or three efficient strategies (*thabs gsum*).[95] The procedure of reciting the pertinent ritual text three times is omitted by Kong-sprul[96] but included by mKhan-po Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho who cites the beginning and end of the ritual text read out during the proceedings.[97]

15. The Concluding Procedures of the *Bodhicittotpāda* Ritual

The following chart shows the concluding steps of the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual according to the two traditions:

	Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition	Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition	
	Praṇidhicitta and *Prasthānacitta*	*Praṇidhicitta*	*Prasthānacitta*
Concluding Procedures (*rjes*)	(1) Rejoicing to oneself (*rang dga' ba sgom pa*) (2) Letting others rejoice (*gzhan dga' ba sgom du gzhug*) (3) Explaining precepts in brief (*bslab bya mdo tsam bshad pa*) (4) Offering some gifts of thanks (*gtang rag 'bul ba*)[98]	(1) Generating joy (*spro ba bskyed pa*) (2) Explaining precepts (*bslab bya bstan pa*) (3) Offering gifts of thanks (*gtang rag gtang ba*)[99]	(1) Requesting that notice be taken (*mkhyen par gsol ba*) (2) Explaining the benefits (*phan yon bstan pa*) (3) Counselling to be discreet (*gsang bar gdams pa*) (4) Explaining precepts (*bslab bya bstan pa*) (5) Offering some gifts of thanks (*gtang rag 'bul ba*)[100]

16. Observances and Offences Presented in the Two Traditions

As Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* suggests,[101] there must have been various positions in India regarding the precise number of *mūlāpatti*s taught in the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*, which has been cited by both the *Sūtrasamuccaya* and the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. In order to show how *bodhicitta* was cultivated in the broader context of *bodhisattva* ethical-moral discipline, I here briefly present, primarily following the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs*, the cardinal transgressions and venial offences (*duṣkṛta*) according to the two traditions. It should be noted in general that according to the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs*, these transgressions are relevant only for *bodhisattva*s (humans and non-humans) who are still worldly beings (*pṛthagjana*), that is, those who have not yet attained the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*), since the *bodhisattva* saints are considered to be ethically and morally incorruptible.[102] This is reminiscent of the non-

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[95] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.12–14).

[96] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.12–13).

[97] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 127.12–14): "From 'I, who am called by name so and so, in this lifetime and …' until 'will liberate [them] into the state of *nirvāṇa*'" (… *bdag ming 'di zhes bgyi ba skye ba 'di dang | zhes pa nas mya ngan las 'da' bar bgyi'o zhes pa'i* bar….).

[98] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 355.5–6); *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.19–20). Note that whereas Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho places 'offering gifts of thanks' at the end, Kong-sprul has 'explaining precepts in brief.'

[99] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.14–15); *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 126.19–20).

[100] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 355.18–20); *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 127.20–128.2).

[101] Ratnākaraśānti, *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 319b5–320a4; D, fol. 273a4–b2; S, vol. 64, pp. 760.17–761.17).

[102] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 134.15–17): *de dag byang sems kyi spyod pa la zhugs pa yan chod* [= chad] *la rtsa ltung 'byung ba mi srid pas so skya'i* [= skye'i] *gang zag mi dang gnod sbyan* [= sbyin] *sogs gang yang rung*

Mahāyāna notion that an *arhat* is incapable of deliberately hurting another sentient being. The infallibility (or fallibility) of the ethical-moral discipline of Buddhist saints is in itself an interesting theme, but one which cannot be elaborated in this study. The cardinal transgressions and venial offences, as presented in the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs*, are as follows:

<table>
<tr><td rowspan="9">Cardinal Transgressions (mūlāpatti)</td><td colspan="7">Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition</td><td colspan="2">Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition</td></tr>
<tr><td>Scriptural Authorities</td><td>Liable to occur to</td><td>Nominal</td><td>Actual</td><td colspan="2">According to Faculty</td><td>Praṇidhicitta</td><td>Prasthānacitta</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Ākāśagarbhasūtra (18 nominal transgressions)</td><td>kings</td><td>5</td><td rowspan="2">6</td><td rowspan="3">Sharp</td><td rowspan="3">18</td><td rowspan="6">abandoning 4 white practices or adopting 4 black practices</td><td rowspan="6">4 cardinal transgressions</td></tr>
<tr><td>ministers</td><td>5</td></tr>
<tr><td>citizens</td><td>8</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>Upāyakauśalyasūtra (1 transgression)</td><td colspan="3">1 (abandoning praṇidhicitta)</td><td>Dull</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Ratnakuṭa (1 transgression)</td><td colspan="3">1 (abandoning prasthānacitta)</td><td rowspan="2">Medium</td><td rowspan="2">4</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total</td><td colspan="3">20</td></tr>
<tr><td>Mortal</td><td colspan="7">1 (abandonment of praṇidhicitta)</td></tr>
</table>

(a) The Cardinal Transgressions in the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition

The *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* lists twenty cardinal transgressions in the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition. Eighteen out of the twenty are cited according to the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* by Śāntideva. The number eighteen is, however, not explicitly mentioned in the latter. For the sake of convenience, Śāntideva has summarised these cardinal transgressions in verses.[103] An additional cardinal transgression, found in the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*, is also cited by Śāntideva without being termed the 'nineteenth cardinal transgression' (described by Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho as the abandonment of *praṇidhicitta*).[104] The twentieth cardinal transgression, which is apparently not mentioned by Śāntideva, is drawn from the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* and described by Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho as the abandonment of *prasthānacitta*.[105]

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ba'i byang sems kyi sdom ldan la ltung ba yin par gsungs so ||. Cf. the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 64.17–18; VAIDYA, p. 40.1–2): *tasyādhikarmikasya bodhisattvasya yathā samutthitās tā āpattīḥ pratideśayati* |.

[103] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 66.15–67.13; VAIDYA, p. 41.1–18); for an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 70–71.

[104] See the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 66.9–14; VAIDYA, p. 40.25–30); for an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 70. See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 134.17–135.1).

[105] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 134.17–135.3). Cf., however, SOBISCH 2002: 91, n. 249: "... they are nineteen or twenty roots according to the Mādhyamikas. They are nineteen according to Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, which quotes the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra*, and twenty according to the *Ratnakūṭa*...." There seems to be some confusion here. Śāntideva's citation of the *Ākāśagarbhasūtra* does not contain all nineteen cardinal transgressions. According to the Tibetan tradition, it contains only eighteen. The nineteenth cardinal transgression is drawn from the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*, and the twentieth (and not all twenty!) from the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*.

The five cardinal transgressions liable to be committed by (or occur to) kings (*rgya po la 'byung nye ba*)[106] may be summarised as follows:[107] (1) plundering or causing to plunder the property of the Three Jewels, (2) denouncing the Buddhist doctrine (be it Mahāyāna or non-Mahāyāna) and causing it to be destroyed, (3) causing any member of the ordained Buddhist community (*saṃgha*) to be disrobed, assaulted or killed, (4) committing one of the five deeds of immeasurable gravity (i.e. patricide, matricide, killing an *arhat*, causing a schism in the Saṃgha, and malevolently causing a *tathāgata* to bleed), (5) holding false views (such as the denial of the principle of cause and effect and future existences) and causing other sentient beings to exhibit unwholesome attitudes or actions.

Of the five cardinal transgressions liable to be committed by ministers, the first four are identical with the first four relating to kings. The fifth cardinal transgression is the extermination of villages, towns, and cities out of malevolence.[108] The eight cardinal transgressions liable to occur to normal citizens may be paraphrased as follows:[109] (1) prematurely giving teachings on emptiness (*śūnyatā*) to other beginner *bodhisattva*s and thereby provoking fear in them and thus causing them to abandon *bodhicitta*, (2) discouraging other beginner *bodhisattva*s by telling them that since they are incapable of practising the six perfections (*pāramitā*) and attaining Buddhahood, they would do better to generate resolve according to the Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna so as to be released from *saṃsāra* soon, (3) discouraging a beginner *bodhisattva* from observing *prātimokṣa* and the Vinaya ethical-moral discipline in favour of the Mahāyāna precepts, (4) discouraging a beginner *bodhisattva* from reading the scriptures of the Śrāvakayāna and encouraging him instead to read and teach only scriptures of the Mahāyāna, (5) disparaging others and praising oneself out of jealousy and attachment to worldly concerns (e.g. possessions and admiration), (6) glorifying oneself with lies about one's spiritual achievements, (7) creating discord between powerful laity and ordained individuals and exploiting the situation for one's benefit, and (8) depriving practitioners (of meditation) of their daily necessities and giving them to those studying, or else causing them to abandon their spiritual practices, such as *śamatha*, by introducing adverse political rules.

Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho explains that the eighteen cardinal transgressions are based merely on the likelihood of committing them, so that one type of person may commit a cardinal transgression applicable to another type. In fact, all eighteen cardinal transgressions can be committed by all types of persons. He also clarifies that the number eighteen is only nominal (*ming du*) and that actually (*rdzas su*) there are only fourteen, since the first four cardinal transgressions liable to occur to kings are identical with the first four liable to be committed by ministers. The cardinal transgressions also reflect the faculties of *bodhisattva*s.

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[106] The expressions 'liable to occur to kings' (*rgyal po la 'byung nye ba*) and so forth are not employed in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*.

[107] See the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 59.10–60.8; VAIDYA, p. 37.1–16; for an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 61–62); *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 82.13–84.3; Buddhaghoṣa's *Dhūtaguṇanirdeśa* (P, fol. 202a5–b7; D, fols. 165b2–166a2; S, vol. 93, pp. 1202.12–1203.15); *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 131.17–132.14). The five cardinal transgressions kings have to answer for are explicitly enumerated in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Sūtrasamuccaya*.

[108] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 132.14–20). Cf. the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 60.8–9; VAIDYA, p. 37.16–17); for an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 62; *Sūtrasamuccaya* (p. 84.4–26). All five cardinal transgressions liable to occur to ministers are enumerated in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* but not in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* and the *Dhūtaguṇanirdeśa* (P, fols. 202b7ff.; D, fols. 166a2ff.; S, vol. 93, pp. 1203.15ff.).

[109] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 60.9–64.13; VAIDYA, pp. 37.17–39.31); for an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 62–68. The eight cardinal transgressions are explicitly enumerated in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* but not in the *Sūtrasamuccaya*. See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 133.1–134.10).

Those with sharp faculties are expected to refrain from all eighteen, while those with medium faculties are to refrain from the four cardinal transgressions mentioned also in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, and those of dull faculty only from the abandonment of *praṇidhicitta*.[110]

(b) The Cardinal Transgressions in the Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition

There are commonly said to be four cardinal transgressions according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition. Candragomin's *Saṃvaraviṃśaka*[111] is given as the scriptural source, which is in turn said to be based on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[112] The four are:[113] (1) praising oneself and disparaging others out of a desire for material gain or admiration, (2) not affording (or giving) teachings and wealth to those who are in need or in pain, (3) beating sentient beings despite pleas by others not to do so, and (4) abandoning Mahāyāna and teaching spurious Buddhist doctrines. The *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs*, however, considers these four to pertain to *prasthānacitta* and analyses them as four in terms of attitude (*kun slong gi sgo nas bzhi*), namely, attachment (*zhen pa*), greediness (*ser na*), fury (*khro ba*), and confusion (*gti mug*), and 'eight in terms of actions' (*sbyor ba'i sgo nas brgyad*), namely, praising oneself, disparaging others, not affording others teachings and wealth, scolding and beating others, and abandoning Mahāyāna and propagating pseudo-doctrines. The four cardinal transgressions pertaining to *praṇidhicitta* are the engaging in the so-called 'four black practices' (*nag po'i chos bzhi*) or the failure to engage in the 'four white practices' (*dkar po'i chos bzhi*).[114] The four black practices are:[115] (1) deceiving those worthy of respect, (2) having regrets about things that are

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[110] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 135.3–17).

[111] *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* (P, fol. 192a1–b8; D, fols. 166b1–167a5; S, vol. 78, pp. 447.1–449.10). The Tibetan text (although not a critical edition) of the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* can be found also in TATZ 1982: 371–372 and an English translation in *ibid.* 369–371 and *id.* 1985: 27–29.

[112] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, pp. 158.2–159.8; DUTT, pp. 108.11–109.2). See the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 138.7–9): *'jug sems kyi mi mthun pa'i phyogs rtsa ba'i ltung bar gyur pa mdo sde na 'thor ba rnams thogs med kyis byang sar bsdus pa....* Explicit references to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* are made by Śāntarakṣita in his *Saṃvaraviṃśakavṛtti* (P, fol. 193a3; D, fol. 167b1; S, vol. 78, p. 451.8–9): *'dis byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa nod pa'i cho ga bstan 'te |* [to || PN] *byang chub sems dpa'i sa las de skad* [ad. du PN] *'byung ba'i phyir ro* ||. See also *ibid.* (P, fol. 198a6; D, fol. 171b7; S, vol. 78, p. 462.17). See also SOBISCH 2002: 91, n. 249. Although I have not been able to consult it for this present study, I should mention here Mark Tatz's study of the *Śīlapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (i.e. Mark Tatz, *Asaṅga's Chapter on Ethics with Tsong-kha-pa's Commentary.* Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press, 1986).

[113] *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* 6–7 (P, fol. 192a5–7; D, fol. 166b4–5; S, vol. 78, p. 448.1–5):

rnyed dang bkur sti chags pa yis ||
bdag bstod gzhan la smod pa dang ||
sdug bsngal mgon med gyur pa la ||
ser snas chos nor mi ster dang ||
gzhan gyis bshags kyang mi nyan par ||
khros nas gzhan la 'tshog pa dang ||
theg pa chen po spong byed cing ||
dam chos 'drar snang ston pa'o ||.

Cf. the verses cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 159a1–6; B, pp. 255.22–256.11) and the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 181b1–3; B, p. 218.4–7). For comments on these verses, see the *Saṃvaraviṃśakavṛtti* (P, fols. 197b2–198a2; D, fol. 171a6–b4; S, vol. 78, pp. 461.8–462.8) and the *Saṃvaraviṃśakapañjikā* (P, fols. 231a2–233a2; D, fols. 200b1–202a4; S, vol. 78, pp. 537.2– 541.5). See also the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 358.24–359.1). For an English translation of the pertinent verses, see TATZ 1982: 370; *id.* 1985: 28, 33–34 (commentary).

[114] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 137.1–138.20).

[115] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 23.1–2):

not regrettable, (3) disparaging sublime personalities, and (4) deceiving sentient beings. The textual source is the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, which is cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. The expressions 'four black practices' and 'four white practices' are, however, not employed in these citations. We shall return to these qualities in chapter eleven.

(c) The Venial Offences in the Two Traditions

The following table contains an enumeration of venial offences:

	Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna Tradition			Maitreya-Asaṅga Tradition	
Venial Offences (*duṣkṛta*)	(a) Disregarding the pain and pleasure of others: 2 (not removing pain and grief of others despite the ability to do so & not engendering well-being and happiness of others despite the ability to do so) x 2 (physical & mental pain) x 2 (pertaining to the present & future) x 3 (striving physically, verbally, and mentally)	24	40	(a) 34 opposed to *kuśala-dharmasaṃgraha*: (i) 7 opposed to *dāna* (ii) 9 opposed to *śīla* (iii) 4 opposed to *kṣānti* (iv) 3 opposed to *vīrya* (v) 3 opposed to *dhyāna* (vi) 8 opposed to *prajñā*	34
	(b) Disregarding the practice: (i) 2 (not engendering small antidotes for greater pain and grief) x 2 (in this & the next life) x 2 (in the continua of oneself & others) = 8 (ii) 2 (letting small prerequisites for greater well-being and happiness decline) x 2 (of this & the next life) x 2 (in the continua of oneself & others) = 8	16		(b) 12 opposed to *sattvārthakriyā*: (i) 4 pertaining to slackening of the effort to strive for the welfare of others (ii) 6 pertaining to having not benefited others (iii) 2 pertaining to not censuring when necessary	12
Total	x 2 (temporarily & permanently)		80		46

The thirty-four lapses opposed to the accumulation of wholesome virtues (*kuśaladharmasaṃgraha*) in the table above are said to be in accordance with the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka*.[116] It is, however, not the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* but Bodhibhadra's commentary that explicitly mentions the number of venial offences, forty-six, indicated above.[117] Concerning the twelve lapses opposed to striving for the welfare of the sentient beings (*sattvārthakriyā*), Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho notes that in the various commentaries the degree of accountability in each case can be classified under one of three possibilities, depending on the underlying cause: (a) If the failing occurs as a result of lack of respect (probably for the precepts and sentient beings) or slothfulness, it is a defiled failing (*nyon mongs pa can gyi nyes pa*); (b) If the failing occurs as a result of forgetfulness, it is an undefiled failing (*nyon mongs pa can ma yin pa'i nyes pa*); (c) If the failing occurs as a result of a disturbed state of mind (*sems 'khrugs pa*), it is, in reality, not a failing, the *bodhisattva* being in such a case innocent.[118]

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mchod 'os bslu dang 'gyod med 'gyod pa bskyed ||
dam par skur 'debs 'gro la g.yo sgyus spyod ||
nag po'i chos bzhi spang zhing ldog pa ni ||
dkar po'i chos bzhi yin pas kun tu spyad ||.

[116] *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* 9–20b (P, fol. 192a7–b7; D, fol. 166b6–167a5; S, vol. 78, pp. 448.7–449.8). These verses are paraphrased in the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 139.1–142.2). For an English translation of the pertinent verses, see TATZ 1982: 370–371; *id.* 1985: 28–29, 34–38 (commentary).

[117] See the *Saṃvaraviṃśakapañjikā* (P, fol. 236a2ff.; D, fols. 204b6ff.; S, vol. 78, pp. 547.14ff.).

Some sources explicitly count the abandonment of *bodhicitta* as one of the four cardinal breaches of the *bodhisattva* vow. Even according to the tradition that does not explicitly count the abandonment of *bodhicitta* as one of the cardinal transgressions, it is contextually clear that loss of it can remove the very foundation upon which all other *bodhisattva* vows are based. In fact, the very existence of a *bodhisattva* hinges on his *bodhicitta*.

17. Reestablishing a Broken Vow in the Two Traditions

Most vows of a *bodhisattva* can either be invalidated or damaged. According to the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition, the vow is completely nullified if the *bodhisattva* loses or renounces his *praṇidhicitta*, which is the whole basis (*rten gzhi*) of his vow, or if he violates or repudiates the vows. Should one of these two occur, the *bodhisattva* is faced with the choice of whether to reestablish the *bodhisattva* vow. If a cardinal transgression other than the abandonment of *praṇidhicitta* occurs, he must apply the appropriate antidote within the following period of four hours (*thun*). Otherwise such a transgression is called a 'transgression whose deadline has expired' (*thun 'das kyi ltung ba*) or a 'transgression [resulting in] deterioration' (*nyams pa'i ltung ba*). A particular restoration procedure is called for in this case.[119] It is said, however, to depend on the person's faculties. A person with weak faculties (*dbang po dman pa*) restores the vow by confessing on the basis of the four strengths (*stobs bzhi*).[120] A person with average faculties (*dbang po 'bring*) restores it by confessing in front of the *bodhisattva* Ākāśagarbha.[121] A person with superior faculties (*dbang po rab*) restores it by confessing verbally before all *buddha*s and *bodhisattva*s in a dream-like manner and by abiding in the meditative state of true reality.[122] Moreover, the recitation of the *Triskandhakasūtra* is recommended for the recovery from venial offences (*duṣkṛta*).[123]

According to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, the primary cause leading to *praṇidhicitta* being abandoned is an unequivocal sense of resignation as far as other sentient beings are concerned, and the secondary cause is the perpetrating of four black practices (*nag po'i chos bzhi*). The abandonment of *praṇidhicitta* would of course automatically entail the abandonment of *prasthānacitta*. According to this tradition, the transgressions are classified under three categories, namely, transgressions caused by fetters (*paryavasthāna*) which are excessive (*adhimātra*), medium (*madhya*), or mild (*mṛdu*).[124] A transgression is major if four criteria are fulfilled, namely, perpetrating the four black practices (a) constantly, (b) shamelessly, (c) with great delight, and (d) indeed even cherishing the quality of such acts. A

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[118] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 141.17–142.2).

[119] *Ibid.* (p. 159.10–17).

[120] *Ibid.* (p. 160.13–19). The four strengths are: the strength of reproaching (one's misdeeds)' (*rnam par sun 'byin pa'i stobs* or *sun 'byin pa'i stobs*), (2) the strength of support (*rten gyi stobs*), including taking refuge in the Three Jewels and not abandoning *bodhicitta*, (3) the strength of applying antidotes (*gnyen po kun tu spyod pa'i stobs*), and (4) the strength of recovering from (one's) transgressions (*sor chud pa'i stobs* or *nyes pa las slar ldog pa'i stobs*). The *Caturdharmakasūtra* cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 160.4–11; VAIDYA, pp. 89.28–90.3) is the common source text on the four strengths. For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 158–159. Of the four, only two are attested in the form of compounds, *āśrayabala* and *pratipattibala*.

[121] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 159.17–160.13).

[122] *Ibid.* (pp. 160.19–161.4).

[123] *Ibid.* (p. 161.4–7).

[124] The three kinds of fetters (*paryavasthāna*) are explicated in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (WOGIHARA, pp. 189.26–181.11; DUTT, p. 124.14–22).

transgression is medium if one of the four criteria is fulfilled and if the *bodhisattva*, being ashamed, gives up his deeds at the suggestion of others. A transgression is minor if one of the four criteria is fulfilled and if the *bodhisattva*, being ashamed, immediately gives up his acts on his own. If a transgression caused by major fetters occurs, a *bodhisattva* invalidates his vow and must take it anew by confessing and by performing acts of purification before at least four *bodhisattva* teachers. The vow, according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, cannot be reassumed more than three times. If a transgression caused by medium fetters occurs, a *bodhisattva* should confess and perform acts of purification before at least three *bodhisattva* teachers. If a transgression caused by minor fetters occurs, a *bodhisattva* should confess before at least one *bodhisattva* teacher. The *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* is here cited as scriptural authority.[125] Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho adds that the vow and the methods of restoring it within the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition are meant for beginners (*las dang po pa*) and are hence very strict.[126]

18. Concluding Remarks

What I have attempted in this chapter is to present the two traditions in terms of their *bodhicitta* doctrine, and particularly in regard to their *bodhicittotpāda* ritual. I have argued that there are two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions in India and tried to describe the way Tibetan scholars have systematised and assessed these two traditions. The two traditions are seen to differ in a number of ways, including the categorical distinctions they make and the scriptural and personal authorities they follow, above all in regard to their ritual procedures, precepts, and definition of transgressions, and in the methods they employ to restore broken vows. I have also tried to show how several Tibetan scholars attempted to harmonise or synthesise the two traditions.

[125] For the methods of restoring vows according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition, see the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (pp. 161.14–163.4).

[126] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 163.4–6).

Chapter Seven

A Typology of *Bodhicitta*

> By seeing the Dharma, one sees the Buddha. By seeing the Buddha, one sees all sentient beings. By seeing all sentient beings, one sees causes and conditions. By seeing causes and conditions, one sees emptiness. Seeing emptiness is not seeing [any phenomenon]. O Illustrious One, not seeing any phenomenon is the correct seeing!
>
> – Subhūti in the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

Anyone who has worked with the concept of *bodhicitta* in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism can easily be baffled by the diverse employment of the term. Although the primary, standard meaning of *bodhicitta* is the resolve (*citta*) to attain the highest state of awakening (*bodhi*), that is, the resolve to become a *buddha*, one sees, particularly in the later tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources, that *bodhicitta* can also mean other, sometimes even unexpected things. For example, *śūnyatā* and *tathāgatagarbha* are referred to as *bodhicitta*. Occasionally, the gnosis or insight of a *bodhisattva* or *buddha* is also referred to as *bodhicitta*. In the tantric systems that contain sexual-yogic practices, the seminal fluids of 'virility' and 'fertility' are designated as *bodhicitta*. In addition, tantric deities such as Kālacakra and Hevajra are called *bodhicitta*.

These facts raise a number of questions: Are these various meanings of *bodhicitta* at all related to each other? Is it sheer coincidence that different things, most of which have nothing to do with the original term and its meaning, are called *bodhicitta*? Are they, that is, related to each other only nominally, and hence can be dismissed as irrelevant to the study of the concept of *bodhicitta*? I for my part believe that the various kinds of *bodhicitta* are doctrinally and historically related to each other, and that a study of *bodhicitta* that does not take all these types into consideration will not be complete. Several modern scholars have

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[1] *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fol. 291a5–7; D, fol. 69b5–6): *chos mthong bas sangs rgyas mthong ngo || sangs rgyas mthong bas sems can thams cad mthong ngo || sems can thams cad mthong bas rgyu dang rkyen mthong ngo || rgyu dang rkyen mthong bas stong pa nyid mthong ngo || stong pa nyid mthong ba ni mthong ba ma mchis pa'o || bcom ldan 'das* [add. gang de ltar T] *chos thams cad ma* [mi T] *mthong ba ni yang dag par* [pa D] *mthong ba'o ||*.

taken note of most types of *bodhicitta*. None of them, however, as far as I can tell, has come up with a typology that can explain their entire spectrum of meaning. I have therefore made an attempt to devise a typology which accounts for the concept of *bodhicitta* in all its phases of historical development and doctrinal usage. The typology proposed here lays no claim to being perfect, and may certainly require much improvement or refinement. Nonetheless, it is hoped that this attempt will stimulate the interest of other scholars working in this field.

2. An Overview of the Five Types of *Bodhicitta*

I have categorised *bodhicitta* under the following types:
(a) ethico-spiritual
(b) gnoseological
(c) ontological
(d) psycho-physiological
(e) semeiological

I shall first of all explain what I mean by these terms: (a) 'Ethico-spiritual' *bodhicitta* is the idea of *bodhicitta* in its most basic sense, that is, the resolve to become a *buddha* out of compassion or altruism, that is, for the sake of other sentient beings. It is only in this sense that the word *bodhicitta* can be translated as 'resolve [to strive] for awakening.' Unless specified otherwise, the term in this study has been employed primarily with this meaning. (b) Occasionally knowledge (*vidyā: rig pa*), discriminating insight (*prajñā: shes rab*), or meditative insight or gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*) is considered to be *bodhicitta*. I call such a type of *bodhicitta* characterised by cognitive insight 'gnoseological' *bodhicitta*. (c) By 'ontological *bodhicitta*,' I mean the concept of *bodhicitta* in its deepest sense, that is, cases in which the very ultimate reality or 'being as such' (i.e. *śūnyatā*, *tathatā*, *dharmadhātu*, *bhūtakoṭi*, etc.) is considered to be *bodhicitta*.[2] (d) By 'psycho-physiological' *bodhicitta* I mean 'semen' (*śukra: khu ba*) and occasionally also female 'blood' (*śoṇita* or *rakta: khrag*), referred to as 'white' and 'red' *bodhicitta*, respectively, and closely associated with the sensation of ecstasy or bliss (*sukha: bde ba*). (e) 'Semeiological' *bodhicitta* denotes a visual, vocal (verbal) or visional sign or symbol which expresses one or more of the four preceding types of *bodhicitta*. I have borrowed the term 'semeiological' from semiotics or the study or science of signs. Unlike in semiotics, however, I make no distinction between sign and symbol. Although semeiological *bodhicitta*, as a representative of the other four types, is not exactly on a par with them, it can nonetheless be considered a 'type' of *bodhicitta* because it, like psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, is conceived of as an effective means of access to gnoseological *bodhicitta*, and in a certain sense even as a visual, verbal, or visionary expression of ontological *bodhicitta* itself.

Since I have not been able to locate any Indian source that suggests these five types of *bodhicitta* in one place, I shall present here a translation of a passage from Rong-zom-pa's commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, which seems to do so:[3]

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[2] As for my preferring the term ontological to the term metaphysical, see the *EB* (s.v. *ontology*) where ontology is described as "the theory or study of being as such; i.e., of the basic characteristics of all reality," and where it is also stated that "though the term was first coined in the 17th century, ontology is synonymous with metaphysics or 'first philosophy' as defined by Aristotle in the 4th century BC. Because metaphysics came to include other studies (e.g. philosophical cosmology and psychology), ontology has become the preferred term for the study of being."

[3] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 111a5–b1; B, p. 144.2–5): *de la spyir byang chub sems zhes bya ba stong pa nyid dang snying rje 'brel ba la yang 'jug | dbyings dang ye shes gnyis su med pa'i don ma nor ba rtogs pa'i rig pa 'byung ba la yang 'jug | sems kyi rang bzhin ji bzhin pa la yang 'jug ste | de'i rtags kyi phyag rgya dang sgor gyur pa ni lhag pa'i byang chub sems so ||*.

> The term *bodhicitta* is generally employed [1] [to designate] the union of emptiness (*śūnyatā: stong pa nyid*) and compassion (*karuṇā: snying rje*). [2] [It is] also employed [to designate] the arising of knowledge (*vidyā: rig pa*) of properly realising the reality consisting in the oneness of the sphere [of reality] (*dhātu: dbyings*) and gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*). [3] [It is] also employed [to designate] the nature of mind as it actually is. [4] The symbolical signs (*mudrā: phyag rgya*) corresponding to these and [5] the means of access [to them] are called 'surplus *bodhicitta*' (**adhibodhicitta: lhag pa'i byang chub kyi sems*).

Broadly speaking, one can describe most types of *bodhicitta* as being characterised by the union of emptiness and compassion. However, in the passage above, the expression is obviously employed in a narrow sense to refer to only ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, and thus the first three types mentioned there seem to correspond to our ethico-spiritual, gnoseological and ontological *bodhicitta*, respectively. The fourth and fifth, which Rong-zom-pa designates collectively as **adhibodhicitta*, can be perhaps equated with our semeiological and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, respectively. As for the term **adhibodhicitta*, I have not been able to trace it in Indian sources. It is, however, obvious from the context that it does not mean 'superior *bodhicitta*' but rather 'surplus *bodhicitta*.' In any case, the last two types of *bodhicitta* are, for Rong-zom-pa, obviously not on the same level as the first three types.

3. Ethico-Spiritual *Bodhicitta*

The term *bodhicitta* is primarily understood in its ethico-spiritual sense, that is, as an earnest, compassion-driven wish to become a *buddha*, which is unique to Mahāyāna or the *bodhisattva* doctrine. Whether *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* is mind per se (*citta: sems*) or a mental derivative (*caitasika* or *caitta: sems las byung ba*) has been spiritedly argued over in India and Tibet. Some scholars have maintained that it is a principal mind and some a mental derivative or factor. Others have attempted to resolve the issue by contending that a mind and its mental factors, as a rule, never arise in isolation from each other, and thus the two positions are not contradictory. Accordingly, this would mean that *bodhicitta* possesses components of both mind and the mental factors. Indeed we have seen in the second chapter that ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* should be viewed as possessing conative, cognitive, and emotive forces corresponding to the elements of will (*chanda: 'dun pa*), discriminative insight (*prajñā: shes rab*), and compassion (*karuṇā: snying rje*), respectively.

An attempt was made in chapter three to present a number of factors that could have contributed to the conception of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*. The idea of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* in its early historical phase was probably limited to the initial resolve to become a *buddha*, but in the course of time not only the altruistic inclination (*āśaya: bsam pa*) but also the actual undertaking (*prayoga: sbyor ba*), including the spiritual practice of the six perfections (*pāramitā: pha rol tu phyin pa*), came to be regarded as part of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda*. Such a development doubtless went hand in hand with subclassifying it into various double sets, namely, into the resolve characterised by aspiration (*praṇidhicitta: smon pa'i sems*) and the resolve characterised by (or present during) the act of setting out (*prasthānacitta: 'jug pa'i sems*); into generation of the resolve that is gestural (or indicatory) (*sāṃketikacittotpāda: brdar btags pa'i sems bskyed*) and generation of the resolve that is actual or ultimate (*pāramārthikacittotpāda: don dam pa'i sems bskyed*); or into conventional *bodhicitta* (*saṃvṛtibodhicitta: kun rdzob kyi byang chub kyi sems*) and absolute *bodhicitta* (*pāramārthikabodhicitta: don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems*). Such a traditional classification of *bodhicitta* would accommodate not only ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* but the proposed ontological and gnoseological types of *bodhicitta* as well. Attempts were obviously also made to interpret entire theories and practices, including the paths and attainments of a *bodhisattva*, in terms of *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda*.

Ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* remains essential even in highly developed forms of tantric Buddhism. However, the underlying idea of it may vary according to the soteriological model followed; that is, the notion of the resolve to 'become' a *buddha* is no longer applicable in a system that presupposes that all sentient beings already 'possess' the Buddha Nature or 'are' already *buddha*s. In such cases, one resolves merely to 'expose' the *buddha* within or to 'recognise' one's state of being a *buddha*.[4]

4. Gnoseological *Bodhicitta*

It is not possible to do full justice here to such a weighty topic as gnosis, upon which the concept of gnoseological *bodhicitta* is largely based. What I shall merely attempt instead is to explain what I mean by gnoseological *bodhicitta* and to discuss some of its potential synonyms or near synonyms, its salient features and the question regarding who actually possesses it. In addition, the idea that gnosis exists in the body—particularly relevant to psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*—and the different modes of its emergence as propounded in some rNying-ma sources will be presented.

(a) What Gnoseological *Bodhicitta* Is

One may say in general that a Buddhist saint is primarily defined by gnosis (*jñāna: ye shes*). It is, however, necessary to determine an exact relationship between gnosis itself and gnoseological *bodhicitta*. Not all kinds of gnosis will be regarded here as gnoseological *bodhicitta*. If no qualitative difference is recognised between the gnosis of a *śrāvaka* saint, *pratyekabuddha*, and a *buddha*, one could, theoretically and retrospectively, designate the gnosis of non-Mahāyāna saints as gnoseological *bodhicitta*, but I see no benefit in doing so, because, in the first place, the term *bodhicitta* is not applicable to non-Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nor should the so-called 'subsequently obtained gnosis' (*pṛṣṭhalabdhajñāna: rjes las thob pa'i shes*)—that is, gnosis which is present only during the post-meditative state of a *bodhisattva* who has gained direct meditative access to reality, or ontological *bodhicitta*—be considered gnoseological *bodhicitta*. In some specific non-tantric Mahāyāna sources (such as the literature dealing with the *tathāgatagarbha* theory) and related tantric sources, gnosis is conceived of as being immanent or innately present in all sentient beings. Such gnosis in a subliminal state will not be regarded as gnoseological *bodhicitta* either, but rather as the ontological type. In short, by gnoseological *bodhicitta* I mean a kind of gnosis, be it generated or merely exposed, that has ontological *bodhicitta* as its veritable and immediate object. A subject-object dichotomy is, however, not posited.

(b) Some Synonyms of Gnoseological *Bodhicitta*

There are several references where *bodhicitta* is understood in its gnoseological sense. For example, in the commentaries of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, what is known as absolute *bodhicitta* in the traditional sources is defined in its gnoseological sense, and concretely as non-conceptual gnosis (*nirvikalpajñāna: rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes*). Likewise, the *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* explains that *bodhicitta* is a 'diamond-like gnosis,' which cognises all phenomena correctly.[5] In one tantric commentary, the knowledge of the non-substantiality of

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[4] See, for example, the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 152a5–6; D, fol. 162b5):

bdag cag mtha' yas sems can rnams ||
don gyi sangs rgyas yin mod kyang ||
rtog pa'i dbang gyis 'khor ba la ||
byang chub mchog tu sems bskyed do ||.

phenomena (*dharmanairātmya: chos kyi bdag med pa*) is also identified as *bodhicitta* in its gnoseological sense.[6] In some other tantric sources, the mirror-like gnosis seems to be equated with *bodhicitta*.[7] In the *Madhyamakapradīpa*, the self-arisen gnosis (*svayaṃbhūjñāna: rang byung gi ye shes*) is apparently used in apposition to *bodhicitta* in its gnoseological sense.[8]

Not only *bodhicitta* but also any term in Mahāyāna that is understood in a gnoseological sense can be regarded as a synonym of it. In the non-tantric Mahāyāna, so long as terms such as *bodhi*, *buddha*, *prajñāpāramitā*, and *madhyama pratipat* imply a veritable non-conceptual gnosis that cognises true reality (i.e. *śūnyatā*, *tathatā*, etc.), they can be equated with gnoseological *bodhicitta*. In the tantric context, too, several terms that denote direct cognition of true reality, such as the term *tantra* itself, can be considered synonyms of gnoseological *bodhicitta*.

(c) Some Salient Features of Gnoseological *Bodhicitta*

The concept of gnoseological *bodhicitta* is based on the general Buddhist notion that the actual soteriological breakthrough comes in the form of an intellectual event, gnosis, and not an emotional one, no matter how positive, such as benevolence (*maitrī: byams pa*)—a point which has been explicated by the Buddhist logician Dharmakīrti.[9] It is one's view of or insight into *śūnyatā*, then, which actually releases one from the fetters of *saṃsāra*.[10] This notion of release upon seeing true reality is found in several Mahāyāna sources, such as the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* and *Ratnagotravibhāga*.[11] According to the *Hevajratantra*, one is called

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[5] *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* (P, fol. 461a3–4; D, fol. 122b3; S, vol. 18, p. 1099.7–8): *de la byang chub sems ni stong pa chen po rdo rje lta bu'i ye shes te | chos thams cad phyin ci ma log par lhag par rtogs pa'i phyir ro ||*.

[6] *Caturaṅgasādhanaṭīkā* (P, fol. 283b7–8; D, fol. 8b6–7; S, vol. 22, p. 20.11–13): *rdzogs pa'i byang chub sems ni zhes bya ba ni rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi rang bzhin du zhugs pa'i byang chub kyi sems te chos bdag med par shes pa zhes bya ba'i don to ||*.

[7] *Vairocanayamāryabhisamaya* (P, fol. 79b3–4; D, fol. 65a6; S, vol. 24, p. 197.5–7):

sangs rgyas rdo rje rtag pa'i dpal ||
me long ye shes byang chub sems ||
'od gsal rdo rje kun zhi ba ||
gti mug rdo rje la phyag 'tshal ||.

See also Buddhaguhya's **Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantrabhāṣya* (P, fol. 92a2–3; D, fols. 76b7–77a1; S, vol. 35, p. 208.10–11): *de bzhin du gzhung gzhan las kyang | ye shes bzhi las mnyam pa nyid kyi ye shes ni byang chub kyi sems su bshad ||*.

[8] See n. 86.

[9] *Pramāṇavārttika* 1.211–212:

ātmagrahaikayonitvāt kāryakāraṇabhāvataḥ |
rāgapratighayor bādhā bhede'pi na parasparam |
mohāvirodhān maitryādeḥ nā'tyantaṃ doṣanigrahaḥ |
tanmūlāś ca malāḥ sarve sa ca satkāyadarśanam ||.

For a German translation and detailed notes, see VETTER 1990: 111–114.

[10] *Pramāṇavārttika* 1.253ab: *muktis tu śūnyatādṛṣṭes tadarthāḥ śeṣabhāvanāḥ ||*; VETTER 1990: 147. Cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1977: 298 (English translation), 309, n. 104 (text); *Pramāṇavārttika* 1.214cd: *virodhaḥ śūnyatādṛṣṭeḥ sarvadoṣaiḥ prasidhyati |*; VETTER 1990: 115. Cf. the **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *tsi*, fol. 13a7–b1; D, vol. *tsi*, fol. 11a7–b1; S, vol. 72, p. 27.13–15): *bsam gtan gyis nyon mongs pa ''jil bar'* ['di la par D] *byed pa tsam du zad de | nyon mongs pa rtsa ba nas mi 'byin gyi | shes rab kyis nyon mongs pa rtsa ba nas 'byin te |*.

[11] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 5. 21; *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.154:

nāpaneyam ataḥ kiṃcid upaneyaṃ na kiṃcana |

a *buddha* because of one's understanding of phenomena.[12] The *Caturdevīparipṛcchātantra* states that all the 84,000 teachings of the Buddha will be fruitless if one does not know true reality.[13] Correct cognition always seems to imply the notion of knowing true reality without superimposition (*adhyāropa/samāropa: sgro 'dogs pa*) or depreciation (*apavāda: skur ba 'debs pa*), although here too the concept of superimposition and depreciation differs from system to system.

Since a detailed analysis of the salient features of gnoseological *bodhicitta* is not possible here, I shall merely summarise them as follows: (1) Gnoseological *bodhicitta* is non-conceptual (*nirvikalpa: rnam par mi rtog pa*) by nature. (2) It is undefiled (*anāsrava: zag pa med pa*). It is no longer subject to the ills of *saṃsāra*. (3) It is a direct yogic perception and hence a valid cognition (*pramāṇa: tshad ma*). Thus it neither superimposes qualities on its object nor denies it the ones it has. In other words, it is fully objective. (4) It is born of meditation (*bhāvanāmaya: sgom pa las byung ba*), that is, the combined practice of quietude (*śamatha: zhi gnas*) and superior insight (*vipaśyanā: lhag mthong*). (5) It has ontological *bodhicitta* as its object and is free from the subject-object dichotomy.[14] (6) Its has a soteriological impact on the person who possesses it. (7) It is by nature stronger than the factors opposed to it,[15] and thus never succumbs to them. (8) Its soteriological effect is irreversible. (9) It destroys the very foundations of immoral attitudes and actions. Thus a person who possesses it is incapable of deliberately inflicting pain on others. (10) It is the only means of access to ontological *bodhicitta*. Without it, ontological *bodhicitta* will never be experienced as a spiritual event.

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draṣṭavyaṃ bhūtato bhūtaṃ bhūtadarśī vimucyate ||.

See also the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 102.11–12); the *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdaya* (P, fol. 166a5–6; D, fol. 146b6; S, vol. 57, p. 403.4–6); *Pratītyasamutpādahṛdayavyākhyāna* (P, fol. 168b2–3; D, fol. 149a1–2; S, vol. 57, p. 410.7–9); *Abuddhabodhaka* (P, fol. 169b4–5; D, fol. 150a2; S, vol. 57, p. 414.15–17); *Madhyamakapradīpa* (P, fol. 354b1–2; D, fol. 281a5–6; S, vol. 57, p. 1542.4–5); Candraharipāda's *Ratnamālā* (P, fol. 69b5–6; D, fol. 71b3; S, vol. 63, p. 1046.12–14); SEYFORT RUEGG 1973: 132, n. 1. Cf. also the *Rin chen bkod pa'i rgyud* (pp. 854.7–855.1):

mtha' bral ye shes phyogs cha bral ||
gzung 'dzin rtog pa ka nas dag ||
yang dag nyid la yang dag lta ||
yang dag mthong na rnam par grol ||.

[12] *Hevajratantra* 2.2.37b: *buddho 'haṃ vastubodhanād* |; *Marmakalikāpañjikā* (p. 8.4–5). Cf. *Hevajratantra* 1.1.11ab: *badhyante bhāvabandhena mucyante tatparijñayā* |; *Marmakalikāpañjikā* (p. 7.21): *bhāva eva paraṃ mitraṃ bhāva eva paraṃ ripuḥ* |; *ibid.* (p. 7.19).

[13] *Caturdevīparipṛcchātantra*, as cited in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 2.9–10):

caturaśītisāhasre dharmaskandhe mahāmuneḥ |
tattvaṃ vai ye na jānanti sarve te niṣphalāya vai ||.

[14] See also *Acintyastava* 50:

jñāne sati yathā jñeyaṃ jñeye jñānaṃ tathā sati |
yatrobhayam anutpannam iti buddhaṃ tadāsti kim ||.

See LINDTNER 1997: 29. Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 341b4; D, fol. 292b5–6; S, vol. 64, p. 810.6–7):

dus rnams kun du de bzhin gshegs pa ni ||
dbyings dang ye shes gnyis med rang bzhin gyis ||
chos kyi sku ste....

This verse is apparently a quotation.

[15] For an analogy drawn with eliminating darkness through light, see, for example, Kāṇha's *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 137.5–8): *nanu sāgaropamād vipakṣarāśeḥ kathaṃ devatāyogamātrāt samuttaraṇaṃ* | *yathā giriguhāyāṃ sakṛd jvalito vahniḥ* | *cirakālam upacitaṃ tamasskandham upahanti* | *tathāyam api nairātmāhevajrabhāvanāviśeṣa iti bhāvaḥ* |.

(d) Who Possesses Gnoseological *Bodhicitta*?

The question regarding who possesses gnoseological *bodhicitta* is tantamount to the complicated Indian and Tibetan issue of who realises the non-substantiality of phenomena (*dharmanairātmya: chos kyi bdag med pa*), or in other words, to the issue regarding whether the *śrāvaka* saints and *pratyekabuddha*s realise *dharmanairātmya*, a question that is answered differently in different scriptures and systems. In keeping with my definition of gnoseological *bodhicitta*, it will be argued that only those *bodhisattva*s (including tantric yogins) who have direct access to true reality as defined in the Mahāyāna—that is, *bodhisattva*s who have at least attained the path of seeing (*darśanamārga: mthong ba'i lam*)—will be regarded as bearers of gnoseological *bodhicitta*.

Two different viewpoints traceable in certain Mahāyāna sources may prima facie suggest that *bodhicitta* is common to all Buddhist saints. The first one is that *śrāvaka* saints, *pratyekabuddha*s, *bodhisattva*s, and *buddha*s arise from *bodhicitta*. It can be assumed that *bodhicitta* in such a context is to be understood in its ethico-spiritual sense. The second viewpoint is that Buddhist sainthood is possible only through realisation of *bodhicitta*, obviously here understood in its ontological sense. According to this position, one who does not realise *bodhicitta* even to the smallest degree has not the slightest chance to attain release (*mokṣa: thar pa*).[16] Both of these viewpoints may be used to argue that all Buddhist saints indeed possess both ethico-spiritual and gnoseological *bodhicitta*.

Nonetheless, a closer look at the explanation of the first point of view reveals that ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* is not attributed to all Buddhist saints. It is not presupposed that *śrāvaka* saints and *pratyekabuddha*s must generate ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* in order to attain their soteriological goal. The rationale behind such a perception is that ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* gives rise to a *bodhisattva*, a *bodhisattva* to a *buddha*, and a *buddha* to *śrāvaka* saints and *pratyekabuddhas*, and hence the origin of all Buddhist saints can be traced back to ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*.[17] This is, of course, by no means the same as contending that one must generate ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* to become, for instance, a *śrāvaka* saint. In the Prajñāpāramitā systems, all Buddhist saints are born from the Prajñāpāramitā[18]—a position

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[16] Mañjuśrīmitra, *Bodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fol. 2b1–3; D, fol. 2a1–2; S, vol. 33, p. 810.3–7); *Bodhicittabhāvanānirdeśa* (P, fol. 57a2–b2; D, fol. 46a5–b3; S, vol. 33, pp. 184.12–185.9).

[17] *Vajraśikharatantra* (T, fol. 120a7–b2; D, fol. 230b2–4):
byang chub sems ni ma rtogs par ||
thog ma med ldan 'khor ba las ||
'byung ba cung zad yod ma yin ||
nyan thos dang ni rang rgyal dang ||
byang chub sems dpa'i rnam 'phrul ni ||
byang chub kyi ni sems med par ||
'gas kyang mya ngan 'da' mi nus ||
gal te sangs rgyas 'byung med na ||
nyan thos dag ni ga las 'byung [byung D] ||
sangs rgyas 'byung ba yod min na ||
rang rgyal de ni 'byung mi 'gyur ||
gal te byang chub sems dpa' med ||
sangs rgyas rnams ni gang las 'byung ||.
Cf. also *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.1 (p. 1.12–15):
nyan thos sangs rgyas 'bring rnams thub dbang skyes ||
sangs rgyas byang chub sems dpa' las 'khrungs shing ||
snying rje'i sems dang gnyis su med blo dang ||
byang chub sems ni rgyal sras rnams kyi rgyu ||.
See also the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (pp. 2.1–7.14).

[18] Cf. *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (p. 6.19–20).

which is prone to all kinds of interpretations and is bitterly disputed in Tibet. Similarly, for Mañjuśrīmitra, all Buddhist saints arise from the realisation of (ontological) *bodhicitta*,[19] but this does not mean that all those who realise ontological *bodhicitta* automatically become *bodhisattva*s. For him, realisation of (ontological) *bodhicitta* to a small, medium, or great degree gives rise to a small, medium, or great degree of soteriological attainment, respectively. One who does not realise it at all will not attain even the least soteriological goal. Mañjuśrīmitra has, in this way, clearly attempted to reinterpret the entire non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna Buddhist soteriology in terms of ontological and gnoseological *bodhicitta*. Thus, for him, it would be correct to maintain that a *śrāvaka* saint possesses a small dose of gnoseological *bodhicitta*, a *pratyekabuddha* an intermediate dose, and a Mahāyāna saint a greater dose still.

(e) Gnosis as Abiding in the Body

The idea that gnosis abides in the body is widespread, and is particularly interesting in the context of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. The underlying reason seems to be this: Gnosis can be elicited from the body by manipulating the latter skilfully, just as oil and butter can be gained from sesame and milk, respectively, inasmuch as gnosis pervades the body.[20] The idea of gnosis abiding in the body can be found in several Mahāyāna sources. For example, the *Dharmadhātustava* attributed to one Nāgārjuna states:[21]

> For example, in a container
> Water is mixed with milk;
> A swan drinks the milk
> And the water remains as it is.
> Similarly, gnosis abides in the body
> Wrapped in *kleśa*s;
> A yogin receives the gnosis
> And the ignorant one rejects [it].

According to the *Hevajratantra*, the great gnosis abiding in the body is devoid of all conceptual thought; it abides in the body and yet is not born in it.[22] The *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* cites two verses (apparently a rough citation from the *Dharmadhātustava*), which state:[23]

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[19] Cf. also *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 5.5–8.

[20] Cf. the *Tattvasaṃgrahapañjikā* ad 2843–2846 (vol. 2, p. 639.8–9; also cited in *TSD*, s.v. *til mar*): *na hy asanto vyomakusumādayaḥ kvacid api śakyante kartum, sikatāsu vā tailam* |. Note, however, the context. For an English translation, see JHA 1937/39: 1284.

[21] *Dharmadhātustava* (P, fol. 76a2–3; D, fol. 66a2–3; S, vol. 1, pp. 183.19–184.2):
ji ltar 'o ma dang 'dres chu ||
snod gcig la [na DC] *ni gnas pa las* ||
ngang pas [pa DC] *'o ma 'thung byed cing* ||
chu ni ma yin de bzhin gnas ||
de bzhin nyon mongs kyis g.yogs nas ||
ye shes lus 'dir gcig gnas kyang ||
rnal 'byor pa yis ye shes len ||
mi shes pa ni 'dor bar byed ||.

[22] *Hevajratantra* 1.1.12:
dehasthaṃ ca mahājñānaṃ sarvasaṃkalpavarjitaṃ |
vyāpakaḥ sarvavastūnāṃ dehastho 'pi na dehajaḥ ||.

[23] Cited in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 61.7–10):
yathā dīpo ghaṭāntaḥstho bāhye naivāvabhāsate |

For example, a lamp inside a pot
Will not shine outside [the pot];
But if that pot is broken,
The flame of the lamp will then shine.
In the same way, one's body is like a pot,
And reality is like a lamp;
If [the former is] broken completely by the master's organ of speech,
The gnosis of a *buddha* will become manifest.[24]

In some sources, it is said that also the Prajñāpāramitā exists in the body.[25] The *Guhyasiddhi* states that the supreme pure gnosis that exists in one's body can be realised with effort, by the grace of a master.[26] In the *Caturdevīparipṛcchātantra*, the role of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* in the evolution of the psycho-physical world is underscored.[27] All elements are called *dharmadhātu*, and from them arises what is apparently psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. The *Yogaratnamālā* states that there is no bliss without physicality and no physicality without bliss.[28] According to the *Hevajratantra*, ecstasy (or inexplicable bliss) and gnosis should arise from within.[29]

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bhinne tu tad ghaṭe paścād dīpajvālābhibhāsate ||
svakāya eva hi ghaṭo dīpa eva hi tattvakam |
guruvaktreṇa saṃbhinne buddhajñānaṃ sphuṭaṃ bhavet ||.

Cf. the *Dharmadhātustava* (P, fol. 73b2–4; D, fol. 64a1–2; S. vol. 1, pp. 178.10–179.4).

[24] Cf. Vanaratna in his *Rahasyadīpikā* (p. 85.17–18): ... *saṃvṛtam api suviśuddhadharmadhātujñānaṃ svadehe sthitaṃ vadanti buddhā iti....* The Tibetan translation (pp. 151.12–152.2): *kun rdzob tu yang rang gi lus la gnas pa'i ye shes chen po ni shin tu rnam par dag pa'i ye shes su sangs rgyas rnams gsung bar mdzad do zhes bya ba...*) presupposes °*suviśuddhajñānaṃ mahājñānaṃ*°.

[25] As cited by Vanaratna in his *Rahasyadīpikā* (p. 50.5): *prajñāparamitā hy etāḥ śarīre saṃvyavasthitāḥ* |.

[26] *Guhyasiddhi* 1.31 (p. 8.5–6):
tad viditvā prayatnena svadehe saṃvyavasthitam |
bodhicittaṃ paraṃ śuddhaṃ gurupādaprasādataḥ ||.

[27] *Caturdevīparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 257b3–5; D, fol. 280a4–6):
gzugs dang sgra dang dri dang ni ||
de bzhin ro dang reg la sogs ||
khams bco [bcwa D] *brgyad po de dag kyang* ||
chos kyi dbyings zhes bya 'ba 'o' [ba'o D] ||
de dag nyid las byung ba ni ||
byang chub sems zhes shes par bya ||
byang chub sems las gong bu skye ||
gong bu las kyang yid skyed do ||
yid las nam mkha'i khams kyang ni ||
khams rnams dang ni skye mched rnams ||
dbang po phung po 'byung ba rnams ||
de ltar dbyings su bsdus [bsdu T] *pa ste* ||
bsdu ba de ni bstan byas pa ||
chos kyi dbyings kyi sgrub pa yin ||.

[28] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 139.14–15): *yathā sukhaṃ vinā na dehādi, tadvad dehaṃ vināpi na tad iti* |.

[29] *Hevajratantra* 2.5.70a-d:
paścād utpadyate jñānaṃ kumarīsurataṃ yathā |
kim apy utpadyate tatra mūrkhasya hi svapnaṃ yathā ||.

(f) The Three Modes of Emergence Open to Gnosis

Kuddālapāda, one of the eighty-four *mahāsiddhas*, states in his *Acintyādvayakramopadeśa*:[30]

> Gnosis, a great mystery comprising insight [and] efficient strategy,
> Having compassion [and other] inconceivable characteristics,
> [And] beyond [expression] by verbal means,
> Arises on its own [spontaneously].

Some rNying-ma sources, such as Mi-pham's *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (which is apparently based on much older sources), allude to three modes of emergence open to gnosis (*ye shes 'char lugs gsum*), namely, (a) the emergence of gnosis posteriorly (*ye shes chen po rgyab nas 'char ba*), (b) the emergence of gnosis anteriorly (*ye shes chen po mdun nas*), and (c) the emergence of gnosis interiorly (*ye shes chen po khong nas 'char ba*). To put the concept of gnosis and gnoseological *bodhicitta* into perspective, a translation of the pertinent passage from the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* is presented here. Firstly, the posterior emergence of gnosis is described as follows:[31]

> The mode of emergence of gnosis pertaining to the three causal vehicles of characteristics (**lakṣaṇayāna*) is called the 'emergence of great gnosis posteriorly.' How does it come about? It is maintained that just like the emergence of a reflection upon the clearing up of turbid water, omniscience [emerges] upon one's becoming a *buddha* at the [eleventh] stage of 'Total Radiance' (*samantaprabhā*) at the end of the ten stages and after the dregs of conceptuality, consisting of intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*), have been gradually cleared away. Because such a gnosis is said to arise after three countless aeons and so forth, [the arising of gnosis according to these three systems] is called the 'emergence of gnosis posteriorly.'

Secondly, regarding the emergence of gnosis anteriorly, the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* states:[32]

> [According to the] three outer tantric systems of the Mantra[yāna], it is called the 'emergence of great gnosis anteriorly.' That is to say, [according to these systems], the Victorious Ones, comprising three or five families (*kula*), together with their entourage—[all] residing at present in Akaniṣṭha—are invited and seated in front of the space [above oneself] and elsewhere, and then after homage is paid and the [appropriate] offerings are made, the tantric attainments (*siddhi*) are received. Thus the view [of these tantric systems] is that tantric attainments are bestowed by these deities. And because the way of those who maintain that the ultimate result is achieved in seven or sixteen human life spans and so forth is swifter—as far as achieving the result is concerned—than the causal vehicles of characteristics, due to the employment of profound methods of producing a favourable constellation of oneself, deities, and substances, [the arising of gnosis according to these three systems] is called the 'emergence of great gnosis anteriorly.'

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[30] *Acintyādvayakramopadeśa* 2 (p. 195.5–6):
prajñopāyam mahāguhyaṃ karuṇācintyalakṣaṇam |
svayam utpadyate jñānaṃ vākpathātītagocaram ||.
Cf. also *ibid.* 15 (p. 196.15–16).

[31] *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (pp. 43.6–44.3): *rgyu mtshan nyid kyi theg pa gsum gyi ye shes 'char lugs ni ye shes chen po rgyab nas 'char ba zhes bya ste* | *ji ltar na chu rnyogs pa dwangs pa las gzugs brnyan 'char ba ltar rnam par mi rtog pa la yun ring gnas par byas pas rim gyis nyon mongs pa'i rnam rtog snyigs ma dwangs nas sa bcu'i mthar kun tu 'od kyi sa la sangs rgyas nas thams cad mkhyen par 'dod pa ni* | *ye shes de lta bu bskal pa grangs med gsum sogs nas phyis 'byung bar 'dod pas ye shes rgyab nas 'char ba zhes bya'o* ||.

[32] *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (p. 44.3–5): *sngags phyi rgyud sde gsum ni ye shes chen po mdun nas 'char ba zhes bya ste* | *da lta nyid du 'og min na bzhugs pa'i rgyal ba rigs gsum mam rigs lnga 'khor bcas spyan drangs te mdun mkha' sogs su bzhugs pa la phyag 'tshal zhing mchod pa phul la dngos grub nod par byas pas lha des dngos grub ster bar lta zhing* | *bdag dang lha dang rdzas kyi rten 'brel zab mo'i thabs kyis bsgrub* [= sgrub?] *pas* | *mi tshe bdun dang bcu drug la sogs pas mthar thug gi 'bras bu 'grub par 'dod pa de dag gi lam rgyud mtshan nyid kyi theg pa las 'bras bu thob pa la myur ba'i phyir ye shes mdun nas 'char ba zhes bya'o* ||.

Thirdly, the emergence of gnosis interiorly is described as follows: [33]

> [According to] the three vehicles of means (**upāyayāna*) of the inner Mantra[yāna], [the arising of gnosis] is called the 'emergence of great gnosis interiorly.' Because no phenomenon [ever] diverges from the nature of self-arisen gnosis (*svayaṃbhūjñāna*), [gnosis] becomes manifest in this very lifetime, there being no need to seek [the state of] a *buddha* elsewhere, for the state of one's own mind abides in the nature of the great bliss. Thus [the arising of gnosis in these three systems] is called the 'emergence of gnosis from the interior.'

I have not been able to locate any Indian source for such an idea.

5. Ontological *Bodhicitta*

In the following few paragraphs, an attempt will be made to explain the concept of ontological *bodhicitta*. The term *bodhicitta* is very pregnant and expressive, particularly if one thinks of Buddhism as a '*bodhi*-oriented religion' or as a '*citta*-oriented religion.' As has already been pointed out, the compound *bodhicitta* allows fundamentally of two interpretations: (1) as *citta* that is aimed at the attainment of *bodhi* and (2) as *citta* which is characterised by *bodhi* (or *citta* which is in essence *bodhi*). The latter understanding of the compound combined with the philosophical reflection on the deeper meanings of *citta* and *bodhi* may have contributed to the formation of the idea of ontological *bodhicitta*. For example, the *Bhadrapālasūtra* explicitly states that one's own *citta* is in essence *bodhi*.[34] Similarly, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* states:[35]

> *Bodhi* is the complete knowledge of one's *citta* just as it is.

In other Vajrayāna contexts, *bodhicitta* is explicitly explained as *citta* characterised by *bodhi*.[36] The *Kosalālaṃkāra* states that it is because it is both *bodhi* and *citta* that it is called *bodhicitta* (implying that the compound has been taken as a *karmadhāraya*).[37] This is also primarily the stance taken in the rDzogs-chen system.[38] In addition, the words *bodhi* and *citta* can be employed conveniently in a number of ways to express pithily various aspects of Mahāyāna philosophy. For example, *bodhi* is nothing other than the correct knowledge of one's *citta* or its nature. One should seek one's *bodhi* in one's *citta*. One should recognise

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[33] *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (pp. 44.6–45.1): *sngags nang pa thabs kyi theg pa gsum ni ye shes chen po khong nas 'char ba zhes bya ste | chos thams cad rang byung gi ye shes bdag nyid chen po'i ngang las ma 'das pas na | rang gi sems nyid bde ba chen po'i de nyid la gnas bzhin du sangs rgyas gzhan du tshol mi dgos pa tshe 'di nyid la mngon du 'char bas na ye shes khong nas 'char ba zhes bya'o ||*.

[34] *Bhadrapālasūtra* (p. 37.13–20):

sems kyis sangs rgyas byed pa ste ||
sems nyid kyis kyang mthong ba 'o ||
sems nyid nga yi sangs rgyas te ||
sems nyid de bzhin gshegs pa 'o ||
sems nyid nga yi lus yin te ||
sangs rgyas sems kyis mthong ba 'o ||
sems nyid nga yi byang chub ste ||
sems nyid rang bzhin med pa 'o ||.

[35] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, as cited in the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 38.11–12): *svacittasya 'yathābhūtaṃ parijñānaṃ'*[a] *bodhiḥ* |. [a] Perhaps to be read as a compound.

[36] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 125.33–34): *bodhisvabhāvaṃ cittaṃ bodhicittaṃ* |.

[37] *Kosalālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 23b1; D, fol. 20b6; S, vol. 28, p. 50.6–7): *byang chub kyang yin la sems kyang yin pas na byang chub kyi sems te* [ta P] |.

[38] *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 56b1–2; B, p. 477.13–15): ... *rdzogs pa chen po'i tshul 'di yang mdor bsdus te bstan na | chos thams cad kyi rtsa ba ní* [ni A] *sems dang sems snang ba tsam du 'dus la | sems kyi rang bzhin nyid byang chub yin pas byang chub kyí* [kyi A] *sems zhes bya'o ||*.

one's *citta* as being *bodhi* at its core. One attains *bodhi* by penetrating one's *citta* with insight. *Citta* when bound is called *saṃsāra*; a *citta* free from all fetters—intellectual-emotional defilements and conceptual thought—is called *nirvāṇa* (or *bodhi*). Of course, *bodhicitta* yields to interpretation depending on how *bodhi* and *citta*, and the correlation between them, are understood. It is only when it refers to true reality, not the cognition of true reality, that the given type of *bodhicitta* can be called ontological *bodhicitta*.

(a) The Conception of Ontological *Bodhicitta*

Already in the non-tantric Mahāyāna sources *bodhicitta* is described as luminously pure. For example, the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* states:[39]

> One could [hypothetically] defile space [with intellectual-emotional defilements];
> One could [hypothetically even] leave behind [one's] footprints there (i.e. in space).
> One could, however, never defile the perfect *bodhicitta*,
> Which is by nature luminous.

Such a statement is, of course, open to more than one interpretation. For example, the type of *bodhicitta* referred to here may be simply understood as ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, which has been described as luminous because of its pure altruistic nature, free from negative emotions such as hatred. If the term *saṃbodhicitta* is interpreted as the *buddha*'s omniscience, it would qualify as gnoseological *bodhicitta* but not necessarily ontological *bodhicitta*.

Nonetheless, there are instances where the nature or luminous nature of the mind is referred to as *bodhicitta*, and where it can only be interpreted as ontological *bodhicitta*. For example, the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* explains:[40]

> Moreover, O Śāriputra, the mind (*citta*) is what has awakening (*bodhi*) as [its] nature, and hence it is called *bodhicitta*.

In the eleventh century, Ratnākaraśānti in India and Rong-zom-pa in Tibet explicitly described the luminous nature of mind as *bodhicitta*. Ratnākaraśānti in his *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā* states:[41]

> That which is by nature luminous
> Is the unsurpassable *bodhicitta*.

Rong-zom-pa, too, explains:[42]

> Because the nature of the mind is primordially free from all stains, it is called *bodhicitta*. It transcends the domain of thoughts, in [its] profundity and vastness is the source (or foundation) of the inexhaustible attainment of bliss, and is unyielding like a diamond (*vajra*). Therefore, it is *vajrasattva*.

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[39] *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 19a6–7; D, fol. 13b4):
ji ste nam mkha' nyon mongs bya bar nus ||
de la rjes kyang bstan par nus srid kyi ||
rang bzhin 'od gsal rdzogs pa'i byang chub sems ||
de ni nam yang nyon mongs byar mi nus ||.
See also the *'Od gsal snying po* (p. 197.3–4), where this passage is cited.

[40] *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* (T, fol. 43a3; D, fol. 283b2): *yang shā ri'i bu sems de ni byang chub kyi rang bzhin te* | *de'i phyir byang chub kyi sems zhes bya'o* ||.

[41] *Krodharājasarvamantraguhyatantra*, as cited in the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā* (P, fol. 420b3; D, fol. 113b5–6; S, vol. 22, p. 282.4–5):
rang bzhin 'od gsal gang yin de [te P] ||
byang chub sems ni bla med yin ||.

[42] *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 21b3–5; B, p. 481.3–6): *sems rnams kyi rang bzhin ni gdod ma nas dri ma thams cad dang bral bas byang chub kyi sems zhes bya ste* | *de nyid bsam pa'i yul las 'das te zab cing rgya che ba la bde ba'i dngos grub zad pa med pa'i gzhir gyur pas rdo rje ltar brtan pa'i phyir rdo rje sems dpa' yin no* ||.

The question now is: how did the luminosity of the mind come to be regarded or described as *bodhicitta*? We know that the concept of luminous mind is pervasive in Śrāvakayāna, Pāramitāyāna, and Vajrayāna. Not all non-Mahāyāna Buddhist schools that can be subsumed under Śrāvakayāna, however, accepted the concept. In two different articles Eli Franco has brought to our notice the issue of whether consciousness is luminous by nature (*prakṛtiprabhāsvara*), as debated in the so-called Spitzer Manuscript,[43] which according to him is 'the earliest philosophical manuscript that has come down to us,' being datable palaeographically to the Kuṣāṇa period.[44] Although he has had to base himself on only scanty fragments, Franco has managed to piece together some of the intricate arguments for and against the concept of natural luminosity of mind, and so shed some light on the historical development of the concept among non-Mahāyāna schools. The fact that an entire chapter was devoted to the controversy suggests that the issue was quite significant.[45] Jikido Takasaki identified four non-Mahāyāna schools which accepted this concept, namely, Sthāvira (or Theravāda), Vaibhāṣika, Vātsīputrīya, and Mahāsaṃghika.[46] Johannes Rahder added to the list a fifth school, the Vibhajyavāda.[47] The concept of purity of mind can be traced in several Pāli sources, such as the *Aṅguttaranikāya*[48] and *Saṃyuttanikāya*. There are also several scriptures of the Pāramitāyāna, including the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā*,[49] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*,[50] *Jñānālokālaṃkārasūtra*,[51] and *Bhadrapālasūtra*,[52] where the nature of mind is described as luminously pure. The concept seems to have become even more pronounced in the Vajrayāna, as can be seen, for example, in Nāropa's *Sekoddeśaṭīkā*.[53] However, in Mahāyāna sources such as the *Bhadrapālasūtra*[54] and the

[43] See FRANCO 2000: 77–110 (particularly, 87, 94–98); *id.* 2001: 3.

[44] FRANCO 2001: 2.

[45] FRANCO 2000: 98.

[46] TAKASAKI 1966: 34, n. 57.

[47] RAHDER 1966: 420; FRANCO 1997: 886.

[48] FRANCO 1997: 83.

[49] See SCHMITHAUSEN 1977: 41.

[50] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 69.7–10): *gang mi 'jig pa de dang ba'o || gang dang ba de dag pa'o || gang dag pa de dri ma med pa'o || gang dri ma med pa de 'od gsal ba'o || gang 'od gsal ba de sems kyi rang bzhin no ||*.

[51] *Jñānālokālaṃkārasūtra* (p. 86.4–6): *prakṛtiprabhāsvaraṃ cittan tac cāgantukair upakleśair upakliśyate | na ca prakṛtiḥ saṃkliśyate | yā ca prakṛtiprabhāsvaratāḥ* [= °tā] | *sā asamkleśatā* |; *ibid.* (p. 102.2–4): *bodhir mañjuśrīḥ prakṛtiprabhāsvarāḥ* [= °prabhāsvarā] | *cittaprakṛtiprabhāsvaratayā tena kāraṇenocyate | prakṛtiprabhāsvareti | yā sā prakṛti sā asamkliṣṭā ākāśasamā | ākāśaprakṛti ākāśasamavasaraṇā ākāśopamā atyantaprabhāsvarā prakṛti* |; *ibid.* (p. 130.2–6): *bodhir mañjuśrīḥ ... anaṅgaṇās tatra mañjuśrīḥ ... katamad anaṅgaṇaṃ ... prabhāsvaratā anaṅgaṇaṃ* |.

[52] *Bhadrapālasūtra* (p. 78.5–8):

sangs rgyas byang chub sems kyis brtags pa yin ||
sems kyang rnam dag rang bzhin 'od gsal zhing ||
rnyog med 'gro ba kun dang ma 'dres par ||
gang gis shes pa byang chub mchog 'tshang rgya ||.

[53] See SEYFORT RUEGG 1971: 466, n. 82.

[54] *Bhadrapālasūtra* (p. 131.23–24): *chos 'di dag thams cad ni rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bas mya ngan las 'das pa dang mnyam pa'o ||*.

Ajātaśatrukaukṛtyavinodanāsūtra,[55] it is not simply the nature of mind which is described as luminously pure but the nature of all phenomena.

The concept of luminosity is pervasive in Buddhism but it is by no means homogeneously so. And not all allusions to it can be regarded as allusions to the concept of ontological *bodhicitta*. If this were the case, one could posit that the idea of ontological *bodhicitta* is found already in non-Mahāyāna sources, such as the *Aṅguttaranikāya*—a thesis that would be, in my view, hard to defend. Thus the luminous nature of the mind as understood on the relative level of momentariness—for instance, in the *Pramāṇavārttika*[56]—cannot be designated as 'ontological' *bodhicitta*, for it is obvious that only the luminosity or purity of mind in the sense of absolute reality, as understood in certain Mahāyāna traditions, can fulfil the criterion of ontological *bodhicitta*. It will thus perhaps be necessary to classify the luminosity of the mind under two types, namely, one that is conditioned (or momentary) and one that is unconditioned (or not momentary), it being the latter that came to be equated with ontological *bodhicitta*. One other important point is that both these types of luminosity seem to be presupposed on the level of sentient beings, that is, to refer to the nature of mind of any sentient being.

For the sake of discussion, let us designate the luminosity characterised by momentariness as 'luminosity on Ground A' and the luminosity that is not characterised by momentariness as 'luminosity on Ground B.' The question that needs to be addressed is how the luminosity on Ground B has come to be regarded as ontological *bodhicitta*, whereas the luminosity on Ground A not. Did the idea of luminosity on Ground A, found in the non-Mahāyāna and in certain conservative Mahāyāna systems, directly lead to the formation of the concept of ontological *bodhicitta* in tantric and some non-tantric Mahāyāna systems? In other words, can we assume a direct historical link between the two concepts of luminosity? I would like to propose the following hypothesis: The idea of ontological *bodhicitta* or the luminosity on Ground B, traced only in some Mahāyāna traditions, does have a historical link with the idea of luminosity found in the non-Mahāyāna sources, but this link seems to be only an indirect one. That is to say, the original or conservative idea of luminosity on Ground A does not seem to have given rise to the idea of the luminosity on Ground B directly, but rather seems to have been first attributed to the Buddha as one of his several supreme qualities—to the level of the ultimate result, as it were—and this development in turn led to the formation of the idea of ontological *bodhicitta*.

Thus I hypothesise that the extension of the idea of luminosity on Ground A to that of luminosity on Ground B is connected with the development of the notion of the historical Buddha or of any *buddha*. The original idea of luminosity is that the nature of the mind is such that it is capable of clearing up the intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa: nyon mongs pa*), for these are merely adventitious and actually do not belong to the inherent nature of mind, just as muddied water is capable of clearing up because mud does not belong to the inherent nature of water. Such an idea could have also implied that in becoming a *buddha*, one has eliminated one's intellectual-emotional defilements, with one's pristine and immaculate mind being what remains behind.

Theoretical reflections on the nature of the Buddha have been carried out systematically, particularly in Mahāyāna Buddhism. Nevertheless, one can find decisive steps in this direction being taken already in some non-Mahāyāna Buddhist schools. The old

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[55] Cited in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* under the title *Ajātaśatruparivarta* (p. 149.20–23): *rgyal po chen po chos thams cad rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal bas 'brel ba med pa'o* || *rgyal po chen po chos thams cad dag pas rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'o* ||; *ibid.* (p. 150.13–15): *rgyal po chen po chos thams cad rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'i phyir sdug pa'o* ||.

[56] *Pramāṇavārttika* 1.208ab: *prabhāsvaram idaṃ cittaṃ prakṛtyā' 'gantavo malāḥ* |; VETTER 1990: 108. For an English translation and discussion, see FRANCO 1997: 85–93.

canonical texts, especially those of the Theravādins, still present a human picture of the Buddha that is relatively close to that of a historical person. What was crucial, however, according to the Buddha himself (and his disciples) was that he was able independently to gain liberating insight into the four Noble Truths and thereby to stifle the seeds of future births in *saṃsāra* and pass away into *nirvāṇa* without remain (*nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa*). Liberating insight and *nirvāṇa* were accessible to other human beings, too, but this required the teachings of the Buddha. It also presupposed an exceptional strength of mind, as characteristic of the Buddha himself, whose distinct supremacy over other sentient beings imparted to him a sense of uniqueness. Still, he did not keep his insight to himself but—however reluctant in the beginning—taught his fellow human beings. These teachings, the liberating truth transmitted in them, and the practices are what is essential; the Buddha as a person often retreats into the background. The fact that the Buddha disappears with his death from the world is insignificant. His visible material body is meaningless, and it, like all conditioned phenomena, is subject to impermanency and repulsiveness. It is merely a 'stinking body' (*pūtikāya*), and nothing is lost with it. What is essential in the Buddha is the salvific insight contained in his teachings. He who comprehends the teachings sees the Buddha, and the essential part of him. He sees the actual—the essential—'body' of the Buddha, the *dharmakāya*. In short, it is the 'mind' (*citta*) of the Buddha characterised by liberating insight and his salvific activities (*karman*) or teachings expressed in the form of his speech (*vāc*) that are crucial, and not his physical or material body (*kāya*).

The development of Buddhology, however, did not stop here. Already during the lifetime of the Buddha, despite counsel against it, there must have been a tendency among many of his disciples, particularly among the lay ones, to transpose the dignity the teachings were treated with onto the teacher, thereby destining the Buddha to become an object of reverence in his own right. This tendency, in the course of time, led to ever increasing supramundane qualities being ascribed to the Buddha, particularly in the school of the Mahāsaṃghikas, where he is extricated from the earthly domain and divinised into a transcendent realm. In the process, magical and paranormal powers were attributed to him—which he used (contrary to Brāhmanical ascetics) for salvific purposes—and his knowledge reinterpreted. Originally, his knowledge was considered superior to that of others only because he had won his liberating insight (into the wholesome und unwholesome) by dint of personal capacity. Now his knowledge was elevated to total omniscience. While other non-Mahāyāna schools saw in the Buddha's omniscience merely the ability to cognise any desired object at any time, just as a fire has the ability to burn all kinds of fuel without having to burn perpetually, the Mahāsaṃghikas went so far as to postulate that every moment the Buddha is cognisant of each individual phenomenon. It is understandable, in view of the fullness of power and knowledge attributed to the Buddha, that his physical body could no longer be allowed to retain an impure character. The image of a stinking body was no longer befitting. His physical body, recognised as the result of an extraordinary richness of wholesome virtues accumulated by him during his previous existences, must thus be distinguished from the bodies of other, ordinary beings. To his body were attributed the so-called 'thirty-two major signs of a great man' and the 'eighty minor signs.'

There had often been attempts to summarise the multiple excellent qualities of the Buddha, one of which was to express them in terms of the body (*kāya*), speech (*vāc*), and mind (*citta*). It is not surprising that the mind of the Buddha is now described as luminously pure and immaculate.[57] What is surprising is that even his body, once described as stinking, is

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[57] *Samādhirājasūtra* (p. 55, verse no. 27):

yasya ca mṛdukī saṃjñā nāmarūpasmi varttate |
agṛddhaṃ nāmarūpasmi cittaṃ bhoti prabhāsvaram ||.

See also *ibid.* (p. 55, verse no. 29a): *anāsravaṃ ca me cittam*; for an English translation, see RÉGAMEY 1938: 91–92.

now considered luminously pure.[58] The speech or voice of the Buddha is also considered luminously pure. The body, speech, and mind of the Buddha (and sometimes also of a *bodhisattva*) came to be regarded as the 'Three Inconceivable Secrets (or Mysteries)' (*gsang ba bsam gyis mi khyab pa gsum*), namely, as the 'Secret of the Body' (*kāyaguhya: sku yi gsang ba*), the 'Secret of the Speech' (*vāgguhya: gsung gi gsang ba*), and the 'Secret of the Mind' (*cittaguhya: thugs kyi gsang ba*).[59] There is also the tendency to describe the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha as being 'endowed with all excellent features' (*sarvākāravaropetā: rnam pa kun gyi mchog dang ldan pa*). This is significant because the concept of 'emptiness endowed with all excellent features' (*sarvākāravaropetā śūnyatā: rnam pa kun gyi mchog dang ldan pa'i stong pa nyid*)[60] seems to have thereby assumed an ontological sense, particularly in the Tathāgatagarbha and Vajrayāna traditions. The primary motive for laying extreme emphasis on the positive qualities of the body, speech, and mind of the Buddha seems to have been to contrast them sharply with those of ordinary sentient beings. The body, speech, and mind of ordinary beings are imperfect, impermanent, and unreliable, and hence are not worth the striving done in their name, whereas the Buddha's body, speech, and mind are perfect, permanent and reliable, and hence are worth such effort.[61] In short, sentient beings were therefore motivated to generate ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* and thus become *buddhas*.

Such an emphasis on the perfection and permanency of the Buddha's qualities, however, seems to have led to unanticipated historical and doctrinal consequences. If the perfect qualities of the Buddha are permanent, he must have had them already when he was an ordinary sentient being endowed with intellectual-emotional defilements. If he, as an ordinary sentient being, had all these perfect permanent qualities, why cannot we, as ordinary sentient beings, also possess them now? Such reflections could have easily contributed to the development of the idea that all sentient beings possess the perfect permanent qualities of the Buddha here and now. This tendency to attribute the resultant qualities of the Buddha, such as the luminosity, to ordinary sentient beings may be given here as an example of the 'process of ontologisation.' In my view, such a process may have contributed to the formation of not only the idea of ontological *bodhicitta* but also several other notions usually considered identical with it.

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[58] *Samādhirājasūtra* (p. 53, verse no. 14):

puṇyanirjātu buddhasya śuddhaḥ kāyaḥ prabhāsvaraḥ |
sameti so 'ntarikṣeṇa nānātvaṃ nāsya labhyate ||.

See also *ibid.* (p. 58, verse no. 49):

aprameyā hi te dharmāḥ kalpakoṭyo niṣevitāḥ |
tena acintiyaḥ kāyo nirvṛto[a] *me prabhāsvaraḥ ||*.

For an English translation of these verses, see RÉGAMEY 1938: 89 and 96, respectively. See also the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 160a5; D, fol. 109b6): *rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'i sku |*. [a] Perhaps better *nivṛtto* (Tib. *grub*).

[59] For example, see the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (p. 87.5–6; *TSD*, s.v. *thugs kyi gsang ba*): *samyaksaṃbuddhānāṃ guhyasthānāni yad uta kāyaguhyaṃ vā vāgguhyaṃ vā cittaguhyaṃ vā*. See also the *Tathāgatācintyaguhyanirdeśasūtra* (T, fol. 185b2–3; D, fol. 126b1–2): *zhi ba'i blo gros gsum po 'di dag ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i gsang ba'o || gsum gang zhe na 'di lta ste | sku'i gsang ba dang | gsung gi gsang ba dang | thugs kyi gsang ba'o ||*.

[60] For the expression *sarvākāravaropetā śūnyatā*, see SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 84, 97, 98; *id.* 1989: 184, 190. See also *id.* 2004: 54.

[61] Note that the idea of the adamantine body (*vajrasāraśarīra: rdo rje snying po'i sku*) can be found also in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.15 (WOGIHARA, p. 229.9–10; DUTT, p. 157.15–16).

(b) An Outcome of a Philosophical Quest?

The historical Buddha is said to have discouraged pure philosophical speculation as being irrelevant or obstructive to soteriological aspirations. It may be assumed, however, that to certain inquisitive Buddhist thinkers some philosophical enquiry did appear to be of relevance. Perhaps the role of human beings' curiosity and quest for new and more satisfactory explanations should not be underestimated either. The various kinds of *bodhicitta*, particularly ontological, gnoseological, and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, suggest that there had been a continuing enquiry into the origin of existence, that is, the receptacle-world or habitat (*bhājanaloka: snod kyi 'jig rten*) and the world consisting of sentient beings or inhabitants (*sattvaloka: sems can gyi 'jig rten*).

According to Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośa*, which is representative of the non-Mahāyāna Buddhist traditions, the diversity of the world arises from karma, that is, the volition and volition-driven actions of sentient beings.[62] As karma in turn is not possible without intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa: nyon mongs pa*), the root (*mūla: rtsa ba*) of existences (*bhava: srid pa*) is the underlying defilements (*anuśaya: phra rgyas*), namely, passion (*rāga: dod chags*), anger (*pratigha: khong khro*), pride (*māna: nga rgyal*), ignorance (*avidyā: ma rig pa*), (false) views (*dṛṣṭi: lta ba*), and doubt (*vicikitsā: the tshom*).[63] These are identified the way a disease is diagnosed, so that one can be treated and cured as soon as possible. From a purely practical and soteriological point of view, such a diagnosis seems to be adequate. From a philosophical point of view, however, the question as to where these underlying defilements come from still remains unanswered.

For the Yogācāra school of Mahāyāna Buddhism, for one—according to the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*—the so-called 'fundamental mind' (*ālayavijñāna: kun gzhi rnam par shes pa*) is said to be the root cause of the physical world and its inhabitants.[64] It needs to be made clear that *ālayavijñāna* is understood as a substratum only of mundane phenomena pertaining to *saṃsāra* and not of supramundane phenomena pertaining to *nirvāṇa*. Thus, when one becomes a *buddha*, *ālayavijñāna* is either eliminated or transmuted. Candrakīrti, who represents the Prāsaṅgika-Madhyamaka school, has stated:[65]

> Mind alone designs the extremely manifold
> World of sentient beings and the receptacle-world,
> For the entire world is taught as having arisen from karma;
> But once the mind has been discarded, karma no longer exists.

Leaving aside the problematic issues regarding Candrakīrti's stance on the external world and *ālayavijñāna*, it is clear that he regards mind, however one defines it, as the shaper of the world and as an entity that ceases or is emptied upon one's becoming a *buddha*.[66] The question regarding the origin of mind itself is, however, not addressed. These Buddhist

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[62] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 192.1–3): *atha yad etat sattvabhājanalokasya bahudhā vaicitryam uktaṃ, tat kena kṛtam | na khalu kenacid buddhipūrvakaṃ kṛtam | kiṃ tarhi | sattvānāṃ «karmajaṃ lokavaicitryaṃ»* [*Abhidharmakośa* 4.1a]. For an English translation, see PRUDEN 1988–90: 551.

[63] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 277.1–3): *«karmajaṃ lokavaicitryam»* [*Abhidharmakośa* 4.1a] *ity uktam | tāni karmāṇy anuśayavaśād upacayaṃ gacchanti antareṇa cānuśayān bhavābhinirvarttane na samarthāni bhavanti | ato veditavyāḥ, «mūlaṃ bhavasyānuśayāḥ»* [*Abhidharmakośa* 5.1a]. For an English translation, see PRUDEN 1988–90: 767.

[64] SCHMITHAUSEN 1987: 203.

[65] *Madhyamakāvatāra* 6.89 (cited in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 52.4–5; *Subhāṣitasaṃgraha*, p. 19):
sattvalokam atha bhājanalokaṃ cittam eva racayaty aticitram |
karmajaṃ hi jagad uktam aśeṣaṃ karma cittam avadhūya ca nāsti ||.
See also SEYORT RUEGG 2002: 204.

[66] See also *Madhyamakāvatāra* 11.2.8d (p. 361.14): *sems 'gags pas de sku yis mngon sum mdzad ||.*

systems apparently limit themselves to identifying the origin of *saṃsāra*, comprising the physical world and its inhabitants. The *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* states that the root of *saṃsāra* is ignorance (*avidyā: ma rig pa*), and the root of *nirvāṇa* the 'Perfection of Insight' (*prajñāpāramitā*).[67]

Some Mahāyāna sources, however, apparently go a step further. For example, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* Vimalakīrti tells Mañjuśrī that no phenomena are based on any substratum:[68]

> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of wholesome and unwholesome [attitudes and actions]?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "The root is the assemblage of [perishable] existences."
> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of the assemblage of [perishable] existences?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "The root of the assemblage of [perishable] existences is desire and attachment."
> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of desire and attachment?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "The root of desire and attachment is incorrect conceptual thoughts."
> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of incorrect conceptual thoughts?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "The root of incorrect conceptual thoughts is wrong notions."
> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of wrong notions?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "The root of wrong notions is the lack of a substratum."
> [Mañjuśrī] asks: "What is the root of the lack of a substratum?"
> [Vimalakīrti] replies: "O Mañjuśrī, what root could there be of what has no substratum! Thus all phenomena subsist on a root which has no substratum."

In the *Ratnagotravibhāga* it is stated:[69]

> Earth is supported by water,
> Water by air, and air by space;
> Space has, however, no support
> Either in air, or in water, or in earth.
> Similarly, the psycho-physical complex, elements, and faculties
> Have [their] substratum in karmas and *kleśa*s.
> And karmas and *kleśa*s always have [their] substratum in erroneous conceptual thoughts.
> The erroneous conceptual thoughts have [their] substratum in the purity of the mind.
> The nature of the mind has no substratum in any phenomena.

A similar idea can be found also in the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya*. Despite the textual difficulties, I attempt an interpretative translation of the pertinent verse as follows:[70]

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[67] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 28.5–6.

[68] *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 6.§5–6 (p. 68.4–16): *āha | kuśalasyākuśalasya ca kiṃ mūlam | āha | satkāyo mūlam | āha | satkāyasya ca punaḥ kiṃ mūlam | āha | satkāyasyecchālobhau mūlam | āha | icchālobhayoḥ kiṃ mūlam | āha | icchālobhayor abhūtaparikalpo mūlam | āha | abhūtaparikalpasya kiṃ mūlam | āha | abhūtaparikalpasya viparyastā saṃjñā mūlam | āha | viparyastāyāḥ saṃjñāyāḥ kiṃ mūlam | āha | viparyastāyāḥ saṃjñāyā apratiṣṭhā mūlam | āha | apratiṣṭhāyāḥ kiṃ mūlam | āha | yan mañjuśrīr*[a] *apratiṣṭhānaṃ tasya kiṃ mūlaṃ bhaviṣyati | iti hy apratiṣṭhānamūlapratiṣṭhitāḥ sarvadharmāḥ |*. Cf. the citation in the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 14b5–15a1; B, p. 41.11–17). [a] Note that this *saṃdhi* (after a vocative case) is not supplied by the editors.

[69] *Ratnagotravibhāga* 1.55–57:

> *pṛthivy ambau jalaṃ vāyau vāyur vyomni pratiṣṭhitaḥ |*
> *apratiṣṭhitam ākāśaṃ vāyvambukṣitidhātuṣu ||*
> *skandhadhātvindriyaṃ tadvat karmakleśapratiṣṭhitam |*
> *karmakleśāḥ sadāyonimanaskārapratiṣṭhitāḥ ||*
> *ayoniśomanaskāraś cittaśuddhipratiṣṭhitaḥ |*
> *sarvadharmeṣu cittasya prakṛtis tv apratiṣṭhitā ||*.

Cf. the English translation in TAKASAKI 1966: 236.

[70] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 20.5 (YUYAMA 1976: 75; Tib. p. 177):

> *ākāśa niśrayi samāruta āpaskandho tahi niśritā ima mahāpṛthivī jagac ca |*
> *sattvāna karmaupabhoganidānam evaṃ ākāśasthānu kutu cintayi etam arthaṃ ||*.

In space rests air, in the latter rests the mass of water,
In the latter rests this great earth, in the latter rests the world.
Such is the cause of (or motive for) sentient beings' engagement in [their] karma.
Where does space stand? Reflect on this meaning![71]

The idea that the absence of a concrete substratum is the substratum of phenomena can also be found in tantric texts such as the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, where mind itself, which has no root, is said to be the root of all phenomena.[72] The *Guhyasamājatantra*, too, states that all phenomena are based on the mind, mind on space and space on nothing.[73]

The development of the concept of a substratum for *nirvāṇa* seems to have played a part in the development of the idea of a common substratum for both pollution (*saṃkleśa: kun nas nyon mongs pa*) and purification (*vyavadāna: rnam par byang ba*). The seeds (*bīja: sa bon*) of phenomena—either with defilements (*sāsrava: zag pa dang bcas pa*) or without defilements (*anāsrava: zag pa med pa*)—may be particularly relevant in this regard, but they are beyond the scope of this study. It has been pointed out that the role of *ālayavijñāna* as a substratum of *saṃsāra* seems to have been extended, and later on even to have assumed the role of a substratum for *nirvāṇa* too. The kind of *ālayavijñāna* envisioned as the common substratum of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa* may be seen as a doctrinal transition from Yogācāra to the Tathāgatagarbha system. Thus, for certain schools of thought, such as the rDzogs-chen tradition in Tibet, it was inevitable that they should differentiate between the two kinds of *ālayavijñāna* or 'universal substratum' (*ālaya: kun gzhi*), namely, one that is a substratum for only *saṃsāra* and one that is a substratum for both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. Of the two strands of non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, namely, negative-intellectual and positive-mystical,[74] one would expect that the former would posit no concrete substratum, whereas the latter would. Nonetheless, both strands reached a point where they could no longer posit any substratum. For instance, even for the *Ratnagotravibhāga* tradition, which clearly represents the positive-mystical strand, the purity of the mind, which is the substratum of everything, itself has no substratum anywhere. In certain tantric texts, however, the non-dual gnosis is positively affirmed to be the origin of all individual existence.[75] Further, in the *Kun byed*

Cf. the readings in OBERMILLER 1937: 72–73. This verse is quoted by Candrakīrti in his *Prasannapadā* (YUYAMA 1976: 75, n. 5). See also Rong-zom-pa's *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 15a2–3; B, p. 41.18–20).

[71] I follow one of the two completely different interpretations found in the Tibetan translations (see YUYAMA 1976: 76, n. 5d).

[72] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 113a4; D, fol. 115a5):
rtsa ba med pa'i sems nyid ni ||
chos rnams kun gyi rtsa ba yin ||.
Cf. *ibid.* (P, fol. 113b2; D, fol. 115b4):
gzhi [bzhi P] *rtsa med pa'i sems nyid ni* ||
pho mo ma yin ma ning min ||.

[73] The *lTa phreng* attributed to Padmasambhava states (p. 167.3–4): *ji skad du* | *chos rnams thams cad ni sems la gnas so* || *sems ni nam mkha' la gnas so* || *nam mkha' ni ci la yang mi gnas so* || *zhes 'byung ba dang* |. Rong-zom-pa identifies the source of this citation as the *Guhyasamājatantra*. See the *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 258b2–3; B, p. 340.2–4). The Sanskrit text of the pertinent passage from the *Guhyasamājatantra* (p. 85.4–7) reads: *sarvatathāgatadharmā bhagavan kutra sthitāḥ kva vā sambhūtāḥ* | *vajrasattva āha* | *svakāyavākcittasaṃsthitāḥ svakāyavākcittasambhūtāḥ* | *bhagavantaḥ sarvatathāgatā āhuḥ* | *svakāyavākcittavajraṃ kutra sthitam* | *ākāśasthitam* | *ākāśaṃ kutra sthitam* | *na kvacit* |. For the Tibetan translation, see the *Guhyasamājatantra* (T, fol. 61a1–3; D, fol. 132b2–4; *NyG*, p. 888.1–3).

[74] I have elsewhere alluded to these two currents in both non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism in India in regard to the background to the Tibetan interpretations of the *tathāgatagarbha* doctrine—there drawing on the works of Lambert Schmithausen, David Seyfort Ruegg, and Louis de La Vallée Poussin; see WANGCHUK 2004: 191–201.

rgyal po and other such rDzogs-chen *tantra*s which lay great emphasis on the idea of ontological *bodhicitta*, *bodhicitta* is called the all-creating king (*kun byed rgyal po*) and regarded as the ultimate origin of all phenomena.

(c) Synonyms and Near Synonyms of Ontological *Bodhicitta*

The commonest description of ontological *bodhicitta* is the one given in the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa*,[76] namely, as being unconditioned and devoid of any defining characteristics or signs, like space and *bodhi* itself. It is further described as tranquil, because it undergoes no change in regard to the three times and exhibits no characteristic marks or manifoldness.[77]

Ontological *bodhicitta* has several common synonyms or near synonyms which I should like to discuss briefly. It may be assumed that not all these synonyms were conceived as such from the very outset or at the same time, but rather that their number increased gradually as similar ideas with originally different backgrounds began to overlap. The *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* provides almost one hundred synonyms or near synonyms (*nāmaparyāya: ming gi rnam grangs*) of the absolute truth (*paramārthasatya: don dam pa'i bden pa*), such as *prabhāsvara*, *buddhajñāna*, *vajrajñāna*, *nirvāṇa*, *dharmakāya*, *bhūtakoṭi*, *dharmadhātu*, *prajñāpāramitā*, *tathatā*, and *samatā*, all of which could be taken as synonyms of ontological *bodhicitta*.[78] Similarly, a number of synonyms of ontological *bodhicitta* can be found in rNying-ma *tantra*s, such as the *Kun byed rgyal po*. *Dharmadhātu*, *svayaṃbhūjñāna*, and *dharmakāya* are mentioned amongst several others.[79] The *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* makes

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[75] *Acintyādvayakramopadeśa* 83–85 (p. 203.13–18).

[76] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 46:
alakṣaṇam anutpādam asaṃsthitam[a] *avāṅmayam* |
ākāśaṃ bodhicittaṃ ca bodhir advayalakṣaṇā ||.
LINDTNER 1997: 173 (Sanskrit text), 48 (Tibetan text), 49 (English translation). [a] Cf. the citation in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 200.27–28), which reads *asaṃskṛtam*. See also *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 71:
de bzhin nyid dang yang dag mtha' ||
mtshan ma med dang don dam nyid ||
byang chub sems mchog de nyid dang ||
stong nyid du yang bshad pa yin ||.
For an English translation, see LINDTNER 1997: 57.

[77] *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 125a3; B, p. 596.16–17): *byang chub kyi sems ni dus gsum du 'gyur ba dang spros pa'i mtshan ma med pas zhi ba'o* ||.

[78] *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (pp. 64.11–65.8); cf. the *Tarkajvālā* (P, fol. 44a4–5; D, fol. 41a4–5; S, vol. 58, p. 105.5–9): *de nyid ces bya ba ni khyad par dag bstan du zin kyang | khyad par gyi gzhi'i ming ma bstan na de mi rtogs pas de'i phyir | de nyid ces smos te | 'jig rten pa dang | 'jig rten las 'das pa'i dngos po de dag gi de nyid de | de bzhin nyid dang | chos kyi dbyings dang | stong pa nyid ces bya ba dag gi rnam grangs so* ||; *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 24a3–4; B, p. 483.22): *byang chub sems ni de kho na bzhin te 'gyur ba med pa'i de kho na nyid do* ||.

[79] *Kun byed rgyal po* (P, fol. 54b2–6; D, fol. 58a5–b1):
kun byed nga yi rang bzhin 'gcig pu' [pcig bu P] *la* ||
'khor gyi 'dod pa rnams kyis ming btags [rtags P] *pa* ||
la las byang chub sems su ming btags la ||
la las chos kyi dbyings su ming yang btags ||
la las nam mkha'i khams su ming yang btags ||
la las rang 'byung ye shes ming yang btags ||
la las chos kyi sku ru ming yang btags ||
la las longs spyod rdzogs par ming yang btags ||
la las sprul pa'i sku [skur P] *ru ming yang btags* ||
la las sku gsung thugs su ming yang btags ||

explicit that *śūnyatā* is the best *bodhicitta*.[80] The commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra* ascribed to Sūryaprabhasiṃha interprets *tathāgatagarbha* as absolute *bodhicitta*.[81] The Middle Way (*madhyamā pratipat: dbu ma'i lam*), which is devoid of appearances (*snang med*), has also been equated with ontological *bodhicitta* in the *Bodhicittabhāvanā*.[82]

The notion of self-arisen gnosis (*svayaṃbhūjñāna*) is of particular interest in the context of ontological *bodhicitta*. The term *svayaṃbhūjñāna* can be found in some of the earliest Mahāyāna sources. However, its meaning seems to have undergone change in the course of time. Very probably *svayaṃbhūjñāna* originally meant the gnosis or insight of a self-arisen *buddha* (*svayaṃbhūbuddha*), a self-arisen *buddha* being either a *buddha*[83] or a *pratyekabuddha*.[84] The idea that *buddha*s and *pratyekabuddha*s attain gnosis or make their soteriological breakthrough on their own is an old concept, which continued to figure in the Mahāyāna tradition. In fact, according to the non-Mahāyāna tradition, this is what

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la las thams cad mkhyen par ming yang btags ||
la las rnam pa thams cad ming yang btags ||
la las ye shes bzhi dang gsum du btags ||
la las ye shes lnga ru ming btags la ||
la las dbyings dang ye shes ming btags pa ||
rang 'byung byang chub sems ni gcig la btags ||.

See NEUMAIER-DARGYAY 1992: 164; *Chos dbyings mdzod* (fols. 22a, 23b). Klong-chen-pa, probably inspired by the *Kun byed rgyal po*, also equates ontological *bodhicitta* with the nature of the mind, which is identical with *prajñāpāramitā*, *madhyamaka*, *zhi byed*, *mahāmudrā*, and *rdzogs chen*. *Shing rta rnam dag* (p. 119.3–5): *sems nyid gshis kyi don de mthong ba la* || [om.] *shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa dang* | *dbu ma dang* | *zhi byed dang* | *phyag rgya chen po dang* | *rdzogs pa chen po la sogs ming ci btags kyang* | *don* [add. du] *ngo bo gcig ste rig pa byang chub kyi sems kun byed nam mkha' lta bu'o* ||. See also EHRHARD 1990: 259, n. 10. Mi-pham even interpreted Padmasambhava to be, in terms of definitive reality (*nītārtha*), (ontological) *bodhicitta*, *samantabhadra*, *ādibuddha*, *dharmadhātu*, *bhūtakoṭi*, *tathatā*, *paramārthasatya*, *svayaṃbhūjñāna*, *tathāgatagarbha*, and the so-called 'Three Great Ones' (*chen po gsum*): the Great Middle Way (*dbu ma chen po*), the Great Seal (*phyag rgya chen po*), and the Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po*). See his *rNam bshad pad dkar* (pp. 320.3–321.2): *nges pa don gyi sangs rgyas padma 'byung gnas nyid ngos bzung ba'o* || *de'i mtshan gyi rnam grangs gzhan yang* | *gzhung so so'i dgongs pas dbang gis btags pa* | *kun tu bzang po dang* | *dang po'i sangs rgyas dang* | *chos kyi dbyings dang* | *yang dag pa'i mtha' dang* | *chos nyid byang chub kyi sems dang* | *de bzhin nyid dang* | *don dam pa'i bden pa dang* | *rang byung gi ye shes dang* | *bde gshegs snying po dang* | *srid zhi kun khyab kyi ye shes dang* | *rang bzhin 'od gsal gnyug ma'i sems dang* | *'da' dka' thugs kyi ye shes dang* | *lhan skyes bde ba chen po dang* | *rgyu'i he ru ka dang* | *dbu ma chen po dang* | *phyag rgya chen po dang* | *rdzogs pa chen po ste chen po gsum gyi gtan la phab pa'i mthar thug gi don dang gzhan yang mdo rgyud rnams nas mtshan gyi rnam grangs du mas bstan pa'i don 'di nyid kho na'o* ||.

80 *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* (P, fols. 475b8–476a1; D, fol. 135b5–6; S, vol. 18, p. 1129.16–18): ... *byang chub sems mchog de nyid ni stong pa nyid ces rab tu gsungs te* | *rang bzhin med pa'i stong pa nyid ni byang chub sems kyi nang na rab tu gsungs pa'i phyir ro* ||.

81 **Guhyagarbhaṭīkā* (P, fol. 263a2–3; S, vol. 43, p. 534.4–7; *NyK*, p. 184.3–4): *sems can thams cad la de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems 'sangs rgyas kyi ye shes'* [sangs chung rgyas pa'i P] *ye nas rang la yod pa* [pas P]| *de ltar ma rtogs te rang gi phyin ci log gi rtog pa'i las kyis* [kyi P] *sprul zhes gsungs* |; *ibid.* (P, fol. 264a3–4; S, vol. 43, p. 536.6–9; *NyK*, pp. 187.6–188.2): *sems can thams cad ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po can yin no zhes so* || *de la de bzhin gshegs pa'i snying po ni gang la bya na* | *de ni don dam pa'i byang chub sems la bya ste* | *rang gi sems kyi chos nyid la bya'o* ||; cf. the *Glang chen rab 'bog* (p. 257.4–5):
bde gshegs snying po byang chub sems ||
thams cad bskyed pa'i sa bon nyid ||.

82 *Bodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fol. 4b2; D, fol. 3b6; S, vol. 33, p. 814.4–5): *snang med dbu ma'i lam de byang chub sems zhes bde gshegs gsungs* [gsung P] ||.

83 For example, see the *Tathāgatagarbhasūtra* (ZIMMERMANN 2002a: 338–339) where the expression *rang byung sangs rgyas myur du 'gyur* occurs. For a translation and remarks, see *ibid.* 151–152, n. 277. See also TAKASAKI 1966: 296, where the Buddha is referred to as *svayaṃbhū*.

84 For example, see TAKASAKI 1966: 202, n. 24, where *pratyekabuddha* is called *svayaṃbhū*.

distinguishes a *buddha* or *pratyekabuddha* from a *śrāvaka*. The difference between a *buddha* and *pratyekabuddha* is that the former founds a systematic teaching tradition and the latter does not. Of course, later on an increasing qualitative distinction was made between *śrāvaka*s, *pratyekabuddha*s, and *buddha*s. It appears that the term *svayaṃbhūjñāna*, although originally used for the gnosis of both *buddha*s and *pratyekabuddha*s, came to be used dominantly in the sense of a *buddha*'s gnosis. For example, it is clear that the term *svayaṃbhūjñāna* that occurs within a long compound in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* refers to the gnosis of the Buddha.[85] The *Madhyamakapradīpa* not only mentions *svayaṃbhūjñāna* but does so in the context of *bodhicitta*, in its gnoseological sense.[86] What it seems to be suggesting is that the Mādhyamikas cannot be charged with postulating the extreme view of annihilationism, for they posit *svayaṃbhūjñāna*, despite the fact that nothing that may be called absolute *prajñā* or non-conceptual gnosis (*nirvikalpajñāna*) is perceived. Since they maintain that all phenomena are illusion-like on the conventional level, they cannot be charged with postulating the extreme view of eternalism. The term *svayaṃbhūjñāna*[87] appears in the *Madhyamakapradīpa* in another instance, where it is stated that once the *vajropamasamādhi* is attained, a *buddha* is always in a meditative state, because his *bodhicitta*, equated with *svayaṃbhūjñāna*, undergoes no change, inasmuch as it neither advances nor retreats.[88] In the course of time, *svayaṃbhūjñāna* took on additional meanings. Having formerly been conceived as applicable only at the stage of a *buddha*, it was now admitted on the level of sentient beings. The question that still remains is what *svayaṃbhūjñāna* immanent in ordinary sentient beings really means.

(d) Two Distinct Perceptions of Ontological *Bodhicitta*

The list of synonyms mentioned above may create the impression that the idea of ontological *bodhicitta* is, in principle, acceptable to all Buddhist schools and that there is general consensus on the issue of what true reality is. Such an impression is, however, deceptive. The various schools may agree that true reality can be designated as *śūnyatā*, *tathatā*, *dharmatā*, *tathāgatagarbha*, and so forth. But one and the same term can be interpreted differently in different texts and traditions. It comes as no surprise, then, that ontological *bodhicitta*, although accepted as true reality, should be interpreted in several ways. Ontological *bodhicitta* can be broadly categorised under two types, namely, one as perceived within the so-called positive-mystical current of Mahāyāna Buddhism in India, and the other as perceived within the negative-intellectualist current. The negative-intellectualist current

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[85] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.4 (WOGIHARA, p. 326.18–22; DUTT, p. 223.18–20): *samyag āśu ca sarvākārasarvabodhisaṃbhārānukulaṃ sattveṣu* [sarvasattveṣu DUTT] *sarvākārabodhisattvakṛtyānukūlam anuttarasamyaksaṃbodhisvyayaṃbhūjñānapratilaṃbhānukūlaṃ sarvākārabuddhakṛtyakaraṇānukūlaṃ tac cittam utpadyate* |.

[86] *Madhyamakapradīpa* (P, fol. 329a6–7; D, fols. 261b7–262a2; S, vol. 57, p. 1493.9–13): *yang kun rdzob kyi bden pa snang ba'i phreng ba 'di dag ji lta ba bzhin du kun rdzob kyi bden pa sgyu ma lta bur 'dod pas skyon gyi dri ma gang gis kyang bdag cag la gnod pa med do* || *gzhan yang don dam pa'i bden pa'i* [pa DC] *shes rab ces bya ba rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes chos nyid byang chub kyi sems rang byung gi ye shes chen po'i mdun na ci yang med pas chad par smra ba yang ma yin te* |.

[87] Note, however, that the reading in P and N is *rang byang chub kyi ye shes*.

[88] *Madhyamakapradīpa* (P, fol. 356a4–6; D, fol. 282b3–4; S, vol. 57, p. 1545.5–9): *gang gi tshe sangs rgyas kyi sa rdo rje lta bu'i ting nge 'dzin brnyes par gyur nas ni* | *rjes las thob par mi mnga' ste* | *rnal 'byor gyi dbang phyug chen po dus rtag tu mnyam par bzhag* [gzhag DC] *cing rang 'byung gi* [byang chub kyi PN] *ye shes chos nyid byang chub kyi sems chen po la 'gyur ba mi mnga' zhing 'byung ba dang 'jug pa med pas so* ||.

apparently ascribes no positive qualities to ontological *bodhicitta*, whereas the positive-mystical one does. Ontological *bodhicitta* is perceived by both currents to be constant. Both currents would also agree that ontological *bodhicitta* is directly realised by means of gnoseological *bodhicitta*. In other words, for both currents, the immediate soteriological goal is gnoseological *bodhicitta*, although the existence and persistence of gnosis at the stage of a *buddha* would be viewed by them differently.

However, the means of generating gnoseological *bodhicitta* depends on the respective soteriological model presupposed by the two currents. In this regard, it should be recalled that two soteriological models are presupposed in Mahāyāna Buddhism, namely, the generation model and revelation model, or the nurture model and nature model. Although one might think that the negative-intellectualist current would, as a rule, follow the nurture model, and the positive-mystical current the nature model, this does not seem to be necessarily the case. While it is true that the positive-mystical view tends to follow the nature model, not all those who belong to the negative-intellectualist persuasion necessarily follow the nurture model. In any case, according to the nurture model, gnoseological *bodhicitta* has to be generated from scratch. According to the nature model, by contrast, it is nothing other than ontological *bodhicitta* revealed or exposed. In other words, gnosis, which lies latent in ontological *bodhicitta*, is made patent through spiritual practice.[89] In neither of these two models is ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* dismissed as redundant. Under the nurture model, it is a generating cause of gnoseological *bodhicitta*, and under the nature model, an exposing or revealing cause.

(e) Some Salient Features of Ontological *Bodhicitta*

Of all the various features of ontological *bodhicitta*, the following two seem to be particularly significant: (1) It remains constant and independent of verbal expressions, concepts, persons, and cognition. It remains unaffected by spatiality and temporality, and can neither be increased nor decreased. The *buddha*s may come and go but ontological *bodhicitta* remains. (2) It is soteriologically neutral, and yet the ability or inability to penetrate it with gnoseological *bodhicitta* correlates with one's freedom or bondage. Thus it is said that it is neither *saṃsāra* nor *nirvāṇa*, and yet can cause both.[90]

6. Psycho-Physiological *Bodhicitta*

Psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is a fascinating topic, one which would require much more study than can be devoted to it here to be able to do it justice. What I shall attempt to do in the following few paragraphs is, first of all, to explain the expression 'psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*' and to justify the employment of such an expression. Secondly, and more importantly, I should like to discuss not details of the practical aspects of sexual-yogic exercises associated with psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, but rather the doctrinal background, and to propose a plausible historical development.

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[89] This is the reason why the *dharmakāya* can be said to be revealed or exposed ontological *bodhicitta*, as is apparently propounded, for example, in the *Bodhicittabhāvanānirdeśa* (P, fol. 56b4–5; D, fol. 46a1; S, vol. 33, p. 183.17–19): *shes rab kyi blo dang ldan pas byang chub kyi sems mngon du gyur pa de la longs spyod rdzogs pa'i sku la sogs te | sku gsum gyi nang na mchog tu gyur pa chos kyi sku zhes byang chub kyi sems de la bya ste |*.

[90] Cf. *Mūlamadhyamakakārikā* 16.10:

na nirvāṇasamāropo na saṃsārāpakarṣaṇam |
yatra kas tatra saṃsāro nirvāṇaṃ kiṃ vikalpyate ||.

(a) What is Psycho-Physiological *Bodhicitta*?

We already know that in certain Vajrayāna sources *semen virile* (*śukra: khu ba*) is called *bodhicitta*. We also know that the great bliss (or ecstasy) (*mahāsukha: bde ba chen po*) invariably associated with sexual-yogic practices is likewise called *bodhicitta*. *Semen virile* is so designated, for example, in the context of the destruction or loss of *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittapraṇāśa: byang chub kyi sems nyams pa*), which is the fifth cardinal transgression (*mūlāpatti: rtsa ba'i ltung ba*) of the *mantra* vows according to several tantric systems in which *bodhicitta* is identified as *semen virile*.[91] It is true that *bodhicitta* in its physiological sense is predominantly used for *semen virile*, male reproductive seed, but it is also true that occasionally both male seed and female menstrual blood are referred to as *bodhicitta*[92]—sometimes designated in Tibetan sources as 'white' and 'red' *bodhicitta*, respectively.[93] The expressions 'white' and 'red' *bodhicitta*, however, seem to be alternative renderings of the Sanskrit terms *śukra* and *śoṇita* (or *rakta*), respectively, since *śukra* means both 'seminal fluid' (*khu ba*) and 'white' (*dkar po*), and *śoṇita* or *rakta* both 'blood' (*khrag*) and 'red' (*dmar po*).[94]

The quality or function attributed to white and red forms of *bodhicitta* suggests that they are fluids of virility and fertility, respectively, and thus the identification of red *bodhicitta* with blood (*rakta*: *khrag*), or specifically with menstrual blood (*strīpuṣpa: zla mtshan*),[95] can be explained perhaps by what one might call Buddhist or Indian metaphysiology. The type of *bodhicitta* under consideration here seems not to be limited purely to the physiological realm but to include, more importantly, a psychical aspect. Thus sexual-yogic practice culminates in the production of physiological *bodhicitta* in the form of fluids potent with virility and fertility, and psychical *bodhicitta* in the form of the accompanying sexual bliss or ecstasy (*mahāsukha*). In order to capture both of these meanings, I have used the expression psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. The fact that this type of *bodhicitta* has both psychical and physiological components has been made explicit by an Indian tantric commentary.[96]

The nature of the great bliss connected with psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* has been disputed in India and Tibet. Some have identified it as a 'mere sensation of bliss of the [sexual] union' (*snyoms 'jug gi tshor ba bde ba tsam*), 'mind free of [sexual] desire' (*chags bral gyi sems*), a 'mere correlative of the understanding of emptiness' (*stong pa'i go yul tsam*), the 'notion of grasping emptiness' (*stong 'dzin gyi 'du shes*), and so forth.[97] For some,

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[91] *Vimalaprabhā* ad 3.102 (vol. 2, p. 97.21): *iha bodhicittam śukram, tasya vināśād acyutasukhaṃ na bhavati* |; *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 134.35): *bodhicittam śukram*. See also *TSD*, s.v. *byang chub sems*.

[92] See *MW*, s.v. *śukra*, where one of the meanings of *śukra* is given as 'seed of animals (male and females).'

[93] *mChod bsgral rnam bshad* (A, fol. 183a6; B, p. 51.5–6): *gsang bar thabs shes rab kyi byang chub sems dkar dmar gnyis rdo rje'i chu dang sbyar nas | yi ge gsum gyis byin gyis brlab pa'o* ||; *ibid.* (A, fol. 183b3; B, p. 51.10–11): *gsang ba ni yab yum gyi byang chub sems las dri byung ba'o* ||; *ibid.* (A, fol. 184a1; B, p. 51.19): *gsang ba ni yum gyi byang sems so* ||.

[94] See *MW*, s.vv. *śukra*, *śoṇita*, and *rakta*.

[95] See, for example, the *Yogaratnamālā*, as cited in the *TSD* (s.v. *khrag*): *raktam iti strīpuṣpaṃ*....

[96] *Prakāśikāvyākhyāṭīkā* (P, vol. *ki*, fol. 205b8; D, vol. *khi*, fol. 123b6; S, vol. 17, p. 294.3–4): *'on kyang byang chub kyi sems la cha gnyis te | rdzas kyi cha dang bde ba chen po'i cha'o* ||.

[97] All of these explanations are rejected by Mi-pham. His discussion in the *'Od gsal snying po* (pp. 9.4–10.1) actually deals with the 'gnosis of the fourth' (*bzhi pa'i ye shes*), that is, the gnosis brought forth during or by means of the 'fourth empowerment' (*caturthābhiṣeka: dbang bzhi pa*). Cf. the *Marmakalikāpāñjikā* (p. 25.13–

the great bliss in question is not just ordinary sexual bliss but undefiled (*anāsrava*: *zag pa med pa*) great bliss—undefiled, that is, by intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*).[98] The cause of the dispute seems to lie in the fact that those traditions that presuppose the revelation model of soteriology posit a gnoseological component of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, and unlike common sexual bliss, gnosis, by definition, cannot be defiled. For these traditions, the physiological and psychical components are perceived as the bearers of the great bliss that undefiled gnosis is. For those traditions that presuppose the generation model of soteriology, however, psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* seems to include only the psychical and physiological components, and so not gnosis (i.e. gnoseological *bodhicitta*), which is regarded as the goal of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*.

In addition, there seems to have been a debate as to whether psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, when understood as possessing a cognitive nature, is a principal or a secondary mental factor. As we have seen, such a discussion among Indian and Tibetan scholars occurred also in the context of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*. The *lTa phreng* attributed to Padmasambhava suggests that psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* emerges when three factors, namely, a sense organ of the body (*kāyendra: lus kyi dbang po*), a perception (*vijñāna: rnam par shes pa*), and an object (*viṣaya: yul*), interact.[99] It is in this connection that the commentators of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* in Tibet thematised the nature of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, as is evident from Rong-zom-pa's report:[100]

> Earlier teachers (*pūrvācārya*) have explained that 'object' (*viṣaya: yul*) refers to the [awakened] body (*kāya: sku*), 'sense organ' (*indriya: dbang po*) to the [awakened] speech (*vāc: gsung*), and 'perception' (*vijñāna: rnam par shes pa*) to the [awakened] mind (*citta: thugs*). The Popular Tradition of Khams (*yongs grags khams lugs pa*) maintains that [the phrase] 'the [psycho-physiological] *bodhicitta* that has arisen from them' refers to the element of mind (*manodhātu*) that arises subsequently to bodily perception (*kāyavijñāna*). The Tradition of Central [Tibet] (*dbus lugs pa*) maintains that [psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*] refers to the sensation that arises from bodily contact (*kāyasaṃsparśajā vedanā*). Thus it is asserted [that psycho-physiological] *bodhicitta* is the experience of bliss [arising from or associated with] the union of efficient strategy (*upāya*) and insight (*prajñā*). In general, [I] see no contradiction in [taking] it as mind (*citta*) or a mental factor (*caitta*) that arises from the coming into contact of a bodily sense organ (*kāyendriya*), an object (*viṣaya*), and a perception (*vijñāna*).

The same discussion can be found in Rong-zom-pa's commentary on the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, and reinforces our understanding of the issue.[101] For instance, it

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15), where three types of bliss—meagre (*mṛdumātra*), mediocre (*madhyamātra*), and excellent (*adhimātra*)—associated with psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* are mentioned.

[98] *Guhyendutilakatantra*, as cited in the *Jñānasiddhi* (p. 141.18–19):
bodhicittād ṛte nānyat saukhyam asti tridhātuke |
bodhicittam ayaṃ saukhyaṃ sarvasaukhyaprasarpaṇam ||.

[99] *lTa phreng* (p. 166.4–5): *lus kyi dbang po dang* | *rnam par shes pa dang* | *yul dang de las byung ba'i byang chub kyi sems ni khro bo bzhi'i rang bzhin* |. For a discussion of this matter, see KARMAY 1988: 156, n. 156.

[100] *lTa 'grel* (A, fols. 255b4–256a2; B, p. 339.5–12): *yul sku* | *dbang po gsung* | *rnam par shes pa thugs* | *zhes sngon gyi* [kyi A] *slob dpon rnams kyis* [kyi A] *bshad do* || *de las byung ba'i byang chub kyi sems zhes bya ba ni* | *lus kyi rnam par shes pa'i rjes su skyes pa'i yid kyi khams la bya zhes yongs grags khams lugs pa' gsung ngo* || *lus kyi 'dus te reg pa'i rkyen gyis* [= gyi] *tshor ba la bya zhes* | *dbus lugs pa gsung* [gsungs A] *ste* | *de lta na yang thabs dang shes rab gnyis su myed par* [bar A] *sbyor ba'i bde'* [bde A] *ba myong ba'i byang chub kyi sems yin no zhes 'chad* | *yong ni 'di' lus kyi dbang po dang* | *yul dang* | *rnam par shes pa gsum phrad pa' las skyes pa'i* | *sems dang sems las byung ba gang yin yang 'gal ba ma mthong* [mthang B] *ngo* ||.

[101] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 87a4–b2; B, pp. 118.23–119.7): *lus kyi rnam par shes pa dang* | *dbang po dang* | *yul rnams ni dngos su bstan par zad* | *reg shes zhes bya ba ni* | *man ngag lta phreng* ['phreng A] *las* | *de las byung ba'i byang chub kyi sems zhes bshad de* | *de gsum las skyes pa'i sems su bshad pas* | *khams dang skye mched du sbyar na yid kyi dbang po la sbyar bar rigs so zhes yongs grags pa kha cig gsung ngo* || *slob dpon*

specifies perception (*vijñāna*) in the indicated triad as bodily perception (*kāyavijñāna*). It also makes clear that, for some proponents of the Popular Tradition of Khams, the reason for considering the psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* as a faculty of thought (*manaïndriya*), which is identical with the element of mind (*manodhātu: yid kyi khams*), is that the *lTa phreng* has explained it as mind (*citta: sems*) that arises from the interaction of the triad, and that if expressed in terms of the eighteen elements (*dhātu: khams*) or the twelve senses and sense objects (*āyatana: skye mched*), it is logical to consider it as the element of mind. It should, however, be pointed that, following the Abhidharma systematists, *manodhātu* and *mana-āyatana* are not coextensive, for all seven elements of perception (*vijñānadhātu*)—the seventh being *manodhātu* or *manaïndriya*—are subsumed under *mana-āyatana*. Thus, for some, psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is a principal mental element (i.e. *manodhātu*, which follows *kāyavijñāna*), while for others it is a secondary mental element (i.e. *kāyasaṃsparśajā vedanā*). Rong-zom-pa's own stance is that there is not much of a contradiction—showing a subtle attempt to reconcile the two positions. He does not, however, provide any reason for this.[102]

(b) Some Salient Features of Psycho-Physiological *Bodhicitta*

Before attempting to trace its historical route, it is perhaps useful to look at some of the salient features of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*: (1) It is found only in the tantric context, and that too, only in certain Vajrayāna scriptures or systems that presuppose sexual-yogic practices. It must be, historically, the last kind of *bodhicitta* to be recognised as such, in contrast to ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, which is, beyond doubt, the oldest type. (2) Originally it seems to have been conceived as having two components, namely, psychical and physiological ones, but later, as a result of a shift in preference for a certain soteriological model, a gnoseological component entered in too. In order to understand the psychical component, it is useful to consider passion (*rāga*), particularly sexual passion, within the Buddhist soteriological context; and in order to understand the physiological component, to consider the treatment of 'metaphysiology'—particularly the role of fluids of virility and fertility, and also the body-mind relationship—in Indian sources. (3) It is, in several respects, conceived parallel to ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, and often the term *bodhicitta* is consciously employed as a double entendre, denoting simultaneously both ethico-spiritual and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. (4) Its function is soteriological and its goal, like that of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, is always gnoseological *bodhicitta* (i.e. a *buddha*'s gnosis). Thus psychical and physiological elements and sexual experiences that are of no soteriological relevance have nothing to do with it.

(c) Probable Motives for the Conception of Psycho-Physiological *Bodhicitta*

The theory of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is intricately linked with the sexual-yogic practices prevalent in certain forms of Vajrayāna Buddhism. My concern, however, is not the issue regarding the origin of sexual-yogic practices, but rather questions such as why and with what doctrinal justification such practices could gain admission into the existing Buddhist theories and practices. The most intriguing questions in this regard are why and how the male and female fluids of virility and fertility came to be designated as *bodhicitta*. In this case, as

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dbus lugs pa rnams ni | kun la khyab pa'i spa ri sha zhes bya ste | lus kyi 'dus te reg pa'i rkyen gyis tshor ba la sbyar bar bya ba yin la | de [da A] *yang gtso bor gyur pa thabs dang shes rab gnyis su med par sbyor ba'i byang chub kyi sems bde ba chen po nyams su myong ba nyid yin no zhes gsung ngo || yongs ni 'di lta bu dag ni gang ltar sbyar yang lhag par 'gal ba ma mthong ngo ||*.

[102] Klong-chen-pa has, in a similar manner, attempted to resolve the apparent problem in the context of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* by stating that there is no contradiction, since secondary mental elements always arise in association with a principal one.

in the history of Buddhist ideas in general, multiple and complex factors must have been involved, and hence forming a plausible picture of the course of events would require intensive study on various fronts. What I intend to do here is merely to consider some of the possible motives for the introduction of sexual-yogic practices, along with some of the non-tantric Mahāyāna doctrinal foundations that could have served as justification for doing so.

In attempting to understand the conception and development of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, or any Buddhist idea for that matter, it is always valuable to keep in mind that Buddhism is, in the first place, a religion which sets *nirvāṇa*—regardless of how it is defined—as its primary soteriological goal, which in any case involves shaking off the shackles of *saṃsāra* so as to be no longer subjected to it. The immediate problem facing a Buddhist concerns intellectual-emotional defilements (such as ignorance, hatred, and desire) that seethe from within and the pain and discontent that one experiences and sees around oneself. In other words, Buddhism sees *saṃsāra* as a problem and *nirvāṇa* as the solution. What *saṃsāra* basically consists of are *kleśa*s and karmas, and their undesirable consequences, including pain and discontent. Practising the teachings given by the historical Buddha would by itself have sufficed to solve one's problems. Why, then, did certain Buddhists at a certain point in history adopt or resort to sexual-yogic practices? One explanation, in my view, lies in the tendency of human beings to attempt to gain the same old objective by newer, quicker, easier, and more effective means. The problems of Vajrayāna practitioners and the soteriological goal remained the same as in non-tantric Mahāyāna. It was only their outlook and approaches that were now dramatically augmented or otherwise modified. This fact is expressly confirmed by authors within the tradition of tantric Buddhism. In addition, it has been pointed out that the development of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* can be explained as one of the attempts made by Buddhists themselves to bolster the staying power of the Three Jewels. In a similar way, the idea of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* may have been introduced as one of several measures taken by innovative Buddhists to speed up the process of accomplishing the goal set by ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*.

One of the questions that comes to mind in this regard is: To what extent were innovative Buddhists able to absorb or adapt practices that had their origin in non-Buddhist traditions and yet retain their Buddhist identity or character? The answer seems to be that as long as one abided by the Mahāyāna guidelines of insight (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*), there were no restrictions on the employment of one's mental, verbal, or physical impulses as means of attaining the soteriological goal.[103] In other words, all means, regardless of whether they are in origin Buddhist or non-Buddhist, are, in principle, acceptable to Mahāyāna followers as long as they can contribute to the attainment of the soteriological goal. Precisely such an attitude seems to have paved the way for the theory and practice of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*.

(d) The Problems of Physicality and Sexuality in Buddhism

In general, the conservative Buddhist traditions consider the psycho-physical complexes (*skandha*) of a person as impure, impermanent, painful, and non-substantial. Mistakenly holding on to the impure as pure, the impermanent as permanent, the painful as pleasurable, and the non-self as self has been considered to be the root cause of *saṃsāra*. In particular, passion and pleasure, especially those types associated with physicality or sexuality, are considered a problem—a hindrance to spiritual progress—and are to be combatted by

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[103] See, for example, the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 245b1–2; B, p. 357.9–11): *sangs rgyas thams cad kyi lam gcig po ni shes rab dang snying rje yin te | gzhan du lus dang ngag dang yid kyi 'du byed thams cad la 'di la mi brten du mi rung ngo zhes ris su chad pa med do ||*.

adopting a negative or at least a neutral stance towards them.[104] A *bodhisattva* who happens to be an ordained monk could combat desire in general and sexual desire in particular by distancing himself physically from the objects of desire. But the problem of physicality or sexuality threatened to become acute in the case of lay *bodhisattva*s. Can a lay *bodhisattva* indulge in sexual passion and yet at the same time pursue his soteriological goal? Or is it possible to engage in sexual acts without sexual desire? From the point of view of Buddhist spirituality, this seems to be a serious problem. However, historically speaking, precisely such difficulties may have given an impetus to the development of new Mahāyāna soteriological theories, thus enabling the innovators to look at the psycho-physical complexes (*skandha*) from a new perspective.

How can one best make use of the psycho-physical resources that one has at one's disposal? Already in the context of non-tantric *bodhisattva* practices, one finds traces of the wish to extract an essence (*sāra: snying po*) from one's essenceless body.[105] In some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s the five *skandha*s are called the five *tathāgata*s, and the five *kleśa*s the progenitors of the *tathāgata*s.[106] In particular, passion, like compassion, is seen not any longer as a hindrance but rather as being indispensable for guaranteeing the physical presence of a *bodhisattva*. It is said that just as a lotus grows only in a marshy land full of waste material, so *tathāgata*s grow from a heap of *kleśa*s. From a tantric point of view, however, the treatment of *kleśa*s as soteriologically positive has been merely theorised in the non-tantric Mahāyāna systems, and it is only in the tantric Mahāyāna that the practical aspects of such belief are taught. Thus, from a tantric perspective, one could argue that the employment of *kleśa*s for soteriological purposes is not only doctrinally justifiable but also historically inevitable. Such a change of attitude or perspective seems to have enabled a *bodhisattva* (a) to find solutions in the problems themselves, (b) to break the spiritual taboos associated with dualistic concepts such as those pertaining to purity and impurity,[107] and (c) to experiment with one's physicality and sexuality in such a way that they can be used for soteriological purposes.

Perhaps it should be stated unambiguously that I neither contend nor wish to imply that sexual-yogic practice is an organic inner-Buddhist development. Some scholars have maintained that anticipations of sexual-yogic practices can be found already in non-tantric Mahāyāna sources such as *Nairātmyaparipṛcchā* 11 and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 9.46, a position which I do not share. It has been already pointed out that the expression *svargamahāsukha* in *Nairātmyaparipṛcchā* 11 is not identified with sexual bliss but rather juxtaposed to it and that *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 9.46 does not speak about sexual practice, but rather about the *bodhisattva*'s self-extrication from such a practice.[108]

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[104] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 452.7–9): *aśubhopekṣayoḥ kāmarāgapratipakṣatve ko viśeṣaḥ* | *varṇarāgasyāśubhā maithunarāgasyopekṣeti vaibhāṣikāḥ* | *evaṃ tu yujyate* | *maithunarāgasyāśubhā mātāpitṛputrajñātirāgasyopekṣeti* |. See also SCHMITHAUSEN 1982: 62, 66.

[105] Cf. *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 26.2; VAIDYA, p. 18.26): *asārāt kāyāt sāram ādātukāmo....* See also *ibid.* (BENDALL, p. 200.17; VAIDYA, p. 111.5–6): *lābhā me sulabdhā yasya me 'sārāt kāyāt sāram ādattaṃ bhaviṣyati* |.

[106] See, for example, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 7.§2 (pp. 77.23–78.7). See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 241a3–5; B, p. 352.5–9); *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 52a2–b6; B, p. 82.1–23); *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fols. 106a2–4, 106b3–5; B, pp. 531.12–17, 532.5–10); WANGCHUK 2002: 280–282.

[107] See ISAACSON 1998: 27, n. 10, where it has been pointed out that sexual-yogic practices were meant 'to get rid of the ordinary concept of impure and pure.'

[108] For a discussion of the expression *svargamahāsukha* in *Nairātmyaparipṛcchā* 11 and *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 9.46, see SCHMITHAUSEN 1980: 444. Cf. SNELLGROVE 1988: 1373; DASGUPTA 1962: 17–19. For Tibetan scholars such as Mi-pham, the component of great bliss was taught in Vajrayāna in order to combat the clinging to emptiness. See the *Nges shes sgron me* (p. 90.1):

(e) Psycho-Physiological *Bodhicitta* in Yogic Practices

In order to understand the rationale behind the employment of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* in yogic practices, it is perhaps useful to take a look at how such practices are conceived. Vajrayāna practices may with justification be subsumed under what is known as two phases or stages (*krama: rim pa*), namely, a generation phase (*utpattikrama: bskyed pa'i rim pa*) and completion phase (*utpannakrama/niṣpannakrama: rdzogs pa'i rim pa*).[109] This scheme of two phases is obviously based on the two-truth model of the non-tantric Madhyamaka tradition.[110] This would perhaps explain why *utpattikrama* is referred to as possessing provisional meaning (*neyārtha*) and *niṣpannakrama* as possessing definitive meaning (*nītārtha*).[111] In content and function, however, the two are very probably meant to denote quietude (*śamatha*) and superior insight (*vipaśyanā*), respectively. The question as to whether the yogic practice of *utpattikrama* is sufficient in and of itself (i.e. independently of *niṣpannakrama*) for bringing about soteriological attainments may be answered positively or negatively depending on how the two phases are understood and defined in the first place. As a justification for the practices of *utpattikrama*, which involve various kinds of visualisations and the like, it is maintained that manifold or discursive proliferation (*prapañca*) can be eliminated or pacified by making use of it, so to speak, homeopathically.[112] This and similar ideas suggest the soteriological self-efficacy of the *utpattikrama* practices. For scholars like Mi-pham, however, the practice of *utpattikrama*, like that of *śamatha*, is not capable of autonomously bringing about salvation.[113] Obvious attempts were also made to link the two stages with the two accumulations (*saṃbhāra*), namely, the accumulation of beneficial resources (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) and the accumulation of gnosis (*jñānasaṃbhāra*), both indispensable prerequisites for the attainment of Buddhahood. The practices of Five Phases (*pañcakrama*) of the *Guhyasamājatantra* tradition and those of the Six-Limb Yoga (*ṣaḍaṅgayoga*) of the *Kālacakratantra* tradition (and also found in the *Guhyasamājatantra*),[114] are *niṣpannakrama* practices. rDzogs-chen practices are regarded by

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stong par zhen pa bzlog phyir du ||
sngags las bde ba chen po bstan ||.

For an English translation, see PETTIT 1999: 209. Mi-pham, however, rejects the interpretation of great bliss as mere sexual bliss.

[109] *Guhyasamājatantra* 18.84; *Hevajratantra* 1.8.24cd–25ab. For improved readings of the pertinent verses and a discussion of Ratnākaraśānti's understanding of the two phases, see ISAACSON 2001: 467–472. See also the *Yogaratnamālā* (pp. 104.16–18, 20–21); *Muktitilaka* (P, fol. 62b1–2; D, fol. 52a1–2; S, vol. 21, p. 973.19–21); *Rim pa gnyis pa* (P, fol. 210a4–5; S, vol. 44, p. 481.1–2); *Pañcakrama* 1.2; cf. *ibid.* 5.20.

[110] That the two phases are in a way analogous to the two truths propounded in *Mūlamadyamakakārikā* 24.8 has been pointed out and discussed in ISAACSON 2001: 469, particularly, n. 92.

[111] See, for example, the *bKa' brgyad rnam bshad* (p. 94.2): *drang don bskyed rim dang | nges don rdzogs pa'i rim par sbyar ba'i tshul gyis bzhed pa 'dra min yod pa shes par bya zhing....*

[112] *Hevajratantra* 2.2.29:
utpattikramayogena prapañcaṃ bhāvayed vratī |
prapañcaṃ svapnavat kṛtvā prapañcair niḥprapañcayet ||.

[113] *'Od gsal snying po* (p. 44.5–6): *... bskyed rim rkyang pas 'og min gyi bar gyi 'jig rten pa'i dngos grub kun sgrub nus kyi 'das lam mngon du bya mi nus....* See also *ibid.* (p. 221.2–4): *... bskyed rim rkyang pa rags pa dang phra ba'i gsal snang mthar phyin pa'i tshe na sngags dang phyag rgya la sogs pa grogs su ldan pa'i sgo nas 'og min gyi bar gyi 'jig rten pa'i dngos grub mtha' dag 'grub nus so* ||.

[114] *Vimalaprabhā* ad 4.112 (vol. 2, p. 207.5–6):
pratyāhāras tathā dhyānaṃ prāṇāyāmaś ca dhāraṇā |
anusmṛtiḥ samādhiś ca ṣaḍaṅgo yoga iṣyate ||.

rNying-ma scholars as signless (*nirnimitta/animitta: mtshan ma med pa*) *niṣpannakrama* practices. The so-called Yoga of Seminal Drops (*binduyoga: thig le'i rnal 'byor*) and Subtle Yoga (*sūkṣmayoga: phra mo'i rnal 'byor*)[115] can be regarded as special kinds of *niṣpannakrama* practices that directly deal with psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*.

In the rNying-ma tantric tradition there is another way of looking at the various Vajrayāna methods, namely, (1) the *thabs lam* ('Way of Efficient Strategy') and (2) the *grol lam* ('Way of Release'). Such a convention has yet to be traced in Indian sources. The *thabs lam* uses special yogic techniques called 'striking at the core' (*marmaprahāra: gnad du bsnun pa*)[116] of the physical bases (*ādhāra: rten*), namely, the channels (*nāḍī: rtsa*), vital winds (*vāyu: rlung*), and seminal drops (*bindu: thig le*), as a result of which the gnosis 'to be kindled' (*ādheya: brten pa*) emerges inevitably (*haṭhena: btsan thabs su*). The alchemic procedure of transforming iron into gold instantly by the efficient manipulation of a mineral called *mākṣika*[117] is given by analogy with the *thabs lam* technique. The latter is subdivided into two parts, namely, one involving (a) the upper aperture (*ūrdhvadvāra: steng gi sgo*) and one (b) the lower aperture (*adhodvāra: 'og gi sgo*).[118] These are also called that which uses one's own body as an efficient strategy (*svadehopāyasaṃyukta*: *rang lus thabs ldan*) and that which uses the body of others as an efficient strategy (**paradehopāyasaṃyukta: gzhan lus thabs ldan*), respectively.[119] The *grol lam*, on the other hand, uses special yogic techniques to

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See also *Guhyasamājatantra* 18.141, which reads slightly differently. This verse is cited in *TSD*, s.v. *sbyor ba yan lag drug*. The Six-Limb Yoga is explained also in Rong-zom-pa's *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fols. 120a1–122a6; B, pp. 547.3–549.22).

115 *Vimalaprabhā* ad 4.110 (vol. 2, p. 204.18–19): *bodhicittabinduniṣpattir binduyogaḥ | śukracyavanāt sukhopalabdhiḥ sūkṣmayogaḥ* |. This is cited in *TSD*, s.vv. *phra mo'i rnal 'byor, thig le'i rnal 'byor, thig le, rnal 'byor*, and *dmigs pa*.

116 *TSD*, s.v.

117 *MW*, s.v.

118 The terms *ūrdhvadvāra* and *adhodvāra* are attested in Sanskrit sources, for example, in Kṛṣṇācārya's *Vasantatilakā* (p. 22.4) and Vanaratna's commentary on it, the *Rahasyadīpikā* (pp. 23.10). However, *ūrdhvadvāra* and *adhodvāra* in the tantric context do not seem to mean the 'gate opening into heaven' and the 'anus' (as in *MW*, s.v.), but rather the openings of two of the three principal channels (*pradhānā: gtso mo gsum*), namely, *rasanā* (*ro ma*) and *lalanā* (*brkyang ma*), respectively; the third and the middle channel is *avadhūtī* (*kun 'dar ma*). See the *Hevajratantra* 1.1.13 (cited also in *TSD*, s.v. *gtso mo*): *tāsāṃ madhye tisro nāḍyaḥ pradhānāḥ* |; see also *TSD*, s.vv. *rtsa, kun 'dar ma, ro ma*, and *brkyang ma*. The expressions *steng sgo* and *'og sgo* can be found in several rNying-ma tantric sources, for example, in the *sGyu 'phrul rgya mtsho* (pp. 10.7–11.1; also cited in the *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel*, p. 453.2):

bye brag rlung las gyur pa ni ||
ye shes 'byung ba steng 'og sgo ||.

See also the **Prajñāpraveśa* (P, fol. 413a5; S, vol. 43, p. 836.12–13):

thabs dang shes rab lam gnyis kyis ||
nges byed sngon [sdon P] *la steng 'og thabs* ||.

See also the *bSam gtan mig sgron* (p. 15.5–6): *steng 'og gi sgo'i man ngag....*; *ibid.* (p. 220.2): *mdor steng 'og gi rlung 'jug gi phye ba'o* ||; *ibid.* (p. 210.3): *'og gi sgo la rten pa ni* |; *ibid.* (p. 222.5): *rten can ni steng 'og gi gnyis te* | *steng gi sgo la brten pa ni* |; *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 122a4; B, p. 549.18). Cf. also the *sGyu 'phrul rgya mtsho* (p. 25.6):

steng 'og rlung la dbang thob nas ||
bar ma'i rkyen gyis bslu ba med ||.

Cf. also the *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (P, fol. 577a7–8; S, vol. 43, p. 1196.17–18):

thabs kyi lus la brten shes na ||
yon tan brjod las 'das pas [sic?] *gsungs* ||.

119 The expression *svadehopāyasaṃyukta* can be found, for example, in the *Guhyasiddhi* (pp. 22.19–20, 23.7–8), but I have not been able to trace its counterpart **paradehopāyasaṃyukta*.

strike directly at the core of the gnosis to be kindled so that the innate gnosis inevitably emerges without having to depend on the *nāḍī*, *vāyu*, or *bindu*. The alchemic procedure of transforming iron into gold gradually by efficiently manipulating a jewel called *kaustubha*[120] is given by analogy with the *grol lam* technique. The main distinction between *thabs lam* and *grol lam* is their emphasis on *upāya* and *prajñā*, respectively. However, it is maintained that each path is endowed with both *upāya* and *prajñā*, and is self-sufficient. It is also said that in general those who practise the *thabs lam* achieve swifter results than those who practise the *grol lam*, but a simultaneist engaged in the *grol lam* is said to be even swifter than a simultaneist engaged in the *thabs lam*.

The sexual-yogic technique, which involves a skilful manipulation of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, is thus relevant only for those who practise a specific kind of *thabs lam*. For those tantric traditions that endorse such options, sexual-yogic practices are neither indispensable nor are they meant to be interpreted only symbolically. It is also comprehensible why sexual-yogic practices, although in principle permissible even for fully ordained monks, may in practice be extremely difficult, simply owing to the great risks involved. For the Dwags-po bKa'-brgyud tradition in Tibet, the Six Teachings of Nāropa (*na ro'i chos drug*)[121] make use of the *thabs lam* technique, and Mahāmudrā the *grol lam* technique.[122] In sum, all yogic techniques mentioned here seem to be, in one way or another, concerned with causing gnoseological *bodhicitta* to emerge.

7. Semeiological *Bodhicitta*

As stated above, I take semeiological *bodhicitta* to be a visual, verbal, or visional representation or symbol of the other four types of *bodhicitta*. Not being a specialist in Indian or Buddhist symbolism, I have relied on Adrian Snodgrass's *The Symbolism of the Stupa* for some general understanding of this field. The primary aim of this discussion is to supplement our understanding of the concept of *bodhicitta* and not of symbolism per se.

(a) General Features of *Bodhicitta* Symbolism

Adrian Snodgrass remarks that in the Indian view, "the symbol has a horizontal reference that is indefinitely extended and a vertical reference that is truly infinite."[123] That is to say, a symbol can have more than one referent, and a single referent can be represented by a number of different symbols, and itself have a plurality of meanings. Snodgrass also states that symbols can produce interlocking and inter-reflecting patterns. All of this seems to be true, in particular, of the symbolism of *bodhicitta*. A single symbol, such as a *vajra*, can have more than one referent, including *bodhicitta*. Similarly, the single referent *bodhicitta* can be represented by a number of symbols—a lotus, the moon, and so forth. It is also true that *bodhicitta* symbolism ranges over the visual (or physical), verbal (or vocal), and visional (or mental). In what seems to be typically tantric, a single symbol can have a single referent, but that referent will have at least three dimensions, namely, outer (*phyi*), inner (*nang*), and secret (*gsang ba*), and the secret dimension, in turn, may yield other multidimensional patterns. A

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120 *MW*, s.v.

121 For a list of the Six Teachings of Nāropa, see, for example, *Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *nā ro chos drug*.

122 *Shes bya'i mdzod* (p. 832.4): *thabs lam chos drug | grol lam phyag rgya chen po'i gdams pa'o ||*; *ibid.* (p. 833.24): … *thabs lam nā ro chos drug tu grags pa….*

123 SNODGRASS 1985: 8.

symbol of *bodhicitta*, then, does not exist in isolation but is connected with other symbols and referents. Moreover, which symbol represents which theme depends on given roles of importance in the given context. One may also assume that new symbols can be superimposed on an existing referent such as *bodhicitta*, and an existing symbol can be reinterpreted as representing one or more types of *bodhicitta*.

(b) Putting Symbolism in a Buddhist Philosophical Context

One question that comes to mind is how the primary sources designate symbolical or semeiological *bodhicitta* and what they mean by it. In this regard, it is interesting to note how such primary sources approach the distinction between that which expresses (*abhidhā: rjod byed*) and that which is expressed (*abhidheya: brjod bya*), that which signifies (*lakṣaṇa: mtshon byed*) and that which is signified (*lakṣya: mtshon bya*), and so forth, corresponding, one might say, to imitation (or replication) and the genuine (or actual), respectively. When the symbols are verbal, the former always takes the form of 'words' (*vyañjana*: *tshig*) and the latter that of 'meaning' (*artha: don*). For example, in the *Abhidharmakośa*, Abhidharma itself is subdivided into 'designatory' (*sāṃketika: brdar btags pa*) and 'actual' (*pāramārthika: don dam pa*), which can be equated with 'form' and 'content' or with 'signifier' and 'signified.' This method is later on extended to explain *madhyamaka*, *prajñāpāramitā*, and *tantra*. For example, Ratnākaraśānti, in his commentary on the *Mahāmāyātantra* called the *Guṇavatī*, clearly uses the expressions 'causal *tantra*' (*hetutantra: rgyu'i rgyud*), 'resultant *tantra*' (*phalatantra: 'bras bu'i rgyud*), and '*tantra* of means (or ways)' (*upāyatantra: thabs kyi rgyud*), clearly based on the *Guhyasamājatantra*.[124] Such a scheme can be found also in the *Yogaratnamālā*.[125] In the rNying-ma tantric exegeses, *tantra* is divided into two: (a) 'the expressed meaning' (*brjod bya don*) and (b) 'the words that express' (*rjod byed tshig*). The former is subdivided into basis (*gzhi*), path (*lam*), and goal (*'bras bu*), and the latter also into three, namely, 'verbal appearance' (*sgrar snang ba*), 'verbal resonance' (*sgrar grags pa*), and their 'symbols' (*brdar gyur pa*).[126] Apparently, these three correlate with the visional, verbal, and visual symbols of *tantra*, respectively. In a similar way, it is clear that of the five types, semeiological *bodhicitta* is merely designatory, or the signifier, while the remaining four are the signified or the designated, and can be subsumed under *bodhicitta* as it figures on the basis, path, and goal levels of a *bodhisattva*.

One particular underlying Buddhist philosophical idea seems to be relevant to the understanding of Buddhist symbolism in general and semeiological *bodhicitta* in particular. On the whole, it is assumed that the thing-in-itself, or rather reality-in-itself, is always and by nature independent of our conceptions, perceptions, and designations, and that there is in fact no connection between the designation and the designated. Nonetheless, communication is possible because of conceptual thought, which establishes a false but still effective association between the designation and the designated, thereby enabling mental, verbal, and physical communication to occur. Hence, from a Buddhist philosophical point of view, the connection between semeiological *bodhicitta* and its referents may be a rather arbitrary but nonetheless useful means of gaining access to actual *bodhicitta*. Genuine *bodhicitta* cannot be expressed or represented adequately or correctly by means of concepts, words, or images. But it is

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[124] *Guṇavatī* (p. 2.11–12): *trividhaṃ tantram—hetutantram, phalatantram, upāyatantraṃ ca* |; *ibid.* (p. 3.4–5): ... *hetutantraṃ phalatantram upāyatantraṃ vā* | *tad etat trividhaṃ tantraṃ prabhakṣye* |. See *Guhyasamājatantra* 18.34–35.

[125] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 105.20–23): *tantram iti prabandhaḥ* | *tac ca tridhā, hetutantraṃ phalatantraṃ upāyatantrañ ca* |.

[126] *'Od gsal snying po* (pp. 15.1–17.5).

perhaps precisely because of this limitation that Buddhists dealing with the *bodhicitta* idea have attempted to symbolise it in various ways.

(c) Three Kinds of Semeiological *Bodhicitta*: Visual, Verbal, and Visional

Sometimes *bodhicitta* is symbolised by such objects as the full moon,[127] or—to express its two components, *upāya* and *prajñā*—the sun and moon.[128] In the context of sexual-yogic practices, a female is *prajñā* and the male *upāya*,[129] and in meditative practices involving the visualisation of deities, the sun is the seat of efficient strategy (*upāyāsana*) and the moon the seat of insight (*prajñāsana*).[130] *Bodhicitta* is also symbolised by a flaming jewel, jewel banner (*ratnaketu*), lotus, and water in a vase.[131] The ritual sceptre (*vajra*), too, is said to symbolise *bodhicitta*, in this case, as efficient strategy (*upāya*), along with a bell (*ghaṇṭā*), which represents insight (*prajñā*).[132] In the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*, the tantric deity Śrīheruka is represented as wearing a crown (*dbu rgyan*) representing *bodhicitta*. In fact, jewel crowns of tantric *buddha*s are generally taken to be symbols (*rtags*) of *bodhicitta*.[133] According to a recent Tibetan source, the parasol (*gdugs: chatra*), which is one of the so-called Eight Symbols of Auspiciousness (*bkra shis rtags brgyad*), is supposed to symbolise *bodhicitta*.[134] I have not, however, been able to trace this idea in Indian sources.

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[127] *Dhyānottarapaṭalaṭīkā* (P, fols. 18b8–19a1; D, fol. 16a6; S, vol. 36, p. 38.8–9): *sems zhes bya ba ni byang chub kyi sems kyi mtshan nyid zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi rnam pa'o* ||; *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā* (P, fol. 420a8; D, fol. 113b3; S, vol. 22, p. 281.18): *zla ba ni byang chub kyi sems so* ||.

[128] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 67b5; B, p. 98.18–19): *nyi zla ni thabs dang shes rab rang bzhin gyis 'od gsal ba'i phyag rgya'o* ||.

[129] *Hevajratantra* 1.8.28ab (also cited in *TSD*, s.v. *thabs*):
yoṣit tāvad bhavet prajñā upāyaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ |.

[130] *Vimalaprabhā* ad 3.60 (vol. 2, p. 61.21–22): *upāyāsanaṃ sūryaḥ* | *prajñāsanaṃ candraḥ* |. This is also cited in *TSD*, s.v. *thabs kyi gdan*.

[131] SNODGRASS 1985: 173, 204, 349.

[132] *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 286.23): *yad bodhicittaṃ tad vajraṃ prajñā ghaṇṭā iti smṛtā* ||. See also the *Vajraśikharatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 211a2–3; B, pp. 316.23–317.1):
rdo rje dril bu phyag rgya yang ||
blo gros chen po khyod kyis gzung ||
byang chub sems gang de rdo rje ||
shes rab dril bu zhes su brjod ||.
See also the citation in *ibid.* (A, fol. 219b5–6; B, p. 327.4–5).

[133] *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 104a6–b1; B, p. 574.5–7): *dpal he ru ka la ni byang chub sems kyi dbu rgyan gsungs te* [ta A] | *de bas na tshig 'di dag kyang 'og nas ston pa'i dbu rgyan don gyi byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin bstan pa'o* ||; *ibid.* (A, fol. 105a1–2; B, p. 574.20–22): *de la thod pa'i dbu rgyan ni* | *byang chub kyi sems gtsor* [gtso bor A] *bstan pa'i phyir te* | *dbu rgyan kun kyang byang chub kyi sems kyi rtags yin mod kyi gang du gang gtsor gsungs pa de khyad par du sbyar bar rigs so* ||; *ibid.* (A, fol. 101a3–5; B, p. 570.17–23): *dbu rgyan gyi don gsungs pa* | «*chos kyi rgyal srid rab bsgrub pa* || *rin chen chos las lhag pa med* || *de bas theg chen byang chub sems* || *rgyal ba rin chen rdo rje can* ||» *zhes bya ba ste* | *'dir rgyal srid kyi mchog kyang chos kyi rgyal srid yin la* | *rin po che'i mchog kyang chos rin po che yin te* | *de bas na theg pa chen po'i chos bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi sems kyis brgyan pa la mnga' brnyes pa'i phyir rin* [rim B] *po che'i dbu rgyan rdo rje phyed pas mtshan pas dbu brgyan to* || *zhes bya ba'i don to* ||.

[134] *Ri mo spyi'i rnam gzhag* (p. 454.5–8): "As for what these symbols (i.e. the Eight Symbols of Auspiciousness) represent, there are several different positions among the various schools. However, the commonly accepted position is that what is symbolised by the parasol is *bodhicitta*, characterised by [the thought of] benefiting others (*parahīta*). [It is] white in colour, [its] handle is made of gold, [and it is] adorned with soaring, fluttering

The syllables *man* and *tra* in the word *mantra* are said to represent the oneness of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*, and hence *bodhicitta*.[135] The vowel *a*, which is called the supreme letter, is also said to represent *bodhicitta*.[136] Sometimes the vowels *u* and *ū* are said to stand for *bodhicitta*.[137] At other times, the syllable *hūṃ* is presented as the essence of *bodhicitta*.[138] The *anusvāra* sign, too, is at times considered the seed of *bodhicitta*.[139] The letter *ka*, finally, is said to stand for either *karuṇā* or *bodhicitta*.[140]

Sometimes *bodhicitta* is visualised as a ball of light,[141] in what seems to be a case of visional symbolism. More often it is personified (either in its gnoseological or ontological sense) as deities such as Samantabhadra,[142] Vajrasattva,[143] Vajradhara,[144] Mañjuśrī,[145]

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silk streamers of different [colours] and with a jewel top" (*'di'i mtshon byed la grub mtha' so so'i 'dod pa mi mthun pa 'ga' re snang yang | thun mong gi 'dod pa ni | gdugs kyi mtshon bya ni gzhan phan byang chub kyi sems te | kha dog dkar po yu ba gser las grub pa | dar sna tshogs 'phur lding rtsen zhing rin po che'i tog gis brgyan pa can no ||*).

[135] *dBang yon tan rim pa*, as cited in the *sDe dge bstan dkar* (p. 194.8–11):
ma ni stong pa mtshan ma bral ||
rdo rje sems dpa'i dbugs dbyung ba ||
shes rab chen po bdag gis bshad ||
tra ni skyob par byed pa'i don ||
de bzhin bshegs pa'i dbugs dbyung ba ||
stong pa dang ni snying rje nyid ||
gnyis su med dang gnyis kyi tshul ||.

[136] *mTshan brjod 'grel pa* (A, fol. 293a4; B, p. 284.10): *de ni dam pa'i yi ge'o || byang chub kyi sems so ||*; *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 118b2; B, p. 151.22–23): *a zhes brjod pas byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin a dkar por gsal bar bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 118b3–4; B, p. 152.1–3): ... *byang chub kyi sems a las zla ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi steng du | mtshan bzang po'i sa bon sgra yig bcu drug gi phreng ba rim pa gnyis su bskor ba a'i snying po can bsam par bya'o ||*.

[137] *mTshan brjod 'grel pa* (A, fol. 298a4–5; B, p. 289.21–22): *u ū ni byang chub kyi sems kun tu bzang po ste | sems nyid sems dpa' chen po'i rang bzhin no ||*.

[138] *Muktikāvali* (P, fol. 283a8–b1; D, fol. 238b7; S, vol. 2, p. 1351.17–18); *mTshan brjod 'grel pa* (A, fol. 283a4–5; B, p. 273.5–6); *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 125b5; B, p. 159.18); GOVINDA 1956: 218.

[139] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 124b5; B, p. 158.16–17): *klad kor rnams ni byang chub sems kyi thig le ste sa bon gyi don no ||*.

[140] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 109b6; B, p. 142.11–12): *ka ni thugs rje chen po'i sgo ste | snying rje byang chub sems kyi rnam par thar pa'o ||*.

[141] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 121a3–4; B, p. 154.18–19): *dkyil 'khor gyi dbus kyi gdan steng na byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin 'od kyi gong bu tsam zhig dmigs pa....*

[142] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 120b2–4; B, p. 154.2–7); *mTshan brjod 'grel pa* (A, fols. 283a4–5, 297a1–2; B, pp. 273.5–6, 288.11–15).

[143] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 1:
byang chub sems kyi bdag nyid dngos ||
dpal ldan rdo rje rnams btud de ||
byang chub sems kyi bsgom pa ni ||
srid pa 'jig de bdag gis bshad ||.

[144] *Māyāvatī* (P, fol. 218a6; D, fol. 176a6; S, vol. 13, p. 482.14):
byang chub sems ni rdo rje 'chang ||.

[145] *Bodhicittabhāvanānirdeśa* (P, fol. 56a5–8; D, fol. 42b2–5; S, vol. 33, pp. 182.16–183.6): *de la de bzhin gshegs pa rnams byung yang rung ma byung yang rung | chos rnams kyi chos nyid ni ye nas gnas pa'i chos kun gyi snying por gyur pa ni | 'jam dpal gzhon nu zhes bya ste | ci'i phyir 'jam zhe na | zug rngu med pa'i phyir*

Kālacakra,[146] Hevajra, Vajrayoginī, and Vajraḍakiṇī.[147] As such, it is associated with all kinds of colours and features, both peaceful and wrathful forms, and the male and female gender. The reason why such types of *bodhicitta* have been symbolised in the forms of wrathful, demonical deities seems to lie in the gradually emerging notion among some Buddhist traditions that passive and peaceful means are not always effective enough when it comes to engaging in the activities of a *buddha* and that it is necessary to resort to more aggressive means. The *Buddhasamāyogatantra* explicitly states that those who are extremely malignant (*duṣṭa: gdug pa*) and ferocious (*caṇḍa: gtum po*) cannot be benefited by resorting to peaceful means, and hence when necessary all the *tathāgata*s assume the forms of wrathful deities endowed with insight and efficient strategies.[148] It goes on to state that if an ill-tempered individual can fly into a rage and burn down Tripura, then of course all *buddha*s, by doing the same, can burn down Tridhātu.[149] According to the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (which is actually classified as a *tantra*), although *buddha*s are peaceful, they assume wrathful or unruly forms as part of their great efficient strategies.[150] The iconography of peaceful and wrathful deities

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'jam pa dang | de rtogs na sems can kun gyi dpal du gyur pa dang | gzhon [gzhom DC] *pa ni gtsang ba'i don te | skyon dang dri mas ma gos pa'i phyir ro || snying po gong* [gang N] *du bstan pa nyid chos rnams kyi snying po yin pa'i phyir ro || 'jam dpal zhes bya ba | byang chub kyi sems kyi mtshan nyid ma nor bar rtogs pa ni | sangs rgyas ma lus pa'i 'byung gnas yin pa'i phyir | bder gshegs ma lus yum du gyur pa rgyal ba kun gyi lam gcig go || zhes smos te | lam 'di ma rtogs* [gtogs N] *par lam gzhan gyis 'tshang mi rgya ba'i phyir ro* ||; *mTshan brjod 'grel pa* (A, fols. 268b1–269a2; B, p. 257.2–9).

[146] DASGUPTA 1958: 65.

[147] *Māyāvatī* (P, fol. 211b2–3; D, fol. 170b6; S, vol. 13, p. 469.15–16):
byang chub sems ni rdo rje nyid ||
rdo rje mkha' 'gro zhe gsungs so ||.

[148] *Buddhasamāyogatantra*-1 (T, fol. 273a5; D, fol. 176a1):
shin tu gdug cing drag po la ||
zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te ||
shes rab thabs kyi sbyor ba ni ||
rnam par rgyal phyir rab tu drag ||.
See *ibid.* (T, fol. 249a2; D, fol. 157b3–4):
shin tu gdug par gtum po la ||
zhi bas phan par mi 'gyur te ||
shes rab thabs kyi ngo bo yi ||
khro bor de bzhin gshegs kun mdzad ||.
See also the *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fols. 66b2–3, 81a6–b1, 104a4; B, pp. 532.4–6, 548.20–22, 573.24–574.1).

[149] *Buddhasamāyogatantra*-1 (T, fol. 249a2–3; D, fol. 157b4–5):
khro bo'i tshul can khros pas kyang ||
'jig rten gsum dag sreg byed na ||
sangs rgyas thams cad khros pa yis ||
khams gsum ma lus smos ci dgos ||.
It is very clear that the author of the text is alluding to the legend of Śiva (or Mahādeva) burning down, with fire shot from a bow and arrow, the mythical city of Tripura built of gold, silver, and iron by Maya for the Asuras in the sky, air, and earth (*MW*, s.v. *tripura*). All the *buddha*s, when enraged, can similarly burn down the Three Spheres (*tridhātu* or *traidhātuka: khams gsum*) of *saṃsāra* with their arrow of insight. Such a comparison is made also in the non-tantric context. See, for example, Udbhaṭasiddhisvāmin's *Viśeṣastava* 4 (in SCHNEIDER 1993: 52–53; NAGA 1998: 53, 62, 71, n. 5). For the Tibetan text and a German translation of Prajñāvarman's commentary on the verse, see SCHNEIDER 1993: 88–89. See also *id.* 1995.

[150] *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (T, fol. 319b2; D, fol. 17b3):
e ma'o bdag ni sangs rgyas rnams ||
thugs rje can gyi thabs chen te ||
zhi yang sems can don du ni ||
ma rungs par ni ston par 'gyur ||.

may well have been influenced by the theory of Indian dramaturgical aesthetics (*rāsa: nyams*).

The *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* states that *buddhas* assume the form of a woman for the benefit of aspirants.[151] Such an idea is not foreign to the non-tantric Mahāyāna systems either. For example, in the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, *buddhas* are said to deliberately manifest as prostitutes in order to lead men with the hook of passion (*rāgāṅkuśa: 'dod chags kyi lcags kyu*) to the gnosis of a *buddha*.[152] One may wonder how the semeiological *bodhicitta* manifesting as male and female deities in union came into being? There are ample references where the efficient strategy (*upāya: thabs*) and discriminating insight (*prajñā: shes rab*) have been allegorically designated as respectively 'father' and 'mother'—for example, in the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*.[153] Similarly, the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* states that *prajñāpāramitā* is the mother of the *bodhisattvas* and *upāyakauśalya* their father, and that the *buddhas* are born from them.[154] The same kinship metaphor can be found in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.[155] According to Ratnākaraśānti, some scholars considered *upāya* and *karuṇā*, again equated with father and mother, to be the progenitors of the Three Jewels.[156] In the so-called 'subsequent *tantra*' of the *Buddhasamāyogatantra* too, *prajñāpāramitā* and *upāyakauśalya* are referred to as mother and father.[157] Kamalaśīla cites the *Paramādyatantra* where *prajñāpāramitā* is designated as mother and *upāyakauśalya* as father.[158] In the *dGongs*

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[151] *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (T, fol. 342b5–6; D, fol. 35b5):
e ma 'o gang phyir byang chub sems ||
sems can kun la phan bzhed pa ||
'dul ba'i dbang gis dpa' bo gang ||
bud med gzugs su [snang T] *mdzad par 'gyur* [gyur D] ||.

[152] *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 7.32 (p. 82.13–14):
saṃcintya gaṇikā bhonti pumsām ākarṣaṇāya te |
rāgāṅkuśena lobhetvā buddhajñāne sthapenti te ||.
See also STUDY GROUP 2004: 33. Cf. the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 326.1–2; VAIDYA, p. 173.19–20), where the verse is cited. For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 291.

[153] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 165.8):
ma ni shes rab pha ni thabs ||.

[154] *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 7.1 (p. 79.20–21):
prajñāpāramitā mātā bodhisattvāna māriṣa |
pitā copāyakauśalyaṃ yato jāyanti nāyakāḥ ||.
Cited also in the *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 63b2–3; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 57a4; S, vol. 71, p. 1038.14–16).

[155] *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (p. 526.2–3): *prajñāpāramitā kulaputra bodhisattvānāṃ mātā, upāyakauśalyaṃ pitā....* See also MARTIN 1987: 191.

[156] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 280b7–281a1; D, fol. 239b1–3; S, vol. 64, pp. 674.18–675.5).

[157] *Buddhasamāyogatantra*-2 (T, fol. 315a6; D, fol. 208a5):
ma ni shes rab pha rol phyin ||
pha ni thabs la mkhas pa ste ||.
See also the *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fols. 10b4–11a6; B, pp. 468.23–469.17).

[158] See the Second *Bhāvanākrama* (pp. 106.16–107.1): *'phags pa dpal mchog dang po las kyang* | «*shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa ni ma yin no* || *thabs la mkhas pa ni pha yin no* ||» *zhes bka' stsal to* ||. See the 'Sanskrit restoration' in NAMDOL 1985, pp. 216.25–217.1: **āryaśrīparaparamādye 'pi uktam*—«*prajñāpāramitā tu mātā asti, upāyakauśalyaṃ ca pitā asti* |. The Sanskrit original, however, probably did not have *asti*. The line has been cited by Tsong-kha-pa in his *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 224a2), apparently from the Second *Bhāvanākrama* (as suggested in LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2002: 89–90, 262, n. 157). However, as pointed out in NAMDOL 1985: 106, n. 10, it cannot be traced in the *Paramādyatantra* found in the bKa'-'gyur.

pa 'dus pa'i mdo, one of the main *tantra*s of the Anuyoga class of the rNying-ma school, Vajrasattva identifies his father as the 'unfathomable supreme *upāya*' and his mother as the 'inexpressible *prajñā*.'[159]

The *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantra* clearly states that one should not only realise the indivisibility of one's own body, speech, and mind but also those of the deity, the uniting (*samāyoga: mnyam par sbyor ba*) of one's triad with the deity's triad being called the *mantrin*'s meditative absorption. When this happens, all bodily movements and verbal expressions reveal themselves as *mudrā*s and *mantra*s, respectively.[160] Under such doctrinal presumptions, the gap between visual, verbal, and visional semeiological *bodhicitta* is bound to close, with semeiological *bodhicitta* no longer being seen as mere symbolisation of the other four types of *bodhicitta*, but rather as their visually, verbally, and visionally expressive dynamism.

(d) Vajrayāna Symbolism and Literalism

In connection with semeiological *bodhicitta* and the father-mother metaphor mentioned above, a few words may be devoted to an interpretation of Vajrayāna. There is a tendency to approach Vajrayāna by swinging from the one extreme of literalism to the other extreme of symbolism. This is true of both modern and traditional students of tantric Buddhism. The harsh judgement passed on the Buddhist *tantra*s by scholars of the nineteenth century, described by John Newman in his doctoral dissertation,[161] seems to have been the result of a too literal interpretation of tantric texts. Nowadays, most modern scholars who orient themselves to the dGe-lugs-pa tantric tradition tend, by contrast, to overemphasise the symbolic interpretation of tantric Buddhism.

Seyfort Ruegg, in discussing the imagery of *yab yum* ('male' and 'female,' or 'father' and 'mother') as a symbol of the union of *karuṇā* (or *upāya*) and *prajñā*, has pointed out the need to distinguish between 'an iconic sign and a symbolic or conventional sign'[162] and between the 'form and content' of the image of the union of *yab yum* in Vajrayāna Buddhism, saying that a failure to do so inevitably leads "to confusion and to missing the dimensions, philosophical as well as psychological etc., in the culture in which it was created and used."

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[159] *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 87a6; D, fol. 92a7):
pha ni thabs mchog dpag tu med ||
ma ni shes rab brjod las 'das ||.
Cf. Klong-chen-pa, *Man ngag mdzod* (fol. 44b2):
pha yi dam par chos dbyings 'gyur med tshol ||
ma yi dam par rang byung ye shes tshol ||.

[160] *Vajrapāṇyabhiṣekatantra* (T, fol. 175a4–b3; D, fols. 117b6–118a3): *'jam dpal de la rigs kyi bu'am | rigs kyi bu mo dkyil 'khor mthong ba | byang chub tu sems bskyed pa | yid snying rje dang ldan pa | thabs la mkhas pa | gsang sngags kyi sgo yi ge'i tshul bstan pa la mkhas pas 'di snyam du ngag ma gtogs par yid med | yid ma gtogs par ngag med | yid ma gtogs par lha'i gzugs med de | yid nyid ngag yin la ngag nyid yid yin 'no* ||' [zhing D] *lha'i gzugs nyid kyang yid yin la | ngag nyid kyang lha'i gzugs yin no snyam du bsam par bya'o || de ltar tha dad du bya ba med par mos na | sngags pas yid rnam par dag pa thob bo || yid rnam par dag pa dang ldan pa de gang gi tshe | rnam pa thams cad du rtag par bdag gi lus dang lha'i gzugs su | bdag gi ngag dang lha'i ngag tu | bdag gi yid dang lha'i yid du mtshungs par mthong ba de'i tshe mnyam par gzhag pa yin no || gang tshe kun tu* [du D] *thams cad du || sngags pa mnyam par bzhag* [gzhag] *gyur pa* [na D] || *de'i tshe lus la sogs pa yi* [yis T] || *mnyam nyid gnas la zhugs par 'gyur* [gyur T] || *mnyam nyid gnas la gnas pa yi* [yin T]|| *yan lag bskyod pa ji snyed dang || tshig tu brjod pa ji snyed pa || de snyed 'sngags dang'* [gsang sngags D] *phyag rgya yin* ||. Cf. the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 202a1–b1; B, p. 306.7–22) and *Rab gnas bshad sbyar* (A, fol. 292b4–6; B, p. 162.8–11).

[161] See NEWMAN 1987: 29–32.

[162] Note that he here employs the terms 'iconic' and 'symbolic' in a semeiological sense.

While not ruling out the historical possibility that such images were derived from pre-Buddhist or non-Buddhist images, he argues that the interpretation of a 'symbolic' *yab yum* image (which actually stands for a deeper lying 'content,' i.e. the syzygy of *karuṇā/upāya* and *prajñā*) as 'iconic'—as having a sexual referent with a material 'form'—would be misguided.[163] And indeed, by taking literally what is meant to be understood symbolically, we risk distorting the intent of the tantric texts, and this would have undesirable practical implications for the tantric traditions themselves.

While there are certainly some tantric elements which are meant to be understood symbolically, there are plenty of instances where a practice is meant to be taken literally—for example, the consumption of substances which we normally find repulsive. Interpreting such an idea symbolically would again mean distorting the purport of tantric texts. In my view, it is completely legitimate for a tradition to interpret symbolically. Such interpretation, however, should be seen as a pragmatic expedient adopted by a fully ordained monk in order to deal with the problems and risks faced when attempting to combine both tantric and non-tantric practices. The most we can do is to try to find out why a certain tantric text or tradition proposes or prescribes an unusual theory or practice.

8. A Concluding Assessment of the Five Types of *Bodhicitta*

The five types of *bodhicitta* are certainly of varying antiquity and may have first been formulated under varying circumstances and milieus. In terms of relative chronology, it is beyond doubt that the idea of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* is the oldest, while the concept of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is very probably the most recent one. The concept of gnoseological *bodhicitta* is probably older than that of ontological *bodhicitta*. This is based on the supposition that in the history of Buddhist ideas the formation of the concept of *nirvāṇa* (or *bodhi*) as a spiritual event normally precedes that of the concept of *nirvāṇa* as a metaphysical entity, and not vice versa. In the case of *bodhicitta*, it can be assumed, then, that gnoseological *bodhicitta*, which is a spiritual event in the career of a *bodhisattva* or a *buddha*, should have surfaced historically prior to ontological *bodhicitta*, which is considered a metaphysical entity or reality. As for the relative chronology of the idea of semeiological *bodhicitta*, it would be reasonable to assume that the use of a sign or symbol such as a lotus to signify ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* could not have preceded the idea of ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* itself. Since semeiological *bodhicitta* is the signifier of the other four types, any determination of its relative chronology would depend on the individual signs or symbols that stand for a certain type of *bodhicitta*.

The proposed relative chronology of these five types of *bodhicitta* does not mean that the older types are replaced by the more recent ones. The older types are in fact never relinquished as the newer types come into their own. Hence it is important to note that ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta*, which is the most archaic, remains an indispensable core throughout all phases in the history of the *bodhicitta* concept. Thus to expound the tantric concept of *bodhicitta* without taking all five types into consideration would be misleading, for although psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is uniquely tantric, the concept of *bodhicitta* found in tantric Buddhism reflects the entire spectrum of ideas pertaining to *bodhicitta*.

All five types are set in a Mahāyāna soteriological framework, and are always soteriological in their nature and function. Ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* is the resolve to attain the Mahāyāna soteriological goal, namely, Buddhahood, for the benefit of oneself and others. It is through gnoseological *bodhicitta*, that is, liberating insight, that a *buddha* or *bodhisattva* experiences ontological *bodhicitta* as a spiritual event. Gnoseological *bodhicitta* is, as it were,

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[163] SEYFORT RUEGG 1976: 26–27.

the very heart of Mahāyāna soteriology. Psycho-physiological and semeiological *bodhicitta* can be seen as additional means and resources acquired to increase, enhance, facilitate, and accelerate the soteriological process, and hence the designation supra-*bodhicitta* (**adhibodhicitta: lhag pa'i byang chub kyi sems*) seems to be quite apt. Of the five types, it is also clear that ontological *bodhicitta* is seen as providing the space where the crucial event of Mahāyāna soteriology takes place. Although ontological *bodhicitta* is independent of the other four types of *bodhicitta*, it is of utmost soteriological relevance and value, for it is only by penetrating through to it by means of meditative insight that one becomes a *buddha*. The generation or revelation of gnoseological *bodhicitta* is the objective of ethico-spiritual, psycho-physiological, and semeiological forms of *bodhicitta*. There is a striking parallelism between ethico-spiritual and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, with primarily psychical elements being employed to generate gnoseological *bodhicitta* in the former case, and psycho-physiological elements being skilfully directed towards the same end in the latter. Furthermore, it is philosophically interesting that, according to certain strands of thought, the boundary between ontological and gnoseological *bodhicitta* seems to evaporate, with gnoseological *bodhicitta* coming to enjoy an ontological status, in which case it could rather be described as onto-gnoseological. Likewise, if psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* is understood in the sense of a type of gnosis characterised by great bliss (**mahāsukhajñāna: bde ba chen po'i ye shes*), it in turn may be seen as special kind of gnoseological *bodhicitta*. Within certain Buddhist traditions that presuppose the revelation model of soteriology, there seems to be a tendency to attribute an ontological status not only to gnoseological *bodhicitta* but also to ethico-spiritual and psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, thereby leading to the notion of what one might call primordial *bodhicitta*, a universal basis for both *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*. In short, one could say that a tantric or non-tantric Mahāyāna aspirant gains direct insight into ontological *bodhicitta* by means of gnoseological *bodhicitta*, which has been attained through the practice of ethico-spiritual or psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* with the assistance of semeiological *bodhicitta*.

Chapter Eight

Traditional Classifications of *Bodhicitta*

> A perfect *buddha*, a source of benefit and well-being,
> Is born from a Son of the Victorious One;
> A Son of the Victorious One is born from *bodhicitta*,
> Which is characterised by compassion and [insight into] emptiness.
>
> – Sa-skya Paṇḍita Kun-dga'-rgyal-mtshan (1182–1251), *Thub pa dgongs gsal*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

Indian and Tibetan scholars have classified *bodhicitta* in a number of ways. One of the favourite practices has been to classify *bodhicitta* in an ascending numerical order beginning with one.[2] This is clearly an attempt to systematise all possible classifications under one umbrella. In this chapter, an attempt will be made to approach the idea of *bodhicitta* by considering the numerous ways of classifying it.

2. *Bodhicitta* as a Fusion of *Śūnyatā/Prajñā* and *Karuṇā/Upāya*

Bodhicitta is often perceived as a single entity, namely, a synthesis or fusion of *śūnyatā* ('emptiness') and *karuṇā* ('compassion') or of *prajñā* ('discerning insight') and *upāya* ('efficient strategy')—a perception that is prevalent in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism. Often, too, *śūnyatā* is equated with *prajñā*, and *upāya* with *karuṇā*, as in Kāṇha's *Yogaratnamālā*.[3] The term *śūnyatā* in such a context does not seem to refer to *śūnyatā* per se

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[1] *Thub pa dgongs gsal* (p. 3.1):
phan bde'i 'byung gnas rdzogs pa yi ||
sangs rgyas rgyal ba'i sras las 'khrungs ||
rgyal sras stong nyid snying rje yi ||
bdag nyid byang chub sems las 'khrungs ||.

[2] Such a practice can be witnessed, for example, in the *Yogācārabhūmi* (pp. 62.9ff.).

[3] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 117.13–14): *sarvadharmaśūnyatā prajñā, upāyo mahākaruṇā* |.

but rather to *prajñā*, which cognises *śūnyatā*. The idea of the fusion of *śūnyatā/prajñā* and *karuṇā/upāya* may differ from system to system, but for all systems it always seems to mean a certain type of *bodhicitta*. In the following few paragraphs, we shall consider the key expressions, such as *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* and *śūnyatākaruṇābhinna*, and finally also the role of *prajñā* and *karuṇā* as conceived in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna Buddhism.

(a) The Term *Śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*

When *bodhicitta* is classified as one, it is equated with the union or synthesis of insight (*prajñā: shes rab*) and either compassion (*karuṇā: snying rje*) or efficient strategies (*upāya: thabs*), a union often expressed by the key term *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*. We may begin by examining some of the non-tantric and tantric sources where this expression occurs. Perhaps one of the earliest popular sources in which the expression *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* occurs is Nāgārjuna's *Ratnāvalī*:[4]

> [To some he teaches Dharma] not based on duality;
> To some [he teaches] a profound [Dharma] terrifying to the fearful;
> To others the means of awakening that has emptiness and compassion as its essence.[5]

Śāntideva employs the expression in two of the verses (*kārikā*) of his *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:[6]

> Know that the purity of prosperity
> Is [brought about] by purifying right livelihood;
> The purification of beneficial resources is [brought about] by a course of action (or manner of life)
> That has [the cognition of] emptiness and compassion as [its] essence.

The next verse of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* that contains the expression *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* is as follows:[7]

> What [can bring about] the increase of one's welfare?
> An increase of vigour and non-lassitude [can].
> The increase of prosperity is caused by an act of giving
> That has [the cognition of] emptiness and compassion as [its] essence.

Śāntideva's employment of the expression in these two verses suggests that the *bodhisattva*'s ethico-spiritual practices are always necessarily accompanied by conative, cognitive, and emotive factors. The conative vigour will lend him impetus, the cognitive knowledge of

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[4] *Ratnāvalī* 4.96:

> *dvayāniśritam ekeṣāṃ gambhīraṃ bhīrubhīṣaṇam* |
> *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbham ekeṣāṃ*[a] *bodhisādhanam* ||. [a] keṣāṃ LINDTNER 1997: 329.

Cf. *ibid.* 3.98, 4.78, 5.37b–d.

[5] The English translation is according to LINDTNER 1997: 329. Cf. SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 445, n. 54: *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbham* ... *bodhisādhanam* "[der Weg,] mittels dessen man das Erwachen (d.h. die Buddhaschaft) erreicht, Leerheit und Mitleid umfasst." See also rGyal-tshab-rje's *sNying po'i don gsal* (pp. 276.10–277.3).

[6] *Śikṣāsamuccayakārikā* 21 (BENDALL, p. xlv):

> *bhogaśuddhiṃ ca jānīyāt samyagājīvaśodhanāt* |
> *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbhaceṣṭitāt puṇyaśodhanam* ||.

The first two *pāda*s are cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 262.11; VAIDYA, p. 143.3), and the last two *pāda*s in *ibid.* (BENDALL, p. 270.8; VAIDYA, p. 144.9). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL (p. xlv) and BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 245, 247.

[7] *Śikṣāsamuccayakārikā* 23 (BENDALL, p. xlvi):

> *ātmabhāvasya kā vṛddhir balānālasya vardhanaṃ* |
> *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbhād dānād bhogasya vardhanaṃ* ||.

The first two *pāda*s are cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 273.16; VAIDYA, p. 146.5), and the last two *pāda*s in *ibid.* (BENDALL, p. 275.10; VAIDYA, p. 146.25). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL, p. xlvi, and BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 251–253.

śūnyatā will keep him emotionally detached from the whole process of spiritual practices, and the emotive component will help him not to lose sight of his objective. Without the conative component, a *bodhisattva* would not have the will to carry on with his practices; without the cognitive component, he would risk getting carried away by emotions, such as passion and pride; and without the emotive component of *karuṇā*, the very status of a *bodhisattva* would be called into question. Thus even when a *bodhisattva* is practising the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*) purely out of *karuṇā*, he should view all factors involved in the process, such as the giver, recipient, object, action, and motive, as being empty, as if it were all taking place in a dream. Thus an ethico-spiritual practice of a *bodhisattva* that unfolds in this way can, according to Śāntideva, be described as being characterised by *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*.

The expression *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* occurs in both the First and Third *Bhāvanākrama* by Kamalaśīla.[8] The given context seems to make it quite clear that a *bodhisattva*, after meditating, should in the post-meditative state exert himself towards a *puṇyasaṃbhāra* ('accumulation of beneficial resources') that has the combined cognition of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* as its *garbha* ('essence'). That is to say, even as a *bodhisattva* practises generosity, he should see to it that his motive is compassion, and all the while make himself aware of the fact that all phenomena are empty and illusory, like a dream. In principle, any ethico-spiritual practice or aspect of a *bodhisattva* could be said to be characterised by *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*. It is thus not astonishing to find that *bodhicitta* is also described as being characterised by *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*, for example, in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka*[9] and in his *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayapañjikā*.[10] The idea of *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* is explained by Dharmamitra in his *Prasphuṭapadā* as follows:[11]

> The reason for mentioning *bodhicitta* is the following: It has been mentioned in order to demonstrate that since [the *bodhisattva* practices], commencing from the beginner's stage to the *buddha*'s stage, are never [performed] without *bodhicitta*, either in [its] causal or resultant form, the *pāramitā*s, such as that of giving, are also endowed with it (i.e. *bodhicitta*). If [the *pāramitā* practices] such as giving were not hallowed by *bodhicitta* characterised by *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*, [they] would not be practices that [lead to] attaining [the desired objectives]. [It is] primarily for this reason that [*bodhicitta*] has been mentioned.

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[8] See the First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 221.3–4): *tataḥ śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha eva sakaladānādipuṇya[jñāna]saṃbhāropārjane pravartate* |; Third *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 13.13–14): *tataḥ śūnyatākaruṇāgarbhānuttarasaṃbodhipariṇāmitasakaladānādipuṇyasaṃbhāropārjanābhiyukto bhavet* |.

[9] *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka* (p. 24.4): *gotrādisāmarthyena bodhisattvasaṃvarasamādānādinā śūnyatākaruṇāgarbhaṃ bodhicittam utpādya*.... See also CONZE 1975: 2; SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 445, n. 54. Note that the expression *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* occurs in the *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka* on several occasions (see KEIRA & UEDA 1998: 1057).

[10] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcayapañjikā* (P, fol. 6b1–3; D, fol. 5a1–2; S, vol. 52, p. 11.18–20): ... *rnam pa thams cad mkhyen pa nyid thob par 'dod pas* | *thog mar byang chub kyi sems stong pa nyid dang* | *snying rje'i snying po can bskyed par bya ba yin pas*....; *ibid.* (P, fol. 7b4; D, fol. 5b7; S, vol. 52, p. 14.1–2): *stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i snying po can gyi byang chub kyi sems bskyed de* |; *ibid.* (P, fol. 35b3; D, fol. 29b3–4; S, vol. 52, p. 70.11): ... *byang chub kyi sems stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i snying po can*....; *ibid.* (P, fol. 36a1; D, fols. 29b7–30a1; S, vol. 52, p. 71.4): *byang chub kyi sems stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i snying po can*....; cf. *ibid.* (P, fol. 45a2; D, fol. 37b1; S, vol. 52, p. 89.11): *stong pa nyid kyi rnam pa'i snying po can ye shes kyi rang bzhin*....

[11] *Prasphuṭapadā* (P, fol. 28a6–8; D, fol. 25a2–4; S, vol. 52, pp. 762.17–763.2): *byang chub kyi sems smos pa ni las dang 'po pa'i'* [po'i PN] *sa nas sangs rgyas kyi sa'i bar du rgyu dang 'bras bu'i ngo bos byang chub kyi sems dang nam yang mi 'bral bas na sbyin pa'i pha rol tu phyin pa la sogs pa* [add. dag la D; bdag la C] *yang de dang ldan par bstan pa'i phyir smos te* | *stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i snying po can gyi byang chub kyi sems des byin gyis ma brlabs par gyur na sbyin pa la sogs pa yang 'bsgrub pa'i'* [om. PN] *spyod par mi 'gyur ba'i phyir de gtso bor smos so* ||.

The idea of *bodhicitta* as a fusion of *prajñā* and *upāya* is reconfirmed in the discussion found in Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra*:[12]

> Regarding *bodhicitta*, it should be generated [in such a way that it has] *prajñā* and *upāya* as [its] very nature. Of these, *prajñā* is the realisation that all phenomena are devoid of manifoldness (*niṣprapañca*). As to *upāya*, [it] is the Venerable Mother (*bhagavatī*), great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*).

After briefly explaining the three kinds of *karuṇā*, namely, one that has sentient beings as its object (*sattvālambana*), one that has phenomena as its object (*dharmālambana*), and one that has no object (*anālambana*), Abhayākaragupta goes on to say that the fusion of *prajñā* and *karuṇā* is possible only in the meditative state of compassion without object (*anālambanā karuṇā*), during which *prajñā* and *upāya* are meditated upon simultaneously, and that the two are of one nature, any possible distinction between them being made only on the basis of exclusion.[13] For Ratnākaraśānti, *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* are the spiritual disposition of the Three Jewels.[14] For Tibetan scholars, too, such as Rong-zom-pa, *bodhicitta* is the union of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[15]

(b) The Term *Śūnyatākaruṇābhinna*

The term *śūnyatākaruṇābhinna* seems to be preferred in the tantric sources, although it is virtually semantically identical with *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*. The *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Hevajratantra* both describe *bodhicitta* as *śūnyatākaruṇābhinna*.[16] The *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* also identifies *bodhicitta* with *śūnyatākaruṇābhinna*.[17] Altruistic inclination (*adhyāśaya*), all but a synonym of *bodhicitta*, is said to be endowed with the indivisibility of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[18]

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[12] *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 205a2–b6; D, fol. 162a3–b3; S, vol. 63, pp. 1278.8–1279.12): *byang chub kyi sems de'ang* [de yang D] *shes rab 'dang thabs'* [om. P][a] *kyi* [kyis PN] *rang bzhin kho na bskyed par bya'o* ||[b] *de la chos thams cad spros pa med pa nyid du rtogs pa ni shes rab bo* || … *thabs ni bcom ldan 'das ma snying rje chen po'o* ||; cf. *ibid.* (P, fol. 236b5–7; D, fol. 182b3–5; S, vol. 63, pp. 1333.20–1334.3). [a] gloss (*mchan*) in P: kyi thabs; [b] gloss in PN: de kho na nyid la 'jug par.

[13] *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 205b8–206a3; D, fol. 162b4–5; S, vol. 63, pp. 1279.18–1280.2): *de la dmigs pa med pa'i snying rje sgom pa'i gnas skabs na | thabs dang shes rab dag de'i* ['di DC] *bdag nyid du sgom la snying rje'i cig shos*[a] *sgom pa'i gnas skabs na ni ma yin te | de*[b] *ni dngos po'i rang bzhin du dmigs pa*[c] *nyid kyis spros pa med pa nyid med pa'i phyir shes rab kyi rang bzhin du skye ba med pa'i phyir ro || de'i phyir de'i* [om. DC] *bdag nyid du*[d] *sgom* [bsgoms PN] *pas na lhan cig sgom* [bsgom PN] *pa kho na ste*[e] *shes rab dang thabs kyi tha snyad tha dad pa ni ldog pas* [pa DC] *byas pa'o*[f] ||. For the notion of objectless compassion, see BSTEH 2000: 477–478. [a] gloss in PN: sems can la dmigs pa dang chos la dmigs pa; [b] gloss in PN: dag ni; [c] gloss in PN: rtogs pa; [d] gloss in PN: te bdag gcig tu; [e] gloss in PN: de la; [f] gloss in PN: zhes so.

[14] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 280b5; D, fol. 239a7; S, vol. 64, p. 674.14–15): *dkon mchog gsum kyi* [gyi P] *rigs ni stong pa nyid dang snying rje'o* ||.

[15] *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 233b2; B, p. 314.2): *byang chub kyi* [kyi A] *sems ni mdor bsdu' na shes rab dang snying rje zung du 'brel ba'o* ||. See also the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 77a4–5; B, p. 500.16–17), cited in chapter five, n. 258.

[16] *Guhyasamājatantra* 18.38; *Hevajratantra* 1.10.42cd: *śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittam iti smṛtam* |. Cited also in Indrabhūti's *Jñānasiddhi* (p. 134.10–11); *TSD*, s.v. *phya rgya*; DASGUPTA 1958: 90, n. 2 & 92, n. 4; BHATTACHARYYA 1932: 99; BOORD 2002: xxxi. Cf. *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 103; LINDTNER 1997: 67 (English translation).

[17] *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (cited in DASGUPTA 1958: 68. n. 4):
śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ bodhicittaṃ yad akṣaram |
tena sekena me nātha prasādaṃ kuru sāṃpratam ||.

In the Kālacakra commentary entitled *Vimalaprabhā*, true gnosis is one in which *sūnyatā* and *karuṇā* are undivided:[19]

For the accomplishing of
One's own objective and that of others,
There is no gnosis other than the lord of the Three Spheres,
[In whom] *sūnyatā* and *karuṇā* are undivided.

Even tantric deities have been identified with *śūnyatākaruṇābhinna*. The *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* associates it with Kālacakra,[20] while according to the *Abhisamayamañjarī* of Śubhākaragupta, Vajrayoginī is conceived of as having the nature of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[21] Similarly, Vajrasattva also stands for the nonduality of *upāya* and *prajñā*.[22] The *Yogaratnamālā* for its part defines *mantra* in terms of the non-duality of *sūnyatā* and *karuṇā*.[23] In the tantric context, yoga is primarily defined as the union of *upāya* and *prajñā*, as has been made very explicit in the *Vimalaprabhā*.[24]

(c) The Importance of *Upāya* and *Prajñā*

Mahāyāna literature is full of references to the importance of *upāya* and *prajñā*. A few selected passages are presented here to demonstrate the indispensability of the two components of *bodhicitta*. The role of *upāya* and *prajñā* has been accentuated in the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya*, one of the earliest works of Prajñāpāramitā literature.[25] One well-known statement from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, often cited by Indian authors, runs as follows:[26]

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[18] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 267b4; D, fol. 227b5–6; S, vol. 64, p. 646.3–4): *stong pa nyid dang snying rje mi phyed pa* [om. PN] *dang ldan 'pa ni lhag'* [om. PN] *pa'i bsam pa'o* ||.

[19] *Vimalaprabhā* ad 3.120 (vol. 2, p. 107.19–20):
ataḥ parataraṃ nāsti jñānaṃ traidhātukeśvaram |
śūnyatākaruṇābhinnam svaparārthaprasiddhaye ||.
This verse is cited in *TSD*, s.v. *stong nyid snying rje dbyer med pa.*

[20] See the introductory part of the *Vimalaprabhā* (vol. 1, p. 8.7–8):
karuṇāśūnyatāmūrtiḥ kālaḥ saṃvṛtirūpiṇī |
śūnyatā cakram ity uktam kālacakro 'dvayo mataḥ ||.
This verse is cited and translated in NEWMAN 1987: 2. Cf. the *Sekoddeśaṭīkā* (cited in DASGUPTA 1958: 68. n. 1):
karuṇāśūnyatāmūrtiḥ kālaḥ saṃvṛtirūpiṇī |
śūnyatā cakram ity uktaṃ kālacakro 'dvayo 'kṣaraḥ ||.

[21] *Abhisamayamañjarī* (p. 1.2–3):
namo 'stu vajrayoginyai śūnyatākaruṇātmane |
bibharti mūrtivaicitryaṃ yo jagadbhāvabhedataḥ ||.

[22] According to a citation in the *Buddhasamāyogaṭīkā* (P, fol. 350a3–4; D, fol. 312a3; S, vol. 13, p. 1656.1–2):
thabs dang shes rab gnyis med pa'i ||
dpal ldan rdo rje sems dpa'i sku ||.

[23] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 109.14.15): *mantram eva tattvaṃ* | *mananāt trāṇanāc ca mantraḥ* | *śūnyatākaruṇādvayasvabhāvaṃ bodhicittaṃ* |.

[24] *Vimalaprabhā* ad 5.9 (vol. 3, p. 7.8–9; *TSD*, s.v. *rnal 'byor*):
yogo nopāyakāyena naikayā prajñāyā bhavet |
prajñopāyasamāpattir yoga uktas tathāgataiḥ ||.
See also *Vimalaprabhā* ad 2.97 (vol. 1, p. 222.4–5; *TSD*, s.v. *rnal 'byor ldan pa*): *yogaḥ śūnyatākaruṇābhinnaṃ viśuddhatattvaṃ viśuddhacittam* | *tena ukta iti yogayuktaḥ* |.

[25] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 16.5, 20.13–14.

[26] *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra* 4.§16 (p. 51.20–22): *anupāyasaṃgṛhītā prajñā bandhaḥ, upāyasaṃgṛhītā prajñā mokṣaḥ* | *prajñayā saṃgṛhīta upāyo bandhanaṃ, prajñāsaṃgṛhīta upāyo mokṣaḥ* |. Cf. the citation in the First

> *Prajñā* not embraced by *upāya* is bondage; *prajñā* embraced by *upāya* is release. *Upāya* not embraced by *prajñā* is bondage; *upāya* embraced by *prajñā* is release.

In the *Anavataptanāgarājaparipṛcchāsūtra*, it is said that resorting to *prajñā* devoid of *upāya* and *upāya* devoid of *prajñā* is a deed of Māra:[27]

> Furthermore, there are two [kinds of deeds typical of Māra]. What are the two? The two are [the acts of resorting to] *prajñā* devoid of *upāya* and *upāya* devoid of *prajñā*. Of these, [the act of resorting to] *prajñā* devoid of *upāya* is as follows: considering [striving after] the unconditioned phenomenon (i.e. probably *nirvāṇa*) while disregarding [the plight of] all sentient beings. *Upāya* devoid of *prajñā* is as follows: [employing] the four articles of attracting [sentient beings] (*saṃgrahavastu*),[28] being steeped in a view [obsessed with] objective support.[29] These two are the deeds of Māra, and they should be abandoned by a *bodhisattva*.

The *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* also professes that a *bodhisattva* views sentient beings by means of his *upāya*, recognises them (and other phenomena) to be empty (*śūnya*) by means of his *prajñā*, and brings them to maturity by means of his compassion (*karuṇā*).[30] The role of *upāya* and *prajñā* has been underscored also in the *Gayāśīrṣasūtra*.[31] Following the *Gaganagañjaparipṛcchāsūtra*, a *bodhisattva*'s abandonment of the intellectual-emotional defilements of sentient beings is possible through the gnosis of *prajñā* (*prajñājñāna*) and the non-abandonment of sentient beings through the gnosis of *upāya* (*upāyajñāna*).[32] The indispensability of *prajñā* and *upāya* and the need for a fusion of the two have been emphasised in the *Suvikrāntacintaparipṛcchāsūtra*[33] and several other *sūtras*.[34] The *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* attributed to one Daṃṣṭrasena states:[35]

Bhāvanākrama (p. 194.6–11); the Third *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 22.10–14); Advayavajra's *Kudṛṣṭinirghātana* (STUDY GROUP 2004: 38). See also the *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 223b3–6); LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2002: 89.

[27] *Anavataptanāgarājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 257a1–3; D, fol. 228b3–5): *gzhan yang gnyis te | gnyis gang zhe na | thabs dang bral ba'i shes rab dang | shes rab dang bral ba'i thabs te gnyis po de dag go || de la thabs dang bral ba'i shes rab ni 'di lta ste | sems can thams cad la mi lta zhing* [bar T] *'dus ma byas pa'i chos la rtog pa'o || shes rab dang bral ba'i thabs ni 'di lta ste | dmigs par* [= pa'i] *lta bar lhung ba'i bsdu ba'i dngos po bzhi'o || gnyis po de dag ni bdud kyi las te | de dag byang chub sems dpas yongs su spang bar bya'o ||*.

[28] For a discussion of the term *saṃgrahavastu*, see *BHSD*, s.v.

[29] Cf. the expression *upalambhadṛṣṭika*, which occurs in the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 18.18–19.1; *TSD*, s.v. *dmigs pa lta ba can*): *upalambhadṛṣṭiko raṣṭrapāla* [add. pudgalo *TSD*] *bodhisattvena na sevitavyaḥ*.

[30] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 167.13–16):

> *shes rab kyis ni stong par rtogs ||*
> *thabs kyis sems can rnams la lta ||*
> *snying rjes yongs su smin par byed ||*
> *des ni mya ngan 'das par 'gro ||*.

[31] *Gayāśīrṣasūtra* (T, fols. 103b7–104b1; D, fols. 288b6–289a4). See also the First *Bhāvanākrama* (Skt. p. 194.11–15): *āryagayāśīrṣe coktam | «dvāv imau bodhisattvānāṃ saṃkṣiptau mārgau | dvābhyāṃ mārgābhyāṃ samanvāgatā bodhisattvā mahāsattvāḥ kṣipram anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbodhotsyante | katamau dvau | upāyaś ca prajñā ca» | iti |* (see also Tib. p. 239.4–9). Cf. Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 224a1–2); LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2002: 89. Cf. also Klong-chen-pa, *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. *waṃ*, fol. 138b5–6): *ga ya go* [= mgo] *ri'i mdo las | thabs dang bral ba'i shes rab ni gol sa'o || shes rab dang bral ba'i thabs ni gol sa'o zhes pa dang |*. This citation as it stands is, however, not to be found in the *Gayāśīrṣasūtra*.

[32] See also the *Gaganagañjaparipṛcchāsūtra* cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 271.1–2; VAIDYA, p. 144.21): *prajñājñānena ca sarvasattvakleśaparityāgaḥ | upāyajñānena ca sattvāparityāgaḥ |*. Cf. BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 247. Cf. the citation in the *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 148a4–5; D, fol. 243b2–3, S, vol. 115, p. 662.10–12: *shes rab kyi ye shes kyis ni sems can thams cad kyi nyon mongs pa thams cad yongs su 'dor | thabs kyi ye shes kyis ni sems can thams cad mi gtong* [btang PN] *ba ste |*.

[33] *Suvikrāntacintaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 409a2–4; D, fol. 133a4–5):

> *Karuṇā* produces conduct that causes the full maturation of sentient beings. *Prajñā* produces conduct that causes the full maturation of the qualities of a *buddha*.

And:[36]

> A *bodhisattva*, having first performed all activities with *karuṇā*, purifies [them] later with his *prajñā*. Thus [he] accomplishes [what is to be accomplished] by means of *karuṇā*; [he] purifies [the same] by means of *prajñā*. [He] purifies [his] attitude [or altruistic inclination] (*āśaya*) by means of *karuṇā*; [he] purifies [his] actions (*prayoga*) by means of *prajñā*. [He] operates by means of *karuṇā* while on the conventional level; [he] purifies by means of *prajñā* while on the absolute level. *Karuṇā* is included in the accumulation of beneficial resources (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*), for all activities performed [by means of it] are [performed] for the sake of all sentient beings. *Prajñā* is included in the accumulation of gnosis (*jñānasaṃbhāra*), for [all activities performed by means of it] are performed for the sake of awakening (*bodhi*).

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* makes it clear that without both accumulations a *bodhisattva* would not become a *buddha*.[37] The two accumulations are, according to Sthiramati, contained in *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, the two essential components of *bodhicitta*.[38] In the *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā*, the realisation of *śūnyatā* is said to be for one's own sake (*svārtha*), and *karuṇā* for the sake of others (*parārtha*).[39] Sthiramati states:[40]

> *Bodhisattvas*, being endowed with *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, do not fully abandon *saṃsāra*, out of *karuṇā*; and although [they] abide in *saṃsāra*, [they] ensure by means of *prajñā* that [they] are not tainted with intellectual-emotional defilements. For example, although a lotus grows in mud,

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thabs dang mi ldan shes rab kyis ||
ma byung 'byung bar 'gyur ba med ||
shes rab med pa'i thabs kyis ni ||
mkhas pa rab tu zhi mi 'gyur ||
shes rab dang ni thabs shes pa ||
de gnyis kun tu 'dres gyur cing ||
gnyis ka zung du 'jug 'gyur na ||
de ni dam pa rtogs par 'gyur ||.

34 See the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 182.15–187.3), where passages from the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśasūtra*, *Māradamanasūtra*, and *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* dealing with *prajñā* and *upāya* are cited.

35 *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* (P, fols. 46b8–47a1; D, fol. 42b4–5; S, vol. 55, p. 741.12–14): *snying rjes ni sems can yongs su smin par byed pa'i spyod pa 'grub po* || *shes rab kyis ni sangs rgyas kyi chos yongs su smin par byed pa'i spyod pa 'grub po* ||.

36 *Bṛhaṭṭīkā* (P, fols. 47b7–48a2; D, fol. 43b2–4; S, vol. 55, p. 743.10–18): *byang chub sems dpa' ni dang por snying rjes las thams cad byas nas* | *phyis shes rab kyis yongs su sbyong ngo* || *de bas na snying rjes ni sgrub par byed do* || *shes rab kyis ni dag par byed do* || *snying rjes ni bsam pa dag par byed do* || *shes rab kyis ni sbyor ba dag par byed do* || *snying rjes ni kun rdzob la gnas nas sgrub par byed do* || *shes rab kyis ni don dam pa la gnas te sbyong* [sbyor DC] *bar byed do* || *snying rjes ni las thams cad sems can gyi don du byas pa'i phyir bsod nams kyi tshogs su bgrang ngo* || *shes rab kyis ni byang chub kyi don gyi phyir 'byas pas'* [om. DC] *ye shes kyi tshogs su bgrang ngo* ||.

37 *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.3 (WOGIHARA, p. 35.3–5; DUTT, p. 23.23–24): *puṇyajñānatadanyataravaikalyād ayaṃ bodhisattvo 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhiṃ nādhigacchet* |.

38 See n. 162.

39 *Bodhicittavivaraṇaṭīkā* (P, fol. 483a3–4; D, fol. 141b3; S, vol. 18, p. 1143.7–9): *nyon mongs pa spangs pa'i rang bzhin can stong pa nyid kyi ye shes rang don no* || *snying rjes* [rje'i P] *gzhan sdug bsngal las thar bar* [par P] *byed pa ni gzhan don no* ||.

40 *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *tsi*, fol. 252b4–6; D, vol. *tsi*, fol. 218a6–b1; S, vol. 72, p. 525.4–8): *byang chub sems dpa' rnams ni shes rab dang snying rje dang ldan pas* | *snying rjes 'khor ba yongs su mi gtong la* | *shes rab kyis ni 'khor bar gnas kyang 'khor ba'i nyon mongs pas mi gos par byed de* | *dper na padmo 'dam las skyes kyang 'dam gyi nyes pas mi gos pa bzhin du gnas pas na thabs mkhas pa che'o zhes bya'o* ||.

> [it is] not tainted with mud stains. Because [*bodhisattva*s] abide [in *saṃsāra*] in a similar way, [they are] said to be highly efficient in [carrying out] strategies.

According to Candrakīrti, it is only when one's view of *śūnyatā* is saturated with *karuṇā* that one is bound to become a *buddha*.[41]

In the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, it is said that a *bodhisattva* roams around unsullied in *saṃsāra* for the sake of sentient beings without giving up his inclination for *nirvāṇa*.[42] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* states that the accumulation of gnosis (*jñānasaṃbhāra*) enables a *bodhisattva* to transcend *saṃsāra*, while the accumulation of beneficial resources (*puṇyasaṃbhāra*) enables him to remain immersed in it without being sullied by intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*).[43] The aim of a *bodhisattva* is hence to strike a balance, by means of *prajñā* and *karuṇā*, between being a normal sentient being, who is trapped in *saṃsāra*, and a *śrāvaka* saint, who is trapped in *nirvāṇa*.[44] It is only on the basis of *upāya* and *prajñā* that unconventional or problematic practices of a *bodhisattva*—for example, indulging in the five objects of desire—have been justified, in both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna sources.[45] Such practices, however, are said to be suitable only for *bodhisattva*s who are fully ordained monks or nuns.[46] The notion that meditating only on *śūnyatā* leads one to the *śrāvakanirvāṇa* is found also in the tantric context.[47] The concept of the union of *upāya* and *prajñā*, too, is reflected in tantric sources, such as the *Pañcakrama*,[48] and in the yogic hymns.[49] It has also been recognised by Tibetan scholars such as Rong-zom-pa:[50]

> [One whose] *prajñā* does not generate *karuṇā*
> Is in a state of [dogmatic] views.

Similarly, Klong-chen-pa states:[51]

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[41] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (p. 79.10–11): *stong pa nyid kyi lta ba snying rjes yongs su zin pa ni sangs rgyas nyid 'dren par byed pa yin gyi gzhan du ni ma yin no zhes snying rje brten par byed do* ||.

[42] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.3 (WOGIHARA, p. 315.4–6; DUTT, p. 216.3–5): *tattvārthādhyāśayenāsaṃkliṣṭāś ca saṃsāre sattvahetoḥ saṃsaraṃti* | *avinirmuktanirvāṇādhyāśayāś ca bhavanti* |.

[43] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 18.38:
> *saṃbhāro bodhisattvānāṃ puṇyajñānamayo 'samaḥ* |
> *saṃsāre 'bhyudayāyaikaḥ anyo 'saṃkliṣṭasaṃsṛtau* ||.

[44] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *tsi*, fol. 36b6–7; D, vol. *tsi*, fol. 31b5; S, vol. 72, p. 77.1–3): *shes pas zin pa ni 'khor bar ma lhung* [ltung DC] *ba'i phyir so so'i* [so PN] *skye bo bzhin du mi zad do* || *snying rje chen pos zin pas na nyan thos bzhin du mya ngan las 'das pa'i dbyings su mi zad de* |.

[45] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 279a8–b2; D, fol. 238a5–6; S, vol. 64, p. 671.15–21): *stong pa nyid dang snying rje'i khyad par gyis sangs rgyas dang sems can la dmigs pa'i bsam pa mi phyed pa dang ldan pa ni 'dod pa lnga spyod du zin kyang* | *spyod pa rnam par dag pa'i tshul khrims can yin pas bsngags pa ni dbul yang bkur ro zhes bya ste* | *ji skad du* | *gal te byang chub sems dpa' 'dod yon lnga spyod kyang* || *sangs rgyas chos dang 'phags pa'i dge 'dun skyabs song ste* || *sangs rgyas 'grub bya snyam du kun mkhyen yid byed na* || *mkhas pa tshul khrims pha rol phyin gnas rig* [rigs PN] *par bya* || *zhes bstan pa lta bu'o* ||.

[46] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 279b4–5, 279b6–280a3; D, fols. 238b1, 238b2–6; S, vol. 64, pp. 672.7–8, 672.12–673.6).

[47] *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 122.35–36): *kevalayā śūnyatābhāvanayā kadācic chrāvakādinirvāṇena nirvṛtiḥ syāt* |.

[48] *Pañcakrama* 5.8.

[49] See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 445, n. 51.

[50] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 272a1; B, p. 388.3):
> *snying rje bskyed par mi byed pa'i* ||
> *shes rab de yang blta* [= lta] *gnas nyid* ||.

> *Upāya* with *prajñā* will cause one to be released,
> Just as poison charmed by a *mantra* [causes one to be detoxified].
> *Upāya* without *prajñā* will cause one to be bound,
> Just as medicine that has become poisonous [will cause one to] suffer.

(d) Tension Between the Two Poles of Emptiness and Compassion

A discussion of the tension between the two complementary poles of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is unavoidable when dealing with the idea of *bodhicitta*, particularly since the primary sources emphatically maintain that *bodhicitta* is a union of both. This issue, culminating in the need to strike a balance between the two, in both non-Mahāyāna and Mahāyāna Buddhism, is a fascinating and complex matter. It has been treated with all due exactitude by Lambert Schmithausen in the two separate articles[52] to which I referred earlier.[53] His first article, entitled "Gleichmut und Mitgefühl: Zu Spiritualität und Heilsziel des älteren Buddhismus," deals with *upekṣā* ('spiritual state of equanimity') and the care and concern for others expressed by the term *karuṇā* from the standpoint of early (or non-Mahāyāna) Buddhism, while his second article, entitled "Mitgefühl und Leerheit: Zu Spirituliltät und Heilsziel des Mahāyāna," deals primarily with the tension between the two complementary poles of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* in Mahāyāna, a topic of direct relevance to our discussion. It is in order to put the Mahāyāna notion of the two poles of spirituality into historical context that these articles are consulted together.

In the non-Mahāyāna tradition, there is an allusion to the tension between the salvific state characterised by disengagement, on the one hand, and being dedicated to the welfare of others, on the other. A similar tension is said to exist, at least in a latent form, between *upekṣā*, characterised by detachment from the world, and concern for the world. This tension is conceived differently depending on how *upekṣā* and *karuṇā* are understood. The tension between the two poles is fully relieved if *upekṣā* is taken in the sense of impartiality. Even in this case, though, the tension is released by balancing the two. This happens, for instance, when *upekṣā* is explained as a neutral acceptance of the fact that an attitude such as *karuṇā* has no practical influence on the happiness or misery of a sentient being, since these are dependent on an individual's own karma; or when it is said that the Buddha teaches all *śrāvaka*s out of compassion but remains unaffected by their positive or negative reactions. The tension becomes acute when *upekṣā* is understood as a state of total release, which is beyond the reach of any form of pain, and *karuṇā* as an equally strong emotional grasp of someone else's pain. From this standpoint, even the Buddha, while capable of actualising both *upekṣā* and *karuṇā* in their supreme forms, does not actualise them simultaneously but only successively, given the enormous tension between them. From a Mahāyāna standpoint, too, *karuṇā* is not an automatic outcome of the experience of *śūnyatā*. They represent two poles which, on the one hand, are indispensable for the attainment of Buddhahood, and on the other give rise to tension that needs to be balanced out, yielding a kind of *coincidentia oppositorum*.[54]

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[51] *Sems nyid ngal gso* (p. 73.4–5):
> *shes rab ldan pa thabs kyis grol 'gyur te* ||
> *ji ltar dug la sngags kyis btab pa bzhin* ||
> *shes rab med na thabs kyis 'ching 'gyur te* ||
> *sman nyid nad du song bas gdung ba bzhin* ||.

[52] SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a; 2000b. Unless specified otherwise, the presentation that follows is based on these two articles.

[53] See chapter three on the historical and doctrinal background of *bodhicitta*.

It has often been maintained that *karuṇā* is an inevitable outcome of the experience of *śūnyatā* (or *nairātmya* 'non-substantiality').[55] Schmithausen has shown that in neither non-Mahāyāna nor Mahāyāna contexts, and for neither the Buddha, a *bodhisattva*, nor a *śrāvaka*, is the direct experience of *śūnyatā* (or any experience of awakening) conceived of as entailing an automatic outflow of *karuṇā*. This is, of course, not to imply that the experience of *śūnyatā* can have no such effect. For a *śrāvaka*, such an experience would destroy the roots of certain egoistic emotions, but not automatically trigger off positive altruistic feelings or impulses. For a *bodhisattva*, too, such an experience would remove any form of clinging to worldly phenomena and the fear of *saṃsāra*. The actual emergence of *karuṇā* from the experience of *śūnyatā* presupposes that *karuṇā* has been present or practised for a long period of time, and thus disposed to continue during the experience of *śūnyatā* as objectless. At least some of the texts that intimate that *karuṇā* is a spontaneous outflow of the experience of *śūnyatā* may be interpreted in this way.[56] It cannot be ruled out that some texts indeed intended to allow *karuṇā* as an outcome of the experience of *śūnyatā*, not, however, exclusively so, for that would contradict the assertion that *karuṇā* accompanies the *bodhisattva* path from the very beginning; rather, the experience of *śūnyatā* provides *karuṇā* with a new and deeper foundation. Such a possibility would unfold only if *śūnyatā* is not understood in the sense of the nullity or insignificance of appearance but rather, as in the Tathāgatagarbha tradition and some Yogācāra texts, as the true nature (i.e. Buddha Nature) or true self (*ātman*) of all sentient beings, and thus all sentient beings deserve equal respect and the great benevolence (*mahāmaitrī*) that makes no distinction between oneself and others.[57]

Beside these explanations offered by Schmithausen, there is perhaps also another way to elucidate how *karuṇā* may ensue from *śūnyatā*: positive emotional elements such as *karuṇā* and *śraddhā* ('faith') may arise from the experience (or even a correct theoretical understanding) of *śūnyatā*, not, however, as a direct and automatic reflex of such an experience or conviction, but rather as an indirect result of reflecting on how a person can be released from *saṃsāra* by experiencing *śūnyatā* (or ontological *bodhicitta*) as a spiritual event, and how others who cannot or do not do so remain bound in *saṃsāra* and suffer. In such a case, *karuṇā* would arise in view of those who have not realised *śūnyatā* or those who are indisposed to it; *śraddhā*, in view of those who have realised or taught the doctrine of *śūnyatā*.[58] Such an explanation, however, neither implies that *śūnyatā* is a necessary

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[54] See Schmithausen's comments in BSTEH 2000: 475–476, 503–504. Cf. *EB*, s.v. mysticism: "Mystical experience is flanked with a communication hazard, a 'polar identity.' The linguistic liberties and extravagances are part of the logical impossibility of having to describe one order of experience in terms of another. Hence, the rhetoric of mysticism is largely one of symbols and paradoxes. The most striking of the strategies, as the medieval Christian scholar Nicholas of Cusa put it, is *coincidentia oppositorum* ('union of opposites'). Since the opposites coincide without ceasing to be themselves, this also becomes an acceptable definition of God, or the nature of the Ground. God, said Heracleitus, is day and night, summer and winter, war and peace, and satiety and hunger—all opposites." See also *HWP*, s.v. *Coincidentia oppositorum.*

[55] See SCHMITHAUSEN 2000a: 127, n. 40 and 2000b: 444, n. 48, where a number of proponents of such a stance are mentioned.

[56] Such texts include the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* ascribed to Nāgārjuna, the *Ratnakaraṇḍakodghāṭa* by Atiśa, and the *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanopadeśavarṇasaṃgraha* ascribed to Aśvaghoṣa. For the references and translations of the pertinent verses, see SCHMITHAUSEN 2000b: 449, nn. 69–70.

[57] Perhaps the ontological status of *karuṇā* as proposed in rDzogs-chen literature can be explained in a similar manner.

[58] This explanation is inspired by Śāntarakṣita's *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 96–97 (ICHIGŌ 1989: 222–223). The context is made clear in his *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (P, fols. 83b8–84a3; D, fol. 83a4–6; S, vol. 62, p. 973.7–14, cited in chapter five, n. 141), where he proposes two possible ways of launching the career of a *bodhisattva*, namely, one for 'those who follow the path of reason (or logic)' (*nyāyānusārin*) and one for 'those who follow

ontological condition for the outflow of *karuṇā*, nor does it propose that the experience of *śūnyatā* is a necessary and a direct epistemic cause of the emergence of *karuṇā*.

(e) The Union of Emptiness and Compassion: A Tibetan Controversy

There are many points of controversy surrounding *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* in Tibet, to treat all of which would be beyond the scope of this study. Nonetheless, as a representative case, I shall present a passage from Klong-chen-pa's *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel*, where the union of *śūnyatā* and *karuṇā* is thematised. The discussion occurs in the context of explaining the so-called 'Three Excellent Ones' (*dam pa gsum*), which are said to be implemented in any given *bodhisattva* practice, namely, excellent *cittotpāda* in the preparatory phase (*sbyor ba sems bskyed dam pa*), excellent (abiding in the state of) objectlessness or imperceptible (reality) in the main phase (*dngos gzhi dmigs med dam pa*), and excellent dedicatory transfer (*pariṇāmanā*) in the concluding phase (*mjug bsngo ba dam pa*).[59] Klong-chen-pa states:[60]

> In this [context], *upāya* [or] *karuṇā*, which is present at the time any wholesome deeds whatsoever are performed, and *prajñā* [or] *śūnyatā* operate in union [or unite] simultaneously, and hence there is no temporal distinction [between the two]. Some maintain that it is on the occasion of meditating upon reality (*dharmatā*) that *karuṇā* of the preparatory phase and [*śūnyatā* or *dharmatā* of] the main phase [of meditation] unite. This is simply a misunderstanding. Maintaining the union of a past non-entity and a present entity is laughable. [I] maintain that the mental entity (*blo rzdas*) that has attained *cittotpāda* and not disintegrated is *karuṇā*, [while its] essence [or nature], which is nowhere to be attested, is *śūnyatā*. These two, which are one [in being] mental entities and separate [in being] facets [of the larger union], unite. Because imperceptible [reality], which is *śūnyatā*, and *karuṇā*, which is objectless, are of one taste (*ekarasa*), they are called a 'union without separate natures.' This is a crucial point.

It should be added that in general, for Klong-chen-pa (and perhaps for all Tibetan Buddhist scholars), it is *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha* that distinguishes Mahāyāna from non-Mahāyāna.

(f) Three Positions on the Fusion of *Śūnyatā/Prajñā* and *Karuṇā/Upāya*

In sum, there seems to be at least three more or less varying understandings of the fusion of *śūnyatā/prajñā* and *karuṇā/upāya* in common Indo-Tibetan Mahāyāna Buddhism. The first position is that the *prajñā* present in the meditative state and the *karuṇā* present in the pre-meditative (or post-meditative) state should be merged. This seems to be proposed by Kamalaśīla in his First and Third *Bhāvanākrama*. This position has been rejected by some

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the path of faith' (*śraddhānusārin*). In the case of the former, *karuṇā* arises only after the correct view of *śūnyatā* has been gained. However, the decisive word *skye* ('arise') as found in *Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 96d (i.e. *snying rje nyid ni rab tu skye* ||) has *bskyed* ('generate') as a *varia lectio*. In the occurrence of the verse in the *Madhyamakālaṃkāravṛtti* (P, fol. 82b6; D, fol. 82a6; S, vol. 62, p. 971.3), P and N have *bskyed*. But equally importantly, Śāntarakṣita's commentary (*ibid.*, P, fol. 83a1; D, fol. 82a7; S, vol. 62, p. 971.9) has *skye*, and this, in my view, is also supported by the fact that *skye* is used in reference to *śraddhā* (*Madhyamakālaṃkāra* 97d), which is clearly juxtaposed to *karuṇā*.

[59] *Yid bzhin mdzod* (fol. 33b1–2). Cf. the *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 354a4; D, fol. 304a6; S, vol. 64, p. 838.4–6), where a similar convention is used: *sbyor ba snying rje dang ldan pa dang | dngos gzhi pha rol tu phyin pa drug gis zin pa dang | rjes bsngo ba yongs su bsngo ba mi dmigs pa'i rgyas btab par....*

[60] *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (p. 773.1–4): *'dir thabs snying rje ni dge ba gang byed de'i dus na yod pa de dang | shes rab stong pa nyid mynam du zung du 'jug pas snga phyi med do || kha cig ni chos nyid bsgom dus sbyor ba'i snying rje dang | dngos gzhi'i stong* [add. nyid] *gzung* [= zung] *'jug tu 'dod pa ni | phyogs ma go bar zad de | 'das pa dngos med dang | da lta ba dngos po zung du 'jug pa ni bzhad gad kyi gnas so || de yang sems bskyed thob la ma nyams pa'i blo rdzas ni snying rje | ngo bo gang du yang mi dmigs pa ni stong pa | de gnyis blo rdzas ngo bo gcig pa la ldog pa so so ba zung 'jug gam | dmigs med de nyid stong pa yin la | dmigs pa med pa'i snying rjer gyur pa gnyis ro gcig pas ngo bo tha dad med pa'i zung 'jug ces 'dod pa yin no || 'di ni gnad gal po che'o ||.*

Tibetan scholars as ridiculous, who argue that a past entity could not possibly fuse with a present entity. In all fairness, this position seems to be merely calling for the combining of the practices associated with the two kinds of accumulations, namely, *puṇyasaṃbhāra* and *jñānasaṃbhāra* (corresponding to *karuṇā* and *prajñā*, respectively). Most importantly, no temporal simultaneity is presupposed here. The second position is that a *karuṇā*-driven spiritual practice is constantly accompanied by *prajñā*, which ensures that all factors involved are viewed as *śūnya* or dream-like so that practitioners do not get carried away by their intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*). The fusion in this case takes place in the post-meditative state, and a strict temporal simultaneity does not seem to be assumed; that is, *prajñā* and *karuṇā* may be actualised alternately or in quick succession but need not simultaneously. Such a position seems to be represented in Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*. According to the third position, the fusion of *prajñā* and *karuṇā* takes place in the meditative state, *karuṇā* in this case not being any arbitrary kind of *karuṇā* but only the type that has no objective support. Perhaps here a strict temporal simultaneity can be presupposed. This is clearly the position of Abhayākaragupta. Klong-chen-pa's position in this regard seems to be similar to that of Abhayākaragupta. There may, of course, be many more explanations of the fusion of *śūnyatā/prajñā* and *karuṇā/upāya*.

3. Subclassifying *Bodhicitta* into *Praṇidhicitta* and *Prasthānacitta*

One of several ways of classifying *bodhicitta* is to subdivide it into *bodhipraṇidhicitta* and *bodhiprasthānacitta*.[61] In dealing with this topic, I shall (a) present the *locus classicus* for the subclassification of *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna*, and (b) discuss the possible historical process that may have led to the development of this classification, (c) consider why this classification can be found in some sources and not in others, and (d) analyse the distinction between the two types of *bodhicitta* and the various interpretations and controversies associated with it.

(a) The *Locus Classicus* of the Classification

The terms *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna* employed in the non-Mahāyāna sources are non-technical and thus are of no immediate concern to us here.[62] What primarily concerns us is the use of these terms in the context of the classification of *bodhicitta* in the sense of *bodhipraṇidhicitta* and *bodhiprasthānacitta*. Thus whenever I speak of *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna* (or *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*), I mean *bodhipraṇidhicitta* and *bodhiprasthānacitta*, respectively. The *locus classicus* for this classification is the *Bodhicaryāvatāra*:[63]

> This *bodhicitta*, in short,
> Should be known to be of two types:
> The resolve to aspire to awakening
> And [the resolve to actually] set out towards awakening.

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[61] Cf. SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 82, where *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna* have been described as the 'Bodhisattva's preliminary resolution' and his 'realisation' (of the resolution), respectively, the latter 'through the perfections on the Bodhisattva's path proper.' See also DAYAL 1932: 62.

[62] For the terms *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna*, see *PW* and *MW*, s.v. See also *BHSD*, s.vv. *praṇidhi* and *pranidhāna*. For the corresponding Pāli terms, see *PED*, s.vv. *paṇidhāna* and *paṇidhi*.

[63] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.15:

> *tad bodhicittaṃ dvividhaṃ vijñātavyaṃ samāsataḥ* |
> *bodhipraṇidhicittaṃ ca bodhiprasthānam eva ca* ||.

See also JOSHI 1971: 73; EIMER 1976: 110, n. 72; *TSD*, s.v. *byang chub 'jug pa*; BRASSARD 2000: 41, 157, n. 53. For an English translation of the verse, see also CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 6.

An almost identical expression is found in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:[64]

> *Bodhicitta* is of two kinds: the resolve to aspire to awakening and the resolve to set out towards awakening.

Such a classification of *bodhicitta* was perhaps inspired by the following statement of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, also cited by Śāntideva:[65]

> O son of a noble family, sentient beings who aspire to the highest perfect awakening are rare in the world of sentient beings. Even rarer than they are those sentient beings who have set out towards the highest perfect awakening.

Although the subclassification of *bodhicitta* is not found in the context in which the idea here occurs, nor is the technical term *bodhicitta* used, the passage seems to presuppose the two stages of aspiration and setting out. This passage has been cited, perhaps following Śāntideva, by a number of later Indian authors.[66] The fact that Śāntideva used this classification does not mean that he did not know other classifications. Faced with the expression 'in short' (*samāsataḥ*), Prajñākaramati explains that the given one is an abbreviated classification and that other fuller ones are possible as well.[67]

It is quite conceivable that the popularity of Śāntideva's works, which seemed to have served as sources for many Indian scholars who wrote or commented on *bodhicitta*,[68] promoted the wider acceptance and standardisation of these terms. I have not yet been able to locate any source that predates Śāntideva and which explicitly subclassifies *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*. However, although Śāntideva's influence was great, he was perhaps not the only one who adopted this classification. Jñānagarbha—who with all probability also flourished in the first half of the eighth century and who was a pupil of Śrīgupta and a teacher of Śāntarakṣita[69]—apparently used the same classification in his *Yogabhāvanāmārga*.[70]

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[64] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 8.15–16; VAIDYA, p. 8.19): *tac ca bodhicittaṃ dvividham | bodhipraṇidhicittaṃ ca bodhiprasthānacittaṃ ca* |. Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 9.

[65] *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 8.16–18; VAIDYA p. 8.21–22): *durlabhāḥ kulaputra te sattvāḥ sattvaloke ye 'nuttarasyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittaṃ praṇidadhati | tato 'pi durlabhatamās* [= *durlabhatarās*] *te sattvā ye 'nuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhiprasthiteti* ||. Cf. the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (pp. 492.24–293.1); BRASSARD 2000: 157, n. 52. For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 9.

[66] The passage from the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* is often cited as the scriptural source for the subclassification of *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna*; for examples, see Śāntideva's *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, Prajñākaramati's *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 12.1–2), Kamalaśīla's First *Bhāvanākrama* (pp. 192.19–193.1), Atiśa's *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fol. 297a1–2; D, fol. 257b3–4; S, vol. 64, p. 1690.7–10; SHERBURNE 2000: 104–105), and Abhayākaragupta's *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 204b8–205a2; D, fol. 162a3–3; S, vol. 63, p. 1278.3–8).

[67] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 11.22–23): "Although other types [of classification] are possible, this one is stated by way of an epitome [of those comprising] two categories" (*aparaprakārasaṃbhave 'pi saṃkṣepataḥ idaṃ dvividham ucyate* |).

[68] See, for examples, the First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 192.17–19): *tac ca bodhicittaṃ dvividhaṃ praṇidhicittaṃ prasthānacittaṃ ca* |); *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 11.23–24): *bodhipraṇidhicittam ity ekam | bodhiprasthānam ity dvitīyam* |); *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fol. 297a2–5; D, fol. 257b4–6; S, vol. 64, p. 1690.10–18; SHERBURNE 2000: 104–105).

[69] SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 68–69.

[70] *Yogabhāvanāmārga* (P, fol. 5a7–8; D, fol. 4b6–7; S, vol. 64, p. 12.6–10): *de'i phyir rang gi sems stong pa nyid kyi ngo bo nyid yin pa de bzhin du | chos thams cad kyang de lta bu yin na ji ltar de sngon du btang ba'i smon pa'i byang chub kyi sems don dam pa'i ngo bo nyid la spyod pa'i mtshan nyid shes rab dang mtshungs par ldan pa ni 'jug pa'i sems zhes bya ste | de kho na nges pa la 'jug pa'i thabs yin pa'i phyir ro* ||. The exact meaning of the passage is, however, not quite clear.

(b) The Possible Historical Development of the Subclassification

The subclassification of *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* is obviously a result of systematisation. In other words, we cannot assume that such a subclassification existed from the very beginning. The question is: How did such a subclassification come into existence? The systematised classification gives the impression that there was originally one general concept, *bodhicitta*, which was later subdivided into *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*. Historically, however, this does not seem to be the case. One may say that *bodhicitta* originally covered the semantic range of only *praṇidhicitta*, but later on also assumed and synthesised the stage of *prasthānacitta*. This historical process may become more comprehensible if we recall the role the idea of *praṇidhi* played in the development of the *bodhicitta* concept.

On the basis of several Mahāyāna sources, it is clear that the relation between *āśaya* (or *adhyāśaya*) and *prayoga* is similar to the relation between *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*. That is to say, *āśaya* and *praṇidhi* apply to the stage of mental resolve or aspiration, which is originally nothing other than *bodhicitta* itself, while *prayoga* and *prasthāna* refer to the stage of practical application, such as the practice of the six perfections (*pāramitā*). In other words, *āśaya* and *praṇidhi* express the theoretical or mental resolve to become a *buddha*, and *prayoga* and *prasthāna* the actual practices essential for attaining the envisioned soteriological goal. Some exegetes may have felt the need to load a single convenient term, namely, *bodhicitta*, with the semantic weight of both the theoretical resolve and actual practices. Also, on a practical level, the difficulty of maintaining motivation during the actual practices may have given rise to the need to combine *āśaya* or *praṇidhi* with *prayoga* or *prasthāna* under the unified concept of *bodhicitta*. This process can be seen as a process of crystallisation that made *bodhicitta* richer in meaning—and made it assume an ever-increasing role until it became the be-all and end-all of Mahāyāna spirituality. The potential multivalence of the compound *bodhicitta* would not have stood in the way of such a development. The subclassification of *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*, moreover, must certainly be more archaic than that into conventional and absolute. And if the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* is the scriptural authority for this classification, as tradition would have it, then it may be considered the oldest source.[71]

(c) The Pervasiveness of the Classification

One of the questions we might ask is: Does the subclassification of *bodhicitta* into *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* occur in all Mahāyāna sources that undertake to further particularise *bodhicitta*, and if not, why not? Just as the classification perhaps originated only in a certain textual milieu, so too it is prevalent only in certain groups of texts. (This statement, of course, is not meant to undermine the fact that attempts were made by later exegetes to gather and systematise the various classifications.) The *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, for example, does not explicitly mention the terms *bodhipraṇidhicitta* and *bodhiprasthānacitta*.[72] This particular classification is not found in various other texts either, such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

Tendentially, texts that represent a more archaic or conservative idea of *bodhicitta* do not contain this particular classification, because *bodhicitta* in the conservative Mahāyāna texts primarily means the initial resolve to become a *buddha* and not the actual practice. The

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[71] For a discussion of the dates of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, see NAKAMURA 1980: 194–196.

[72] However, Ulrich Pagel states that the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* 'by implication' recognises the division of *bodhicitta* into *bodhipraṇidhicitta* and *bodhiprasthānacitta* (PAGEL 1995: 130).

details of the practice of a *bodhisattva* are usually treated in their case outside the framework of the *bodhicitta* concept. This seems to be the main reason why such a classification is not found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and the same perhaps applies to the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*.[73] However, an author could have, for practical reasons, chosen to adopt an alternative classification, even though others were known to him. This may be the case with the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

(d) Distinctions, Interpretations, and Controversies

The distinction between *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* was a topic of much debate among late Indian scholars and their Tibetan successors. Śāntideva, whom many later scholars followed, illustrated the difference with an analogy:[74]

> Just as the difference between
> One who desires to travel and one who is travelling is understood,
> So should the difference between the two [kinds of *bodhicitta*]
> Be understood by the wise accordingly.[75]

For Śāntideva, the theoretical resolve to strive for awakening is *praṇidhi*, and the practical course of action is *prasthāna*. Explanations of the terms *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* are also given by Prajñākaramati.[76] In any case, the terms provided much room for conflicting interpretations. The following passage by the eleventh-century Indian scholar Ratnākaraśānti offers a remarkable glimpse into the dissent surrounding the issue of *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna* current in India during his time:[77]

> [1] *Bodhicitta* is of two kinds: one *praṇidhicitta* and one *prasthānacitta*. Why is this so? Because [these are] said to be desire for the result and for the cause, [respectively]. How so? Desiring the sublime result is *praṇidhicitta*, whereas striving for the cause of it is *prasthānacitta*. [2] Some claim that *prasthānacitta* is absolute *bodhicitta*, directed towards emptiness (*śūnyatā*), whereas *praṇidhicitta* is conventional *bodhicitta*, with compassion as [its] priority. [3] Some also claim that *prasthānacitta* is [*bodhicitta*] which consolidates wholesome [attitudes and actions], whereas *praṇidhicitta* does not. [4] Some claim that *praṇidhicitta* is pure altruistic inclination (*āśaya*), since it is an aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*), and that *prasthānacitta* is

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[73] The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does subclassify *cittotpāda* into two kinds, namely, one leading to the goal (*nairyāṇika*) and the other not leading to it (*anairyāṇika*), but it should be noted that the basis for this classification is only the generation of the initial (*prathama*) resolve to strive for awakening. See the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§2.1.0).

[74] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.16:

> *gantukāmasya gantuś ca yathā bhedaḥ pratīyate |*
> *tathā bhedo 'nayor jñeyo yathāsaṃkhyena paṇḍitaiḥ ||.*

Cf. *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 12.3–10).

[75] Cf. the English translation in CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 6; cf. STEINKELLNER 1981: 24.

[76] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 11.24–25): *bodhau praṇidhiḥ | tad eva cittaṃ tatra vā cittam | yac cittaṃ praṇidhānād utpannaṃ bhavati dānādipravṛttivikalaṃ ca | tat praṇidhicittam | tadyathā—sarvajagatparitrāṇāya buddho bhaveyam iti prathamataraṃ prārthanākārā cetanā |*; *ibid.* (p. 11.26–28): *prasthāne cittaṃ, prasthānam eva vā cittam cittasya tatsvabhāvatvāt | pūrvakamanaskārapuraḥsaram eva yataḥ prabhṛti saṃvaragrahaṇapūrvakaṃ saṃbhāreṣu pravartate, tat prasthānacittam |.*

[77] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 275b6–276a2; D, fol. 235a3–6; S, vol. 64, pp. 663.19–664.9): [1] *byang chub kyi sems ni rnam pa gnyis te | smon pa dang 'jug pa'i bdag nyid* [kid P] *do || de ci'i phyir zhe na | 'bras bu dang rgyu la 'dod ces pa'i phyir ro || de* [= ji?] *ltar zhe na | 'bras bu'i dam pa 'dod pa ni smon pa yin la | de'i rgyu la 'bad pa ni 'jug pa yin no ||* [2] *la la na re don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems stong pa nyid la dmigs pa ni 'jug pa yin la | kun rdzob kyi byang chub kyi sems snying rje gtsor* [gtsar P, gtso bor DC] *gyur pa ni smon pa yin no zhes zer ro ||* [3] *la la na re dge ba'i rtsa ba mngon par 'du byed pa ni 'jug pa yin la | 'du mi byed pa ni smon pa yin no zhes kyang zer ro ||* [4] *la la na re bsam pa rnam par dag pa ni smon par 'dod 'de |'* [do || DC] *smon lam yin pa'i phyir ro || sbyor ba phun sum tshogs pa ni 'jug par 'dod de nyams su len pa'i phyir ro zhes zer ro ||.*

superior practical application (*prayoga*), since it is the putting into practice [of theoretical aspiration].

Ratnākaraśānti presents four different positions including his own. Although a tone of scepticism can be felt regarding the three other positions, he does not criticise them but places them on the same level with his own position. Ratnākaraśānti's own position agrees with that of Atiśa, for whom *praṇidhi* is a thought which takes the resultant aspects of the perfect awakening as its supporting object and focuses on them, whereas *prasthāna* is a thought which takes aspects of the path as its supporting object and focuses on them.[78]

The second position paraphrased by Ratnākaraśānti seems to be Buddhaśrījñāna's, which is mentioned also by Dharmamitra in his *Prasphuṭapadā*:[79]

According to Ācārya Buddhaśrījñānapāda, all resolutions [to become a *buddha*] at the stage of an ordinary being (*pṛthagjana*) are generated in the form of *bodhipraṇidhicitta*. Beginning with the stage (*bhūmi*) of 'Utter Joy' (*pramuditā*), however, [the resolution], which is [now] characterised by gnosis and is in exact concord with *dharmadhātu*, is explained as *bodhiprasthānacitta*.

According to this interpretation, *praṇidhi* is mundane and conventional, whereas *prasthāna* is supramundane and absolute.

The third position presented by Ratnākaraśānti is apparently that of Dharmamitra. According to the latter's *Prasphuṭapadā*, *bodhipraṇidhicitta* is generated through ritual, while *bodhiprasthānacitta* is generated through meditation:[80]

The [term] *praṇidhi* means mere aspiration that has not been fully accepted [but nevertheless formalised] through the *bodhicittotpāda* ritual procedure after accumulating a mass of [beneficial resources (*puṇya*)]. The [term] *prasthāna*, on the other hand, means the conduct [leading to] attainment included [within the framework of the *bodhisattva* stages], beginning with the generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]—which has come about by the full acceptance [of the *bodhisattva* vow] after pleasing one's spiritual teacher (*kalyānamitra*)—up to [the stage of] the path that is immediately followed [by the actual result] (*ānantaryamārga*).[81]

According to this interpretation, *praṇidhi* is a mere aspiration that has not definitively assumed the form of a commitment, and so is not accompanied by practical deeds. By contrast, *prasthāna* is seen as involving practical application from the very first generation of resolve onwards.

The initial resolve to become a *buddha*, which, according to some other positions, may be *praṇidhi*, is here considered to be *prasthāna*. According to Śrījñānakīrti,[82] the first three of

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[78] *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fol. 297a5–7; D, fol. 257b6–7; S, vol. 64, pp. 1690.18–1691.1): ... *'bras bu rdzogs pa'i byang chub yul du byed cing dmigs pa ni smon pa'i sems yin te* | ... *lam gyi chos yul du byed cing dmigs pa ni 'jug pa'i sems yin te* |. See also SHERBURNE 2000: 106–107.

[79] *Prasphuṭapadā* (P, fol. 44b3–4; D, fol. 39a1–2; S, vol. 52, p. 794.10–14): *slob dpon dpal sangs rgyas ye shes* [add. zhabs DC] *kyi zhal snga nas ni* | *so so'i skye 'bo'i sa'i'* [bos pa'i P, sa pa'i N] *sems can thams cad ni smon pa byang chub kyi sems nyid du bskyed* [brjod DC] *la* | *sa rab tu dga' ba nas brtsams te* [add. ni DC] *ye shes kyi khyad par chos kyi dbyings ji lta ba bzhin la 'jug pa ni* [om. DC] *byang chub kyi sems so zhes bstan to* ||.

[80] *Prasphuṭapadā* (P, fol. 44a8–b1; D, fol. 38b5–7; S, vol. 52, p. 794.2–5): *smon pa zhes pa ni smon pa tsam ste* [te DC] *tshogs bsags pas sems* [add. de PN] *bskyed pa'i cho gas blang ba yang ma byas pa'o* || *'jug pa zhes pa ni dge ba'i bshes gnyen mnyes par byas te yang dag par blangs pa las byung ba'i sems bskyed pa nas brtsams te* | *bar chad med pa'i lam gyi bar du gtogs pa'i sgrub pa'i spyod pa'o* ||.

[81] Namely, the diamond-like concentration (*vajropamasamādhi*).

[82] *Pāramitāyānabhāvanā* (P, fol. 79b4; D, fol. 73b1–2; S, vol. 64, p. 212.7–9):
'dun pa'i gnas skabs sogs [stsogs DC] *dbye bas* ||
smon pa'i sems ni rnam pa gsum ||
'jug pa zhes ni bya ba'i sems ||
rnam pa bcu dgu dag tu 'dod ||.

twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* are *praṇidhicitta*, whereas the remaining nineteen are *prasthānacitta*. Dharmamitra also mentions a position according to which the distinction between *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* is made on the basis of the reversibility or irreversibility of the state a *bodhisattva* has attained.[83] For Tibetan scholars such as Tsong-kha-pa, most of these proponents have not understood the matter properly, having misread the intent of the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* and of Śāntideva.[84]

4. Subclassifying *Bodhicitta* into Conventional and Absolute

The idea of conventional and absolute truths in Buddhism, particularly in the Madhyamaka system—where all phenomena are expressed according to these two modes—is well known. What is perhaps less known is the tendency of Buddhist systematists to extend this twofold classification to very particular areas of thought.[85] For example, even in relatively conservative Buddhist literature such as Vasubandhu's *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya*, *abhidharma* itself is divided into *pāramārthika* ('true' or 'pertaining to the absolute') and *sāṃketika* ('designatory' or 'pertaining to convention or transactions').[86] In the *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya*, each of the Three Jewels is also classified according to the *pāramārthika-sāṃketika* divide.[87] It comes as no surprise, then, that *cittotpāda* (or *bodhicitta*) has been similarly subclassified in both Indian and Tibetan traditions.[88] The following sets of terms are used to describe the subclassification of *bodhicitta* into conventional and absolute: (a) *samādānasāṃketika* and *dharmatāpratilambhika*,[89] (b) *sāṃketikacittotpāda* (or *samādānasāṃketika*) and *pāramārthikacittotpāda*,[90] (c) *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* and

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[83] See the *Prasphuṭapadā* (P, fol. 44b4–7; D, fol. 39a2–5; S, vol. 52, pp. 794.14–795.2), particularly the statement: ... *phyir mi ldog pa'i sar gnas pa dang | de ma thob pa las smon pa dang 'jug par* [pa PN] *bzhag ste* |.

[84] See the *gSer phreng* (p. 197.3–4): *de ltar na cho gas blangs ma blangs dang | gzhan yang phyir mi ldog thob ma thob dang | 'bras bu dang rgyu la dam bcas pa la 'dod pa yod de de dag gis ni legs par ma rtogs te | sdong po bkod pa'i mdo dang de'i dgongs pa 'grel pa'i shānta de ba'i lugs las phyi rol tu gyur pa'i phyir ro* ||.

[85] We find expressions such as *pāramārthikapramāṇa* (*TSD*, s.v. *don dam pa*); *pāramārthikajñāna* and *saṃvṛtijñāna* (*TSD*, s.vv. *don dam pa'i ye shes* and *kun rdzob shes pa*); *paramārthakāya* and *saṃvṛtikāya* (*TSD*, s.v. *don dam sku*); *paramārthaśramaṇa* (*TSD*, s.v. *don dam pa'i dge sbyong*); and *paramārthayoga* (*TSD*, s.v. *don dam pa'i rnal 'byor*). See also *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.17 (WOGIHARA, p. 260.16–17; DUTT, p. 177.19–20): *pāramārthikasāṃketikajñānapūrvaṃgamaḥ pāramārthikasāṃketikajñānaphalam....*

[86] *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 2.5): *eṣa tāvat pāramārthiko 'bhidharmaḥ | sāṃketikas tu....*

[87] Daśabalaśrīmitra, *Saṃskṛtāsaṃskṛtaviniścaya* (P, fol. 76b8; D, fol. 168a2; S, vol. 63, p. 441.19–20): *de la sangs rgyas gnyis ni 'di lta ste | don dam pa pa* [om. PN] *dang | brdar btags* [brtags PN] *pa'o* ||; *ibid.* (P, fol. 77a7; D, fol. 168a6–7; S, vol. 63, p. 442.15–16): *chos ni gnyis yin te* [om. PN]| *'di lta ste | don dam pa pa dang | brdar btags* [brtags PN] *pa pa'o* ||; *ibid.* (P, fol. 77b1–2; D, fol. 168b1–2; S, vol. 63, p. 443.1–2): *dge 'dun la gnyis ni 'di lta ste | don dam pa pa dang | brdar btags* [brtags PN] *pa'o* ||.

[88] The classification, as we shall see, is attested in several Indian sources, and is not a Tibetan invention, as BRASSARD 2000: 58 seems to suggest.

[89] For the terms *samādānasāṃketika* and *dharmatāpratilambhika*, see *TSD*, s.vv. *yang dag par blangs pa brda las byung ba*, *chos nyid kyi rnyed pa*, and *chos nyid kyis 'thob pa*. The negation *asāṃketika* seems to be used in apposition to *dharmatāpratilambhika* in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 9.19): *asāṃketikaṃ dharmatāprātilambhikaṃ....* It is clear that *dharmatāpratilambhika* in general conveys a meaning opposite to what results from causes and conditions. See, for example, the *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 26b5; D, fol. 23a1–2; S, vol. 75, p. 660.14–15): *rigs ni chos nyid kyis thob pa yin gyi* [gyis PN] | *rgyu dang rkyen gyis mngon par 'dus byas pa ni ma yin no* ||.

pāramārthikabodhicitta[91] (or *paramārthabodhicitta*[92]), and (d) *vaivṛtisaṃvṛtirūpaka* (**vaivṛtirūpaka* and **saṃvṛtirūpaka*).[93]

There may also be other terms used within this classification. I shall, for pragmatic reasons, therefore use 'conventional' and 'absolute' to refer to the first three pairs of terms. The last pair, however, seems to be applied only in the context of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*, and the terms *saṃvṛti* and *vivṛti* should perhaps not be understood as conventional and absolute, as suggested by the Tibetan translation (i.e. *kun rdzob* and *don dam*), but rather as 'closure' (or 'concealing') and 'exposure' (or 'revealing'), respectively,[94] which seem to make better sense in the context of sexual-yogic practices associated with a skilful manipulation of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*. The classification of psycho-physiological *bodhicitta* into **vaivṛtirūpaka* and **saṃvṛtirūpaka* will, however, not be discussed here. Instead the following few paragraphs will be devoted to the subclassification of *bodhicitta* into absolute and conventional modes in general, and to a few related issues.

(a) Two Strands of the Conventional-Absolute Classification

As already shown, an examination of the conventional-absolute categories of classification seems to indicate that there once existed two strands of the *bodhicitta* concept: Strand A—represented by texts such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*—which conspicuously employs terms such as *pāramārthikacittotpāda* and *sāṃketikacittotpāda*; and Strand B—represented by the Prajñāpāramitā and Madhyamaka literature—which rather employs terms such as *pāramārthikabodhicitta* and *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* to designate the particular subcategories. These two strands, mentioned in the chapter on the two *cittotpāda* traditions, correspond, though perhaps not exactly, to what I have referred to as the Maitreya-Asaṅga and Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna traditions. Although they seem to have conceived the mode of classification differently from the very beginning, in some later texts the two strands may have converged, or the distinctions between them at least became less pronounced.

In general, then, Strand A principally, if not exclusively, used the term *cittotpāda*, while Strand B preferred the term *bodhicitta*: Strand A tends to expressions such as *samādānasāṃketika* and *dharmatāpratilambhika*, *samādāna/sāṃketikacittotpāda* and *pāramārthikacittotpāda*; Strand B favours *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* and *pāramārthikabodhicitta* (or

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[90] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* itself employs none of the compounds used to designate absolute or conventional *bodhicitta*. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*, however, uses *pāramārthikacittotpāda* and *sāṃketikacittotpāda*.

[91] The term *pāramārthikabodhicitta* is attested, for example, in Vanaratna's *Rahasyadīpikā* (p. 63.9–10)—in a longer compound—and in the *Yogaratnamālā* (p. 111.11).

[92] The terms *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* and *paramārthabodhicitta* occur in the titles of two works, namely, the *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanā* (P 5307, 5432; D 3911, 4519; S 3140, vol. 64) and the *Paramārthabodhicittabhāvanā* (P 5308, 5431; D 3912, 4518; S 3141, vol. 64) both of which are attributed to Aśvaghoṣa (SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 120–121) and are extant only in Tibetan translation. The authenticity of these titles is, of course, doubtful. I have not yet been able to trace the compound *paramārthabodhicitta*. However, the compound *saṃvṛtibodhicitta* is found in *Guhyasiddhi* 2.12cd (p. 21.5): *sāṃbhogikaṃ kāyasukhasvabhāvaṃ tad bhaṇyate saṃvṛtibodhicittam* ||. See also *TSD*, s.v. *kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems*.

[93] The compound *vaivṛtisaṃvṛtirūpaka* is used in the *Hevajratantra* as an attribute of *bodhicitta*. See *Hevajratantra* 2.4.29:

> *maṇḍalacakrādyupāyena svādhiṣṭhānakrameṇa ca* |
> *bodhicittam utpādayed vaivṛtisaṃvṛtirūpakam* ||.

See also *TSD*, s.v. *kun rdzob don dam gzugs can*; *Shing rta rnam dag* (p. 60.3).

[94] *MW*, s.vv. *vivṛti* and *saṃvṛti*.

paramārthabodhicitta). In due course, as the two strands converged, the terminology of Strand B became the more popular one.

(b) Textual Sources of the Conventional-Absolute Classification

In the following few paragraphs, I shall present some textual sources that reflect the above development, whenever possible chronologically. There are no formal criteria for sorting out the material into either of the two strands. Nonetheless, one can more or less form two distinct groups of textual sources on the basis of their ideas and terminologies. One notices, however, a growing tendency of assimilation of terminologies, especially in the context of explaining the various ideas.

I have not been able to trace any Mahāyāna *sūtra* that explicitly mentions the classification under discussion.[95] The *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* is sometimes, but mistakenly, given as a scriptural source of this classification by both Tibetan and modern scholars.[96] The *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra* is also given by some traditional Tibetan scholars as a source; I have not been, however, able to locate or verify the relevant verse.[97] Nonetheless, we do find some Mahāyāna *sūtra*s, such as the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*,[98] which describe *bodhicitta* clearly on two levels theoretically interpretable as conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*.

So far, then, the classification has been found only in the *śāstra* or commentarial literature. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which is quite likely one of the earliest pieces of literature that represent Strand A, does not mention such a classification. It does, however, subclassify *cittotpāda* into two types, namely, one leading to the goal (*nairyāṇika*) and the other not (*anairyāṇika*),[99] but this classification should be equated neither with the *praṇidhi-prasthāna* subclassification nor with the conventional-absolute one, for it is explicitly stated that the classification is of initial (*prathama*) *cittotpāda*. The fact that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* does not subdivide *cittotpāda* into *dharmatāpratilambhika* and *samādānasāṃketika* does not necessarily mean that this classification postdates the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[100] It may have been

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[95] One could look into the *Avataṃsaka*, but I have not been able to do so, given time constraints.

[96] See the *Dwags po thar rgyan* (p. 138.7–10). The alleged citation from the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* is in fact from Kamalaśīla's Second *Bhāvanākrama*. The wrong attribution of the source of this quotation appears to be a result of confusion. The pertinent passage in the Second *Bhāvanākrama* is Kamalaśīla's own statement and not a citation from the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*. However, immediately thereafter, he cites the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* to show that absolute *bodhicitta* is the result of the meditation of calmness and higher insight. The occurrence of the title *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* in the vicinity must have led sGam-po-pa (or some other secondary source upon whom he relied) astray. See also Guenther's translation of the *Dwags po thar rgyan*; WILLIAMS 1989: 203; BRASSARD 2000: 15.

[97] See, for example, the *Grub mtha' mdzod* (p. 192.2): … *mya ngan las 'das la* [= pa] *las* | «*kun rdzob don dam dbye ba yis* || *byang chub sems de rnam gnyis te* || *'sen dha pa'*[a] *yi sgra bzhin no* ||» *zhes so* ||. A somewhat similar verse can be found in Mañjuśrīkīrti's *Vajrayānamūlāpattiṭīkā* (P, fol. 261a5–6; D, fol. 211a4–6; S, vol. 27, p. 787.5–7): *de ltar yang* | «*rang bzhin gzhi mthun byang chub sems* || *sgra gcig gis ni dngos rnams brjod* || *kun rdzob la sogs dbye ba yis* || *'senta pa yi'* [sen ta pa'i P] *sgra bzhin no* ||». [a] For this term, see *MW*, s.v. *saindhava*.

[98] The passage on *bodhicitta* is cited in both the *Sūtrasamuccaya* (pp. 24.19–25.9) and the *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (pp. 6.13–7.6). However, although the passage seems to be identical, the former quotes it under the title *Chos yang dag par sdud pa'i mdo* (*Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*), whereas the latter under the title *'Phags pa chos kun bgro ba'i mdo*.

[99] See n. 73.

[100] Note, however, the expression *samketasaṃvṛti* within a compound found in *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.4 (WOGIHARA, p. 37.8–9; DUTT, p. 25.5–6).

either overlooked or not discovered during the compilation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, but at any rate it was included during the compilation of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, or to be more precise, the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*.[101] The latter lists and explains ten kinds of *cittotpāda* (to which we shall return). The ten are actually five pairs of *cittotpāda*s, the first pair being *dharmatāpratilambhika* and *samādānasāṃketika*.[102] Guṇaprabha's *Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti*, be it noted, does not mention such a classification.

The next relatively early source that draws a distinction between absolute and conventional *cittotpāda* is the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*. These are referred to there as the 'one [obtained] through the suggestion of others' (*parākhyāna*) and the 'one which is supreme' (*parama*),[103] though the terms *sāṃketika* and *pāramārthika* are not employed. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* ascribed to Vasubandhu (but probably not by Vasubandhu the Kośakāra)[104] uses the terms *samādānasāṃketika* and *pāramārthika*.[105] In addition, a discussion of absolute and conventional *cittotpāda* or *bodhicitta* can be found in several tantric and non-tantric sources, such as Sthiramati's *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā*,[106] Sāgaramegha's *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā*,[107] *Asvabhāva's (*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā*, Kamalaśīla's Second *Bhāvanākrama*,[108] Vimalamitra's (fl. end of the eighth century)[109] *Rim gyis 'jug pa'i sgom don*,[110] Atiśa's *Ratnakaraṇḍoghāṭa*,[111] Anaṅgavajrapāda's *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi*,[112] Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra*,[113] *Guṇavatī*,[114] and

[101] After the explanation of each of the ten *cittotpāda*s, the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300b8; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285b7; S, vol. 74, p. 691.8–10) states: "Of the ten *cittotpāda*s, how many are defiled ones and how many are not defiled ones? Treatises that carry out [this] and similar analyses have not appeared" (*sems bskyed* [skyed PN] *pa bcu po de dag las du ni nyon mongs pa can yin | du ni nyon mongs pa can ma yin pa dang | de lta bu la sogs pa'i rnam par gtan la* [pa DC] *dbab pa'i gzhung ni mi snang ngo ||*).

[102] See n. 147.

[103] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.7–8.

[104] SCHMITHAUSEN 1987: 262–263, n. 101.

[105] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.6–22): *pāramārthikacittotpāde sapta ślokāḥ | sūpāsitasaṃbuddhe* [... verses 4.8–14...] *prathamena ślokenopadeśapratipattyadhigamaviśeṣaiḥ pāramārthikatvaṃ cittotpādasya darśayati |*.

[106] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fols. 59b8–60a1; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54a5; S, vol. 71, p. 1031.6–7): *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa rnam pa gnyis yod de* [do || DC] *brda'i dam bca' bar sems bskyed pa dang | don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems so ||*; *ibid.* (P, vol. *mi*, fols. 60a1ff.; D, vol. *mi*, fols. 54a5ff.; S, vol. 71, pp. 1031.7ff.).

[107] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 23a4–6; D, fol. 19b5–6; S, vol. 75, pp. 652.16–653.1): *brda dang tha snyad kyi tshul* [tshal P] *gyis zhes bya ba ni ming du btags pa'i tha snyad kyis byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya ste | brda las byung ba'i sems bskyed pa'o || bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu don dam pa zag pa med pa'i sems bskyed pa ni sa dang po rab tu rtogs pa'i dus su'o* [so DC || *byang chub sems dpa'i nges pa la yang 'jug par 'gyur ro || de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs su skyes pa yin no || don dam pa'i byang chub sems dpa' zhes bya'o ||*.

[108] See n. 121.

[109] See SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 107.

[110] *Rim gyis 'jug pa'i sgom don* (P, fol. 400a8–b8; D, fol. 343a2–b1; S, vol. 64, pp. 961.15–962.16).

[111] See n. 125.

[112] *Prajñopāyaviniścayasiddhi* 2.29 (p. 72.19–20):
nityaṃ prabhāsvaraṃ śuddhaṃ bodhicittaṃ jinālayam |

Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā,[115] Indrabhūti's *Guhyasiddhi*,[116] and Vibhūticandra's *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā*.[117]

(c) The Relative Chronology of the Conventional-Absolute Classification

In the face of several uncertainties, establishing the relative chronology of the ideas and terminologies under discussion will prove quite difficult if not impossible. Nonetheless, I shall propose one conceivable relative chronology, keeping in mind the two strands of *bodhicitta* and the internal and external relationships between the pertinent ideas and categories.

In general, the conventional-absolute classification in Strand A seems to be more archaic and conservative than the corresponding one in Strand B. The *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya*, representing Strand A, alludes to the classification by means of terms such as **samādānasāṃketika* and **dharmatāpratilambhika*. The corresponding classification in Strand B, as far as I can see, does not predate or even go back as far as the compilation of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*. Strand A is seen to be relatively down-to-earth, with hardly any touch of the transcendence characteristic of Strand B. Indeed the conventional-absolute classification in Strand A seems to be more archaic and conservative not only than the corresponding classification in Strand B, but also than the *praṇidhi-prasthāna* dichotomy, which in my view is a characteristic of Strand B.

Furthermore, the actual concepts of conventional and absolute and the terminologies used to convey them in strands A and B do not seem to be of the same antiquity. The notion of *bodhicitta* that retrospectively came to be designated as conventional *bodhicitta* in both strands A and B is certainly older than that of absolute *bodhicitta*. However, the term 'absolute *bodhicitta*' seems to have been used earlier in both strands, and is thus older than its counterpart. This can be easily explained. As in the case of the *praṇidhi-prasthāna* dichotomy—concerning which I have tried to show that the concept of and terminology for *bodhiprasthānacitta* was a later extension of the existing concept of *bodhicitta*, which primarily meant *praṇidhi*, thereby resulting in a new pair of categories—the concept of and terminology for absolute *bodhicitta* can be seen as an extension of the existing concept of *bodhicitta*, which retrospectively came to be called conventional *bodhicitta*, no doubt for the

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sarvadharmamayaṃ divyaṃ nikhilāspadakāraṇam ||.
See also *ibid*. 3.11 (p. 75.1–2):
saṃbuddhā bodhisattvāś ca tvattaḥ pāramitāguṇāḥ |
saṃbhavanti sadā nātha bodhicitta namo 'stu te ||.

113 *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 319b1; D, fol. 273a2; S, vol. 64, p. 760.6–7): *byang chub kyi sems ni kun rdzob dang don* [den D] *dam pa'o* ||.

114 *Guṇavatī* (p. 15.13): *pāramāthikaṃ tu bodhicittam niśprapañcajñānātmakam* | *prapañco bhrāntiḥ* |.

115 See n. 123.

116 See n. 92.

117 *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā* (P, fol. 266a4–5; D, fols. 54b7–55a1; S, vol. 41, p. 721.10–14):
smon dang 'jug pa'i bdag nyid can ||
lus ngag yid gsum rang don dang ||
gzhan don thabs ma yin las sdom ||
kun rdzob byang chub sems [sams D] *kyi'o* ||
de nyid snang la rang bzhin med ||
'jigs ['jig PN] *sogs bzhin du goms* [sgoms N] *pa las* ||
yul dang yul can gnyis las grol ||
don dam byang chub sems yin no ||.

sake of symmetry. In other words, after the development of the later idea and term 'absolute *bodhicitta,*' it became necessary to rename the existing older idea 'conventional *bodhicitta*.'

The relative chronology of the concepts of conventional and absolute *bodhicitta* can also be attempted from a different angle. In which strand is the concept of conventional *bodhicitta* older? I am inclined to believe that the concept of conventional *bodhicitta* in Strand A is not only older than the corresponding concept in Strand B, but may even be the original concept. (The use of the term conventional may be confusing, and should be understood as merely a label added retrospectively). In both strands the concept of conventional *bodhicitta* may ultimately be traceable back to the idea of *praṇidhi* (or *praṇidhāna*), as the first step to becoming a *buddha*, which is perhaps the primordial meaning of *bodhicitta*. The next question is: In which strand is the concept of absolute *bodhicitta* older? Here I propose that the concept of absolute *bodhicitta* in Strand B is older than the corresponding idea in Strand A. My view is, of course, based on the assumption that the doctrine of emptiness (and perhaps also the attendant notion of the two truths), as given contour in texts such as the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures, contributed to the development of the notion of absolute *bodhicitta*.

(d) Two Different Perceptions of Conventional and Absolute *Bodhicitta*

How conventional and absolute forms of *bodhicitta* are perceived in the two strands depends on how the terms 'conventional' and 'absolute' truths are understood by them. There are, however, more than one two-truth models presupposed in Indian Mahāyāna Buddhism; and an assessment of conventional and absolute *bodhicitta* without considering them would result in a mix-up of categories. The separate ideas of ontological and gnoseological *bodhicitta*, discussed in chapter six, become relevant here. The question they give rise to is whether, in terms of the conventional-absolute classification, ontological and gnoseological *bodhicitta* (descriptions of which are found also in traditional sources) should be subsumed under conventional or under absolute *bodhicitta*? In other words, is the idea of ontological and gnoseological *bodhicitta* related to the idea of conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*, and if so, how?

Strand A makes a distinction between conventional and absolute *bodhicitta* primarily on the basis of the attainment or non-attainment of non-conceptual gnosis. Conventional *bodhicitta* is cultivated by means such as ritual rather than meditation, and is attributed to a *bodhisattva* who is still a *pṛthagjana*. Absolute *bodhicitta*, on the other hand, is born of meditation and is attributed to a *bodhisattva* who has attained the first stage (*bhūmi*) or beyond; it is identical with what has been referred to as gnoseological *bodhicitta*. For this strand, only gnosis in which true reality appears as it actually is counts as absolute *bodhicitta*. Apparently, true reality itself is not designated as *bodhicitta*. This way of understanding absolute *bodhicitta* appears to be very prevalent in Indian and Tibetan Buddhism. For example, Candrakīrti in his commentary on Āryadeva's *Catuḥśataka*, in discussing about when a person can first be called a *bodhisattva*, speaks of the following two kinds of *bodhicitta*:[118]

> In this [context], there are two kinds of *bodhicitta*.[119] The first one is the [*bodhicitta* of] desire (*abhilāṣa* or *abhiprāya*).[120] The second one is absolute [*bodhicitta*]. As to the [*bodhicitta* of]

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[118] *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (P, fol. 103a8–b2; D, fol. 94b3–5; S, vol. 60, pp. 1157.21–1159.5): *'dir byang chub 'kyi sems'* [sems dpa' PN] *ni rnam pa gnyis te | gcig ni mngon par 'dod pa'o || gnyis pa ni don dam pa'o || de la mngon par 'dod pa* [add. pa PN] *ni bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub 'dod pa nas bzung ste | so so'i skye bo'i gnas skabs na yang yod do || don dam pa ni rnam pa bcur 'gyur te | sa rab tu dga' ba sems bskyed pa dang po nas* [add. sa DC] *chos kyi sprin sems bskyed pa bcu pa'i bar ro ||*.

[119] Note that the reading in P and N is *bodhisattva* not *bodhicitta*.

desire, it is existent even in the state of an ordinary person, from the time [one] desires the highest perfect awakening. As to the absolute [*bodhicitta*], it is of ten kinds, beginning with the *cittotpāda* of the first stage (*bhūmi*) [of a *bodhisattva*, called] *pramuditā*, up to the *cittotpāda* of the tenth stage, [called] *dharmameghā*.

Kamalaśīla describes conventional and absolute *bodhicitta* in his Second *Bhāvanākrama* as follows:[121]

Bodhicitta is of two kinds: a conventional one and an absolute one. Of these, the conventional one is the generation of an initial resolve representing the desire for the highest perfect awakening, after making a commitment out of compassion to rescue all sentient beings, to the effect: "May [I] become a *buddha* in order to benefit sentient beings." ... Absolute *bodhicitta* is supramundane, free from all manifoldness, very luminously clear, a domain of the absolute, immaculate, unwavering [and] unflickering, like the flame of an oil lamp in the absence of wind.

Jayānanda in his *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* states:[122]

In this [context], *bodhicitta* is of two kinds: conventional (*sāṃketika*) and absolute (*pāramārthika*). Of these, the conventional kind is the one that is characterised by *praṇidhi* and *prasthāna* [and is found at] the level of an ordinary person. The absolute kind is the one that is attained in virtue of [having realised] the primordial reality of phenomena (*dharmatāpratilambhika*).

According to Ratnākaraśānti, *bodhicitta* is *sāṃketika* as long as *śūnyatā* is not realised directly, and *pāramārthika* once it is.[123]

The position of Strand B is not quite clear, but it seems to be that the identifying trait of *bodhicitta*, regardless of whether it is that of a *bodhisattva* who is still an ordinary person or of a saint, is *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*. If *śūnyatā* in this compound is understood in the sense of true reality or freedom from manifoldness, the result would be identical with ontological *bodhicitta*. On the other hand, if what is referred to as *śūnyatā* is the insight (*prajñā*) or gnosis (*jñāna*) which cognises *śūnyatā*, it would be gnoseological *bodhicitta*. *Karuṇā* is apparently considered to be conventional *bodhicitta*. I have not been able to trace a detailed explanation of such a distinction in Indian sources.[124] Nonetheless, according to Atiśa's *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa*, absolute *bodhicitta* is practised during the meditative state, and

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120 *TSD*, s.v. *mngon par 'dod pa*.

121 Second *Bhāvanākrama* (P, fol. 48a2–5; D, fol. 44a2–5; S, vol. 64, pp. 124.16–125.7; cf. NAMDOL 1985, pp. 79.11–80.5): *byang chub kyi sems de ni rnam pa gnyis te | kun rdzob dang | don dam pa'o || de la kun rdzob pa ni snying rjes sems can mtha' dag mngon par 'don par dam bcas nas 'gro ba la phan gdags* [om. PN] *pa'i phyir sangs rgyas su gyur cig snyam du bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub* [add. tu PN] *'dod pa'i* [add. rnam pas DC] *sems dang po bskyed pa'o || ... don dam pa'i byang chub kyi sems de ni 'jig rten las 'das pa spros pa mtha' dag dang bral ba | shin tu gsal ba | don dam pa'i spyod yul | dri ma med pa | mi g.yo ba | rlung med pa'i mar me'i rgyun ltar mi 'g.yo ba'o'* [g.yos pa'o PN] ||. See also Vimalamitra's *Rim gyis 'jug pa'i sgom don* (P, fol. 400a8–b8; D, fol. 343a2–b1; S, vol. 64, pp. 961.15–962.16).

122 *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 81a8–b1; D, fol. 68a4–5; S, vol. 61, p. 163.16–19): *'dir byang chub kyi sems ni gnyis te | brda las byung ba dang | don dam pa'i 'o || de la brda las byung ba ni so so'i skye bo'i sa'i smon pa dang 'jug pa'i rang bzhin can no || don dam pa ni dang po'i chos nyid kyis* [kyi PN] *thob pa'o* ||.

123 *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhiṭīkā* (P, fol. 360b4–5; D, fol. 69b1; S, vol. 22, p. 175.3–6): *byang chub kyi sems 'di yang ji srid stong pa nyid la lhag par mos par byed kyi mngon sum du mi byed pa de srid kyi bar du ni brdar btags pa nyid yin la | yang gang gi tshe mngon sum du byed pa de'i tshe ni don dam pa yin par shes par bya'o* ||.

124 The only explicit reference to such an explanation is by Rong-zom-pa; see the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 95b6–96a1; B, p. 127.18–20): "The generation of absolute and conventional *bodhicitta* is considered in terms of freedom from manifoldness and benefiting sentient beings, [respectively]" (*don dam pa dang kun rdzob kyi byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa zhes bya ba ni | spros pa* [om. B] *dang bral ba'i don dang 'gro ba'i don gyi dbang du byas pa'o* ||). Cf. also *ibid.* (A, fol. 95a3–b3; B, pp. 126.24–127.11): *da ni kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa bstan par 'dod pa las |... de bas na chos thams cad ye nas sangs rgyas pa'i don yin pas thams cad dbyer med na'ang de ma rtogs pa'i dbang gis 'gro ba lnga'i ris bsam gyis mi khyab par smin pa la | thugs rje chen po skyes so zhes sbyar ro* ||.

conventional *bodhicitta* during the post-meditative state, and in this way the two types of *bodhicitta*, which is then characterised by *śūnyatākaruṇāgarbha*, can be stabilised.[125] Following Atiśa, one could say that a *bodhisattva* (from the first *bhūmi* onwards) experiences ontological *bodhicitta* as a spiritual event by means of gnoseological *bodhicitta* in the meditative state, while the ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* becomes manifest in the post-meditative state.

These two different perceptions of *bodhicitta* (attributed to strands A and B) have not been discussed in any of the Indian and Tibetan sources that I have consulted. The only exception is perhaps Klong-chen-pa, who seems to have come to a similar conclusion, without, of course, making a distinction between two distinct currents. He states:[126]

> Furthermore, [the distinction between] conventional and absolute *cittotpāda* is made on the basis of two [kinds of] *cittotpāda* pertaining to ordinary persons (*pṛthagjana*) and saints (*ārya*), [respectively]; or on the basis of two [kinds of objects, namely,] appropriating sentient beings as external [objects] and appropriating [the nature] of mind itself as an internal [object].

(e) Can Absolute *Bodhicitta* Be Generated Ritually? A Tibetan Controversy

As I have already mentioned in chapter five, one of the issues raised by Sa-paṇ in connection with *bodhicittotpāda* rites is whether absolute *bodhicitta* can be generated by means of a ritual. Ever since, three positions have prevailed in Tibetan Buddhism: one position which rejects the possibility of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual, a second one that accepts it,[127] and a third one that attempts to harmonise the two opposing standpoints. The group that rejects the possibility of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual is identified by Kong-sprul as including Sa-paṇ (and naturally his followers) and the followers of mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen (meaning most rNying-ma-pas).[128] One of the persons Kong-sprul names as accepting the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual is 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon (1143–1217).[129] Kong-sprul himself belongs to the third group, which seeks to harmonise the two opposing positions.

Let us now briefly examine the first of the three positions, represented by Sa-paṇ and mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen. Sa-paṇ made his case in his *sDom gsum rab dbye* and *Thub pa dgongs gsal*.[130] In the *sDom gsum rab dbye*, Sa-paṇ categorically rejects the possibility of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual. He argues that if it were to be generated through ritual, it would be conventional *cittotpāda* and not the absolute form. The Buddha did not teach any ritual for the generation of absolute *cittotpāda*, nor has any wise person performed such a rite.

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[125] *Ratnakaraṇḍodghāṭa* (P, fol. 108b3–4; D, fol. 97b6–7; S, vol. 64, pp. 290.20–291.2): *de ltar rnal 'byor pa des nang du mnyam par bzhag* [gzhag D] *pa na | don dam byang chub kyi sems bsgoms la | de las langs pa na kun rdzob byang chub kyi sems bsgoms* [bsgom P] *pas stong pa snying rje chen po'i snying po can gyi byang chub kyi sems gnyis* [gnyid N] *po brtan par bya'o ||*.

[126] *Shing rta chen po* (pp. 532.6–533.1): *de'ang so so'i skye bo dang 'phags pa'i sems bskyed pa gnyis sam | phyi rol sems can la dmigs pa dang | nang sems nyid la dmigs pa gnyis kyis kun rdzob dang don dam pa'i sems bskyed ces bya ste |*.

[127] Kong-sprul, *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 28.10): *cho gas skye dang mi skye bzhed srol gnyis ||*.

[128] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 366.23–27): *sa skya paṇ chen gyis | don dam sems bskyed sgom pa'i stobs las skye'i cho gas mi skye | gal te skye na brda byung du 'gyur bas mi 'thad | don dam sems bskyed bya'o zhes gsungs pa yod srid kyang dam bca' tsam yin gyi cho ga ma yin par gsungs pas de dang | mnga' ris paṇ chen gyi rjes 'brang rnams kyang sems bskyed 'di ni cho ga las mi skye bar bzhed pa ste srol gnyis su snang ngo ||*.

[129] See below, n. 136.

[130] RHOTON 2002: 92–93, n. 6.

Even if someone were to perform such a rite, it would not meet the criteria of a ritual. Sa-paṇ thus describes such practices as mere shadows of the Buddha's doctrine. The most a farmer can do is provide his field with water, manure, seeds, and so forth, but the sprout, stem, bud, and the rest must arise from the field, not from him. Accordingly, one is able to generate conventional *bodhicitta* by means of ritual, but not absolute *bodhicitta*, which must arise naturally as a result of meditation. This position of his, he states, can be found in all *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s, together with logical justification. Even if it is possible, one time in a hundred, to find references to statements such as: "The absolute *bodhicitta* should be generated," such statements merely represent a pledge (*dam bca'*) and not a ritual.[131]

mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's view on the issue is expressed in his *sDom gsum rnam nges*, although he provided no arguments. Sa-paṇ's influence on his position is unmistakable. It may prima facie even seem that he followed Sa-paṇ verbatim. In fact, he makes it explicit in his colophon that he availed himself of the writings of several scholars and accomplished masters.[132] Let us, however, take a closer look at the pertinent verse:[133]

> The attainment of absolute [*bodhi*]*cittotpāda* by acquiring [it] through ritual
> [Accords with] the tantric method; although [something similar] may possibly be taught in *sūtra*s,
> It would involve a mere pledge, [so that absolute *bodhicitta*] could arise [only] by the power of meditation.

mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen seems to deviate from Sa-paṇ in one essential point. He does not reject the notion of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual per se, but makes a distinction between the *sūtra* and *tantra* contexts. Absolute *bodhicitta* cannot be generated by means of ritual prescribed in the *sūtra* system, and if a *sūtra* happens to allude to such an idea, it is to be interpreted as a mere oath to set the stage for it to arise one day through meditative practices. It is, however, according to him, possible to generate absolute *bodhicitta* through a tantric ritual. mKhan-po Yon-tan-rgya-mtsho, commenting on these statements, identifies the *sūtra* that professes the ability to generate absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual as the *dPang skong phyag brgya pa*,[134] and *tantra*s or tantric texts that do so as including the *Māyājālatantra*, *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, and *Pañcakrama*.[135]

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[131] *sDom gsum rab dbye* 2.27ef:
dam bca'i tshig tsam nyid yin gyi ||
cho ga'i sgo nas bskyed pa min ||.

[132] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 37.1):
'di ni mkhas grub du ma'i legs bshad las ||
sgrin po'i blo yis phyogs gcig dag tu bkod ||.

[133] *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 21.4–5):
don dam sems bskyed cho gas blangs thob pa ||
gsang sngags lugs yin mdo las bshad srid na ||
dam bca' nyid yin sgom pa'i stobs las skye ||.

[134] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 129.10–14): *gal te spang skong phyag brgya par | don dam pa'i byang chub kyi mchog tu sems bskyed par bya'o zhes gsungs pa ltar mdo las bshad pa srid na'ang | de 'dra dam bca' tsam nyid du 'dod pa yin gyi mtshan nyid pa ni sngar bshad pa ltar tshogs sbyor du zhi lhag gi rnal 'byor yang yang bsgoms pa'i stobs las mthong lam du skya* [= skye] *ba yin no ||*. See the pertinent passage in the *dPang skong phyag brgya pa* (P, fol. 5a5–7; D, fol. 5a3–4): *ji ltar na dus gsum gyi sangs rgyas dang | byang chub sems dpa' 'dngos po'* [yod pa P] *thams cad dang bral ba | 'phung po'* [dngos po P] *dang | khams* [sems P] *dang | skye mched kyis ma zin pa'i chos bdag med pa dang mnyam pa | thog ma nas ma skyes pa | stong pa nyid kyi rang bzhin gyis byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa ltar bdag ming 'di zhes bgyi bas kyang | dus 'di nas nam byang chub kyi snying po la mchis kyi bar du byang chub tu sems bskyed par bgyi'o ||*. Note that the title of this work is spelt in several ways. For more information, see MARTIN 2006, s.v.

Such a distinction is not made by Sa-paṇ, at least not in his discussion of the issue within the non-tantric context. In other words, for Sa-paṇ the calling up of absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual is simply impossible, whereas for mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen it is possible, but only by tantric methods. Whether Sa-paṇ would allow such a concession in the tantric context is another matter. Therefore, although mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen formally belongs to the first group, his subtle interpretation seems to have laid the foundation for the third approach, namely, that of harmonisation.

For the second position, which holds the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual to be possible, let us now turn to the arguments recorded by Kong-sprul:[136]

> As for absolute *cittotpāda*, the Lord of Doctrine 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon and others have, based on authoritative *tantra* and *sūtra* scriptures, maintained that [it] arises by [relying on] ritual. If it (i.e. absolute *bodhicitta*), as taught in *tantra*s, arises by [relying on] ritual, then [the absolute *bodhicitta*] taught in *sūtra*s must also arise [by relying on ritual], just as [in the case of] the ritual of the *prātimokṣa* vows.[137] The generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] in an absolute [sense] occurs in the tantric system, and the terminological conventions relating to it are also explicated [there], for the 'generation of moon-diamond resolve' (**candravajracittotpāda*) is known as the generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] in an absolute [sense].
>
> Objection: [No, such practices] do not deserve the terminological convention relating to it (i.e. the generation of the absolute *bodhicitta* by relying on ritual), since [they] involve a [mere] semblance of the [actual] path (*rnam pa lam byed*), and therefore only a likeness (*rjes mthun*) of [absolute *bodhicitta*], nothing genuine, [has been caused to] arise.
>
> Response: That would also be true in the case of *prasthānacittotpāda* and so forth. It was with such [arguments] in mind that [the ritual of generating absolute *bodhicitta*] was practised [by 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon and others]. For example, it is maintained that a mere [initial] (i.e. almost implying false) *prātimokṣa* vow will become a genuine [*prātimokṣa*] vow once it is later on permeated by [a genuine sense] of renunciation. In the case of the *bodhi*[*sattva*] vows, too, it is maintained that initially a thought characterised by wholesomeness arises, but [it is only] when [a *bodhisattva*] actually enters the path of accumulation (*saṃbhāramārga*) that the entire mind and the mental factors will assume a votive nature and take on authentic forms of *praṇidhi*[*citta*] and *prasthāna*[*citta*]. The case here (i.e. regarding absolute *bodhicitta*) is similar: the mental continuum—which appropriates non-conceptual gnosis (*nirvikalpajñāna*) as a mental object by means of ritual—later on directly cognises it, as a result of the ripening of wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*).

The rNying-ma scholar Lha-btsun Nam-mkha'-'jigs-med (1597–1650), disregarding mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen's position completely, simply prescribes the ritual taught in the *dPang skong phyag rgya pa'i mdo* for the generation of absolute *bodhicitta*, arguing that it had also been among the practices of Nāgārjuna, as one can see in the collection of Indian texts, important

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[135] *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 129.7–9): *... cho ga'i sgo nas blangs te thob pa'i tshul sgyu 'phrul dra ba dang | rnam snang mngon byang dang | rim pa lnga pa sogs las bshad pa ni gsang sngags kyi lugs yin te |.*

[136] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 366.13–23): *don dam sems bskyed de nyid chos rje 'jig rten gsum mgon la sogs pa rnams ni rgyud dang mdo'i lung la brten te cho gas skye bar bzhed de | rgyud las bshad pa de cho gas skye na mdo las bshad pa de'ang skye ste so thar gyi sdom chog bzhin | sngags su don dam du sems bskyed pa yod la de'i tha snyad ma bshad pa'ang yin* [= min][a] *te | zla ba rdo rje'i sems bskyed la don dam du sems bskyed pa yongs su grags pa'i phyir | de dag rnam pa lam byed kyi phyir rjes mthun tsam las dngos mi skye bas de'i tha snyad mi 'thob ce na | 'jug pa sems bskyed la'ang de dang mtshungs pa sogs kyi dgongs pas phyag len du mdzad de | dper na | so thar sdom pa rkyang tsam phyis nges 'byung gis zin na sdom pa mtshan nyid par 'gyur bar bzhed pa dang | byang sdom yang thog mar sems dge ba'i ngo bo tsam skyes pa de tshogs lam dngos la zhugs pa na sems sems byung ril gyis sdom pa'i ngo bor 'gro bas smon 'jug mtshan nyid par 'gyur bar bzhed pa dang | 'dir cho ga'i stobs las rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes blo yul du byas pa'i rgyun phyis dge rtsa smin pas mngon sum du rtogs pa cha mtshungs pa'o ||.* [a] The reading *yin*, which is also found in the xylograph edition, must be an error. A negation in my view is not only necessary here for semantic reasons, but for syntactic ones as well, owing to the preceding particle *'ang*.

[137] That is, the *prātimokṣa* vows is valid regardless of where the *prātimokṣa* ritual is taught (be it in a tantric or non-tantric scripture).

for the bKa'-gdams-pa tradition, called the *Jo bo'i chos chung.*[138] This mild critique is probably directed against the view held by scholars such as Sa-paṇ and mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen. The case for the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* was also made by other masters, such as 'Brug-pa Padma-dkar-po and gSer-mdog Paṇ-chen Shākya-mchog-ldan (1428–1507),[139] both of whom allude to the *Bodhicittavivaraṇa.* The difficulty is that only some fragments of the Sanskrit text have survived, while the Tibetan translation seems to have undergone numerous revisions, and the very sentence that concerns the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* contains some dubious corrections. Kong-sprul harmonises the two positions in the following manner:[140]

> These [two] are not contradictory, for the intended meaning is that for the first [position] a semblance [of absolute *bodhicitta*] can be generated through ritual, and for the second [position], a genuine [absolute *bodhicitta*] cannot be [so] generated. Thus it is not tenable for followers [of later generations] to decide once and for all that [it] cannot be generated through ritual, given that the logical reasoning and the [scriptural] proof shown for the arising of the gnosis of the fourth empowerment merely by means of words and for the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual are similar.

Recapitulating, we may speak of three different positions regarding the generation of absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual: (a) The first position, put forward by Sa-paṇ, categorically rejects the idea of generating absolute *bodhicitta* through ritual. Whether it is possible or permissible under certain circumstances is not made explicit. The position which is proposed by mNga'-ris Paṇ-chen and his followers is less categorical. The proponents of this theory concede that the ritual of generating absolute *bodhicitta* is possible by employing special tantric methods but not by employing the usual *sūtra* techniques. (b) According to the second position, proposed by 'Bri-gung 'Jig-rten-gsum-mgon and others including some rNying-ma-pas, absolute *bodhicitta* can be generated even by following ritual procedures prescribed in the *sūtra* system. (c) Kong-sprul harmonises these two positions by stating that according to the first one the generation of a semblance of absolute *bodhicitta* is still possible, and according to the second the generation of genuine absolute *bodhicitta* is not possible.

5. Leading to the Goal and Not Leading to the Goal

Two twofold subclassifications of *cittotpāda* are found in the *Cittotpādapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, namely, leading to the goal (*nairyāṇika*) and not leading to the goal (*anairyāṇika*) alongside a stable (*dṛḍha*) form and an unstable (*adṛḍha*) form. These classifications are considered synonymous by Sāgaramegha. He may be right, but I shall nevertheless discuss them separately here. The *Cittotpādapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* first discusses the characteristics of *cittotpāda*, and only then the subdivisions (*prabheda*) of it:[141]

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[138] *sDom gsum bstan snying* (p. 87.2–5): *gnyis pa don dam pa'i sems bskyed len pa ni spang skong phyag rgya'i mdo las gsungs shing 'phags pa klu sgrub kyis phyag len du sgrig pa jo bo'i chos chung brgya rtsa na yang bzhugs pa las | thog mar sdig bshags de nas bsod nams la rjes su yi rang ba dang lus 'bul sngon du song nas | dngos gzhi skyabs 'gro dang sems bskyed | rjes bsod nams bsngo ba rnams yang dag pa'i sgo nas bya ba ste | phal cher gyis ma rtogs pa'i khyad chos so ||.*

[139] See RHOTON 2002: 92–93, n. 6.

[140] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 366.26–30): *de dag kyang 'gal ba ma yin te snga ma'i rjes mthun tsam cho gas kyang bskyed nus pa dang | phyi mas mtshan nyid pa bskyed mi nus pa la dgongs pa'o || des na rjes 'brang dag mtha' gcig tu cho gas mi skye bar kha tshon gcod pa ni rigs pa ma yin te | dbang bzhi pa'i ye shes tshig tsam gyis skye ba dang | don dam sems bskyed cho gas skye bar bshad pa gnyis rig* [= rigs] *pa dang sgrub byed mtshungs pa'i phyir ro ||.*

[141] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§2.1.0.). This classification is mentioned briefly in DAYAL 1932: 62.

> Moreover, this initial generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] of a *bodhisattva* is, in short, of two types: leading to the goal and not leading to the goal. Of [these two], [the one] leading to the goal [is *cittotpāda* that], once having come about, maintains [its] course until completion and does not relapse. By contrast, [the type] not leading to the goal is [*cittotpāda*] that, once having come about, does not maintain [its] course until completion and in the end relapses.

As I have already mentioned, the twofold classifications occurring in the *Cittotpādapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* do not correspond to either the *praṇidhi-prasthāna* or conventional-absolute classifications. The basis of classification is explicitly said to be the initial (*prathama*) *cittotpāda*. The fact that the expression 'in short' (*samāsena*) is used here may indicate that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* also knew of other (perhaps more elaborate) classifications.

6. A Stable One and an Unstable One

When summarising the causes of and conditions for the arising of the resolve to become a *buddha*, the *Cittotpādapaṭala* of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* indirectly mentions an additional twofold subclassification of *cittotpāda*, namely, a stable (*dṛḍha*) and an unstable (*adṛḍha*) form. It states:[142]

> Amongst [them], on the basis of the four conditions [and] the four (pre)requisites relating to a *bodhisattva* collectively [or] separately, if the resolve [to become a *buddha*] arises by relying on the two strengths, [namely], personal strength (*adhyātmabala*) and the strength of the [pre]requisites (*hetubala*) collectively, then it (i.e. *cittotpāda*) arises [in a] stable (*dṛḍha*), solid (*sāra*), and unwavering (*niścala*) [form].[143] However, if the resolve [to become a *buddha*] has come forth by relying on the strength of others and the strength of exertion [in the present life], it should be known as having arisen with an unstable [nature] (*adṛḍha*).

This twofold classification is also found in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, where it is considered to be a subdivision of what can be called conventional *cittotpāda*.[144] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* explains:[145]

> Furthermore, it should be known that the arising [of the] unstable [resolve to become a *buddha*] is on account of [having relied on] the strength of a [spiritual] friend. The arising [of the resolve to become a *buddha*] with a stable [nature] is on account of [having relied on] the strength of causes and so forth.

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[142] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.1.Ø.).

[143] These terms—*dṛḍha*, *sāra*, and *niścala*—have been explained in the following manner by Sāgaramegha in his *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 31b1–5; D, fol. 27b2–4; S, vol. 75, p. 671.11–19): "… [it will] be stable … because [it cannot] be shaken by [the influence of] a bad companion, solid because there is no regress on account of the dwindling of compassion, [and] unwavering because there is no fear and wavering on account of suffering. Another way [of explaining this] is: Because there is no regress on account of the suffering of *saṃsāra*, [it is] stable, because there is no regress on account of injury inflicted by sentient beings, [it is] solid, [and] because there is no regress on account of undergoing hardships, [it is] unwavering (…*brtan* [bstan PN] *par 'gyur te* | … *mi dge ba'i grogs pos mi g.yo ba'i phyir ro* || *snying por gyur pa ni snying rje dman par gyur pas ldog pa med pa'i phyir ro* || *mi g.yo bar gyur pa ni sdug bsngal gyis 'jigs shing g.yo ba med pa'i phyir ro* || *rnam grangs gzhan yang* [om. PN] *'khor ba'i sdug bsngal gyis mi ldog pas na brtan pa'o* || *sems can gnod pa byed pas ldog par mi 'gyur bas na snying por gyur pa'o* || *dka' ba spyod pa'i sdug bsngal gyis mi ldog pas na mi g.yo bar 'gyur ro* ||). Cf. the *Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* (P, fols. 185b5ff.; D, fols. 148a2ff.; S, vol. 75, pp. 405.14ff.).

[144] See *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.7cd.

[145] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.5–6): *sa punar mitrabalād adṛḍhodayo veditavyaḥ* | *hetvādibalād dṛḍhodayaḥ* |.

Sāgaramegha not only equates stable and unstable *cittotpāda* with the *nairyāṇika* and *anairyāṇika* form, respectively, but also provides two more pairs of synonyms, namely, definite (*ātyantikī*) and temporary (*anātyantikī*) forms and irreversible and reversible ones.[146]

7. Twofold Classifications of *Cittotpāda* in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*

As I have briefly mentioned earlier, the *Bodhisattvabhūmiviniścaya* of the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* lists ten types of *cittotpāda*:[147]

> *Cittotpāda* is of ten kinds, namely, [1] one that is [attained in] an act of reception [or] arises from a [ritual] signal (*samādānasāṃketika*), [2] one that is attained [through the realisation of] true reality (*dharmatāpratilambhika*), [3] one that is uncertain, [4] one that is certain, [5] one that is impure, [6] one that is pure, [7] one that is weak, [8] one that is strong, [9] one that has not [yet] yielded the [ultimate] result, and [10] one that has yielded the [ultimate] result.

It is clear that the ten types of *cittotpāda* are grouped into five distinct pairs. For this reason, they will be discussed here as twofold categories.

(a) *Samādānasāṃketika* and *Dharmatāpratilambhika*

Let us examine how the first pair of *cittotpāda*, *samādānasāṃketika* and *dharmatāpratilambhika*, is explained in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* itself:[148]

> The *samādānasāṃketika* is [the *cittotpāda*] of all those *bodhisattva*s who have not yet entered [the path of those] bound for perfection (*samyaktvaniyata*). The *dharmatāpratilambhika* is [the *cittotpāda*] of all those *bodhisattva*s who have entered [the path of those] bound for perfection and of those *śrāvaka*s who have changed [their course] towards the [supreme] awakening.

Some Buddhist sources mention three categories (*rāśi*) of (human) beings, namely, those bent on falsity (*mithyātvaniyata*), those bound for perfection (*samyaktvaniyata*), and the undetermined (*aniyata*).[149] Although it is not quite clear whether and, if so, how exactly the three types of *bodhisattva*s described as the bearers of the two types of *cittotpāda* are related to the three groups of sentient beings, it looks as though the following three types of *bodhisattva*s are presupposed by the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*, if I may use the terminology of the Tibetan exegetes: (1) a *bodhisattva* whose spiritual disposition is fixed (*rigs nges byang chub sems dpa'*), but who is still an ordinary person (*pṛthagjana*), (2) a *bodhisattva* whose spiritual disposition is fixed, and who has already become a saint (*ārya*), and (3) a *bodhisattva* who has a lesser path behind him (*dman lam sngon song gi byang chub sems dpa'*), that is, a *bodhisattva* who was formerly a *śrāvaka* saint. Both the first and second types of *bodhisattva* can be placed in the *samyaktvaniyata* category, and the third type in the *aniyata* category, but

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[146] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 24a3; D, fol. 20b2–3; S, vol. 75, p. 654.16–18): *gtan du ba dang | gtan du ba ma yin pa dang | brtan pa dang | mi brtan pa dang | phyir mi ldog pa dang | phyir ldog pa zhes bya ba ni de'i rnam grangs so ||*.

[147] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300a7–8; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285a6–7; S, vol. 74, p. 690.2–6): *sems bskyed* [skyed PN] *pa ni rnam pa bcu ste | 'di lta ste* [1] *yang dag par blang ba brda las byung ba dang |* [2] *chos nyid kyis thob pa dang |* [3] *ma nges pa dang |* [4] *nges pa dang |* [5] *yongs su ma dag pa dang |* [6] *yongs su dag pa dang |* [7] *stobs chung ba dang |* [8] *stobs dang ldan pa dang |* [9] *'bras bu yongs su ma grub pa dang |* [10] *'bras bu yongs su grub pa'o ||*.

[148] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300a8–b1; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285a7–b1; S, vol. 74, p. 690.6–10): *de la yang dag par blang ba brda las byung ba ni byang chub sems dpa'i* [dpa' N] *yang dag pa nyid du skyon med pa la yang* [om. PN] *ma zhugs pa thams cad kyi'o || de la chos nyid kyis thob pa ni byang chub sems dpa' yang dag pa nyid du skyon med pa la zhugs pa rnams dang | nyan thos byang chub tu yongs su 'gyur ba pa* [om. DC] *rnams kyi'o* [kyi DC] ||.

[149] See *BHSD*, s.v. *rāśi*, where these three groups are explained in detail with several references.

no *bodhisattva* would be said to belong to the *mithyātvaniyata* category. Moreover, *samādānasāṃketikacittotpāda* can be coupled with the first kind of *bodhisattva*, and *dharmatāpratilambhikacittotpāda* with the second and third kinds. We cannot know for certain if the position of the twofold category of *samādānasāṃketika* and *dharmatāpratilambhika* in the list has any historical or doctrinal significance. However, it is relatively clear that this pair has prevailed over the other four in later exegeses. It should be noted that this pair also occurs in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

(b) The One That Is Uncertain and the One That Is Certain

The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* goes on to explain the second pair of *cittotpādas*:[150]

> The one that is uncertain is [the *cittotpāda*] of those who do not possess the spiritual disposition of [a *bodhisattva*] and of those who are likely to relapse from [their] *cittotpāda*. *Cittotpāda* that is certain should be understood as its opposite (*etadviparyayeṇa*).[151]

Two kinds of persons whose *cittotpāda* is uncertain are defined here. First, there is the person who lacks the spiritual disposition of a *bodhisattva* and yet makes the resolution to become a *buddha*. Such a person will not be able to adhere to the resolve and become a *buddha*, for the spiritual disposition he or she possesses is not compatible with that of a *bodhisattva*. Second, there is the person who does possess the spiritual disposition of a *bodhisattva* and resolves to become a *buddha*, but for whatever reason gives up the idea. This does not, of course, rule out the possibility that such a person can renew the resolution after numerous lifetimes, oblivious of all previous attempts and the abandonment of *bodhicitta*. It is also conceivable that the intended persons here are those with an undetermined spiritual disposition (*aniyatagotraka*), including those who give up *bodhicitta* and rush to enter *nirvāṇa* (in a conservative sense of the word). The question from which point on *cittotpāda* becomes inevitably certain will be discussed briefly in chapter eleven.

(c) The One That Is Impure and the One That Is Pure

The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* explains the third pair of *cittotpādas* in the following manner:[152]

> The one that is impure is the generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] on the part of some without having considered [the matter] clearly (*nges par ma brtags*) [and] without having considered [it] completely (*yongs su ma brtags*), but rashly (*sāhasa*),[153] [1] either because they follow others, or [2] for fear of kings, for fear of robbers, for fear of demons (*grāha*),[154] or for

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[150] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300b1–2; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285b1–2; S, vol. 74, p. 690.10–12): *ma nges pa ni de'i 'rigs can'* [om. DC] *ma yin pa rnams dang | de'i rigs can sems bskyed* [skyed PN] *pa las phyir ldog pa'i chos can rnams kyi gang yin pa'o || sems bskyed* [skyed PN] *pa nges pa ni de las bzlog pa las rig par bya'o* ||.

[151] Skt. *etadviparyayeṇa* is according to YOKOYAMA & HIROSAWA 1997: 551.

[152] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300b2–5; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285b2–4; S, vol. 74, p. 690.12–20): *de la yongs su ma dag pa 'di ltar 'di na* [1] *la la gzhan gyi rjes su zhugs pa'am* | [2] *rgyal pos 'jigs pa'am | rkun pos 'jigs pa'am | 'dzin khris* ['khris P, mkhris N] *'jigs pa'am | chu klung gis 'jigs pa'am* | [3] *'tsho ba'i phyir ram | rnyed pa dang bkur sti'i phyir ram | kha gsag dang | 'gzhogs slong gi'* [gzhog slongs kyi PN] *phyir nges par ma brtags | yongs su ma brtags | gzu lums su sems skyed par byed pa dang | de lta bu dang mthun par sems skyed par byed pa gang yin pa de ni yongs su ma dag pa* [om. P] *yin par rig par bya'o || yongs su dag pa ni de las bzlog pa las rig par bya'o* ||.

[153] The Tibetan translation clearly takes *nges par ma brtags*, *yongs su ma brtags*, and *gzu lums su* adverbially, that is, as the manner in which such a resolution is made and not as motives for making it. The Chinese translation, however, I have been informed, gives these as the second motive for making an impure resolution.

> fear of rivers,[155] or [3] for the sake of livelihood, for the sake of profit and veneration (*lābhasatkāra*), or on account of vain mouthings (*lapanā*) or hypocrisy (*kuhanā*).[156] Such and similar generation of resolve [to become a *buddha*] should be understood to be completely impure. The one that is pure, on the other hand, should be understood as the opposite of it.

The motives for generating impure resolve may all be divided into three groups (as numbered in the translated passage), namely, the influence of others, fear of various kinds, and worldly concerns or wrong ways of making a living. The context seems to suggest that the category of impure *cittotpāda*, which is actually mere pseudo-*cittotpāda*, applies only to the *cittotpāda* of *bodhisattva*s who are beginners or people who are no *bodhisattva*s at all.

(d) The One That Is Weak and the One That Is Strong

The fourth of the *cittotpāda* pairs is explained thus in the *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī*:[157]

> The one that is weak is as follows: [It concerns, for example,] *bodhisattva*s who, after generating resolve [to become a *buddha*], are overpowered by overt outbursts (*paryavasthāna*)[158] of desire (*rāga*), aversion (*dveṣa*), and disorientation (*moha*), and who, having fallen from correct practices, engage in wrong practices. The one that is strong should be understood as the opposite of this.

Cittotpāda seems to be dichotomised here on the basis of *bodhisattva*s who are still ordinary beings and those who have become saints, the dividing line usually being the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*). Weak *cittotpāda* seems to refer to relative beginners or very inexperienced *bodhisattva*s who, although endowed with compassion, are still under the strong influence of passion and other intellectual-emotional defilements.

(e) The One That Has Yielded the Ultimate Result and the One That Has Not Yet

The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* explains the fifth pair of *cittotpāda*s as follows:[159]

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[154] HIRAKAWA 1973, s.v. *grāha* (*chu srin 'dzin khri*); *MW*, s.v. *grāha*: "a rapacious animal living in fresh or sea water, any large fish or marine animal."

[155] For the various kinds of fear or danger (*bhaya*), see *TSD*, s.v. *'jigs pa*, where five kinds of *bhaya* (as found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*) are listed. See also *Dharmasaṃgraha*, no. 61.

[156] For an explanation of the five wrong ways of making a living (*mithyājīva*), see *Ratnāvalī* 5.13–15:
kuhanā lābhasatkārahetor indriyasaṃvaraḥ |
lapanā lābhasatkārahetoś cāṭupuraskriyā ||
naimittikatvaṃ tatprāptyai paradravyapraśaṃsanam |
naiṣpeṣikatvaṃ lābhārthaṃ samakṣaṃ parapaṃsanam ||
lābhena lipsā lābhānāṃ pūrvalabdhapraśaṃsanam |
śiṅguḥ prakopitasyānyais tat tad yad anuśiñjanam ||.
See *BHSD*, s.v. *mithyājīva*, where sources are given. See also the eight worldly concerns (*lokadharma*) given in *TSD*, s.v. *'jig rten gyi chos*, according to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and *Mahāvyutpatti*; and in the same connection, *Dharmasaṃgraha*, no. 61; *Suhṛllekha*, verse no. 29.

[157] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300b5–7; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285b4–5; S, vol. 74, pp. 690.20–691.3): *de la stobs chung ba ni 'di ltar 'di na byang chub sems dpa' la la sems bskyed pa las 'dod chags dang zhe sdang dang | gti mug gis* [gi PN] *kun nas dkris pa dag gis zil gyis gnon par* [pa N] *byed cing | yang dag pa'i sgrub pa las rab tu nyams par byas nas | log pa'i sgrub pa la kun tu* [du D] *sbyor bar byed pa'o || stobs dang ldan pa ni de* [da D] *las bzlog* [zlog PN] *pa las rig par bya'o* ||.

[158] That is, as opposed to latent tendencies (*anuśaya*) to intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*).

[159] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *zi*, fol. 300b6–8; D, vol. *zhi*, fol. 285b5–7; S, vol. 74, p. 691.3–8): *de la 'bras bu yongs su ma grub pa ni mos pas spyod pa'i sa nas bzung ste | sa bcu pa'i bar gyi'o || de la 'bras bu yongs su grub pa la* [ni PN] *de bzhin gshegs pa'i sa la ste | bcom ldan 'das kyis nga ni dka' ba spyod pa de las thar cing* |

> The one that has not [yet] yielded the [ultimate] result is [the hallmark] of [those *bodhisattva*s on the stages] beginning from the stage of believing confidence (*adhimukticaryābhūmi*) [all the way] up to the tenth stage. The one that has yielded the [ultimate] result is [the hallmark] of one at the stage of a *tathāgata*, for the Bhagavan declares: "I am free from the undergoing of hardships. [I] have also [fulfilled] the proper aspirations [and] attained the excellent awakening."

Here we gain a clear sense of how the two different types of *cittotpāda* range throughout all the stages of a *bodhisattva* including the final stage of a *buddha*. *Adhimukticaryābhūmi* traditionally comprises both the path of accumulation (*saṃbhāramārga*) and the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*). This fifth category, which is apparently a late one, is relevant to the issue whether there is *cittotpāda* at the stage of a *buddha*—an issue that is quite often addressed by Tibetan exegetes.[160] The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* in any case seems to take for granted that a *buddha* possesses *cittotpāda*. It would, of course, all depend on what one means by a *buddha*'s *cittotpāda* or *bodhicitta*.

8. Undistinguished and Distinguished *Cittotpāda*

The *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* explains two further types of *cittotpāda*, namely, undistinguished (*aviśiṣṭa*) and distinguished (*viśiṣṭa*), apparently interpreting them against the background of *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta*, without actually employing these terms:[161]

> There are two ways of generating the resolve [to become a *buddha*]: one undistinguished and one distinguished. The undistinguished one [involves repeating the aspirational wish] "Oh, may I be perfectly awakened in the state of the highest perfect awakening." The distinguished one [involves repeating the aspirational wish that runs] from "May [I] perfect the perfection of giving (*dānapāramitā*)" up to [the wish to perfect] the perfection of insight (*prajñāpāramitā*). It should be known that the distinguished generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] includes the [six or ten] perfections, for [it] is their cause.

This passage, in my view, exemplifies how one form of classification may be interpreted according to another form of classification.

9. The One Characterised by *Karuṇā* and the One Characterised by *Prajñā*

In his *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā*, Sthiramati subcategorises *bodhicitta* into two forms, and explains them as follows:[162]

> *Bodhicitta* is of two kinds: one characterised by *karuṇā* and one characterised by *prajñā*. Of these [two], the one characterised by *karuṇā* is a state of mind resting in the thought: "May all sentient beings [attain] *nirvāṇa*!" It has [the tendency to accumulate] beneficial resources (*puṇya*) as its nature. The one characterised by *prajñā* is a state of mind resting in the thought:

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bdag nyid kyi yang dag pa'i smon lam dang | byang chub dam pa [par N] *yang thob pa yin no zhes ji skad gsungs pa lta bu'o ||*.

[160] See, for example, the *Shing rta chen po* (pp. 537.4–538.2); *Yid bzhin mdzod 'grel* (vol. 2, p. 822.2–4); *Grub mtha' mdzod* (pp. 193.6–194.2). Cf. *dBu ma rgyan 'grel* (pp. 347.5–348.5); *mDo sde rgyan 'grel* (p. 61.2–5).

[161] *Abhidharmasamuccayabhāṣya* (p. 110.3–7): *dvividho hi cittotpādaḥ | aviśiṣṭo viśiṣṭaś ca | tatrāviśiṣṭo 'ho vatāham anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyeyeti | viśiṣṭa evaṃ dānapāramitāṃ paripūrayeyaṃ yāvat prajñāpāramitām iti | tad anena viśiṣṭena cittotpādena pāramitānāṃ saṃgraho veditavyaḥ, tāsāṃ kāraṇabhāvāt |*.

[162] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 59a7–b1; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 53b4–6; S, vol. 71, pp. 1029.21–1030.5): *byang chub kyi sems ni rnam pa gnyis te | snying rje'i mtshan nyid dang | shes rab kyi mtshan nyid do || de la snying rje'i mtshan nyid ni* [om. PN] *sems can thams cad mya ngan las 'da'o* [zlo PN] *snyam* [snyim P] *du sems pa ste | de ni bsod nams kyi rang bzhin no || shes rab kyi mtshan nyid ni chos thams cad stong pa yin pas sems can gang yang mya ngan las 'das pa med do snyam du sems pa ste | de ni ye shes kyi rang bzhin no ||*.

"Because all phenomena are empty (*śūnya*), there is no sentient being who [attains] *nirvāṇa*." It has [the tendency to accumulate] gnosis (*jñāna*) as its nature.

What is worth noting here is that the bipolar components of *bodhicitta*, namely, compassion (*karuṇā*) and discerning insight (*prajñā*), are employed to classify it into two types and are clearly associated with the two kinds of accumulations (*saṃbhāra*). These two kinds of *bodhicitta* to a certain extent also resemble the subclassification into conventional and absolute *bodhicitta*.

10. Ongoing and Non-Ongoing *Cittotpāda*

Another subclassification of *cittotpāda* is proposed by Sthiramati in the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā*, namely, ongoing (*'byung ba*) and non-ongoing (*mi 'byung ba*).[163] It should be noted that the classification is only of the initial form of *cittotpāda* and not of *cittotpāda* in general. Although the terms used (at least on the basis of the Tibetan translation) are not identical with those used in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in its subclassification of *bodhicitta* into one leading to the goal (*nairyāṇika*) and one not leading to the goal (*anairyāṇika*), the explanation suggests that this classification has been inspired by it. Ongoing *cittotpāda* is explained as continuing without interruption after once arising, which is reminiscent of the explanation given in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. No explanation of non-ongoing *cittotpāda* is provided.[164] There may, of course, be several other ways of classifying *bodhicitta* or *cittotpāda* according to a twofold scheme of which I am not aware.

11. A Threefold Classification: King-like, Boatman-like, and Herdsman-like

There is also at least one threefold subclassification of *bodhisattva*s or *cittotpāda*, namely, king-like (*rgyal po lta bu*), boatman-like (*mnyan pa lta bu*), and herdsman-like (*rdzi bo lta bu*). Although some sources treat these as categories strictly of *bodhisattva*s, we shall treat them here as ones of *cittotpāda* as well, since such a classification of *bodhisattva* is made exclusively according to the difference in magnanimity of a *bodhisattva*'s resolve. Traditional Tibetan and modern scholars have often alluded to this classification, but most of them provide no Indian sources. Makransky takes up the issue in the context of the postponement of *nirvāṇa*, where he refers to the fact that in Tibet the *bodhisattva* Mañjuśrī is given as an example of herdsman-like *bodhicitta*, and assumes this to be a native Tibetan notion probably drawn from the *Mañjuśrībuddhakṣetraguṇavyūhasūtra*.[165] His suggestion is based on the fact that this *sūtra* contains a remnant of an earlier 'postponement' model. The three types of *cittotpāda*, however, cannot be traced in this *sūtra*. Nor have I been able to identify any Indian or Tibetan scholar prior to Klong-chen-pa who mentions and discusses these three types of *cittotpāda*. Klong-chen-pa named the *Ratnakūṭasūtra* as his source, but I have not been able to it. Nevertheless, what I have been able to do is to find some precursors of this classification in other Indian sources.

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[163] *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā* (P, fol. 255b4–5; D, fol. 208a7; S, vol. 67, p. 556.8–10): *dang po byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa de yang mdor* ['dor PN] *bsdu na | 'byung ba dang | mi 'byung ba dang | 'byung ba ni gang skyes nas rgyun mi 'chad par rjes su 'jug pa yin pa'o ||*.

[164] It is not clear whether the author did not comment on it because it is clear from the context, or whether the line containing the explanation of it was lost in the course of textual transmission.

[165] MAKRANSKY 1997: 338–339.

(a) Some Indian Precursors of the Classification

In the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, *bodhicitta* is indeed compared to a *pālaka* ('protector'),[166] but there is a certain ambiguity whether the comparison is to a king or herdsman (or rather their attitudes), for *pālaka* (or *pāla*) can mean both.[167] The point of the comparison expressed in the *sūtra* seems to suggest that *pālaka* is meant as a king, but the Tibetan translators rendered *pālaka* as *rdzi* (*bo*), a herdsman. In any case, such comparisons were obviously meant to show the king's sense of responsibility towards his subject or the herdsman's towards his herd; and not necessarily the placing of one's well-being over others' or vice versa, which is the crux of the threefold subclassification of *cittotpāda* (or *cittotpādika*).

Two out of the three types of *cittotpāda* (or *cittotpādika*) seem to be discussed by Ratnākaraśānti in his *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* in the context of establishing the ultimate result of a *bodhisattva*. Nevertheless, the exact meaning of the passage is not clear to me. He states:[168]

> The result can be sorted into two kinds. [First,] one who has generated king-like resolve is said to be distinguished on account of conduct (*caryā*) and aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*). As to conduct, [it is of] the two [kinds] mentioned before. The aspirational wish is as follows:[169]
>
> May the objectives of the aspirants
> Become manifest in reliance on me—
> In whatever manner
> [Required] for them to be fulfilled.
>
> [A *bodhisattva*] acts for the benefit [of sentient beings] by first (?) becoming awakened and so forth as a result of aspirational wish. [In regard to the second,] the herdsman-like [*cittotpādika*], who forever abides at the Stage of Youth (*kumārabhūmi*)[170] (i.e. the eighth *bhūmi*), [the aspirational wish] is as follows:
>
> So long as there is any sentient being
> Somewhere not [yet] released,
> May [I] abide [in the eighth *bhūmi*] for its sake,
> Despite [the prospect of] attaining the highest state of awakening.

Although the boatman-like *bodhisattva* is not mentioned here, the passage does clearly refer to the king-like and herdsman-like *bodhisattva*, and specifies that the latter is a *bodhisattva* who decides not to go beyond the eighth *bhūmi*. Interestingly, a commentary on the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* by a certain Jñānavajra[171] entitled *Tathāgatahṛdayālaṃkāra* also alludes to three kinds of *bodhisattva*s, the third type of which, called the *icchantika*, seems to be

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[166] See the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (pp. 494.1–496.11; also cited in *TSD*, s.v. *rdzi lta bu*): *bodhicittaṃ hi kulaputra ... pālakabhūtaṃ sarvalokānupālanatayā* |.

[167] See, for example, *MW*, s.vv. *pāla* and *pālaka*.

[168] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 351a8–b3; D, fols. 301b6–302a1; S, vol. 64, p. 832.4–12): *'bras bu rnam par dbye ba ni rnam pa gnyis te | rgyal po lta bur sems bskyed pa ni spyod pa'i smon lam gyis khyad par du gyur pa zhes smos te | spyod pa ni sngar bstan pa gnyis so || smon lam gyis khyad par du gyur pa ni | «ci lta ci ltar gdul bya yi* [yin DC] || *don rnams yongs su rdzogs 'gyur ba || de lta de lta'i snang ba'ang || bdag la brten te* [de PN] *'byung gyur cig ||» ces dang po smon pa'i stobs kyis 'tshang rgya ba la sogs pas don byed pa'o || phyugs rdzi lta bu ni rtag tu gzhon nu'i sa la gnas pa ni | «ci srid sems can 'ga' zhig kyang || gang du ma grol de srid du || de phyir bla na med pa yi* [yis DC] || *byang chub thob kyang gnas gyur cig ||» ces sems smon pas na kun tu* [du D] *bzang po'i spyod pa'i smon lam mo* [me D] ||; see also *ibid.* (P, fol. 284a7; D, fol. 242b1; S, vol. 64, p. 682.8–9): *... mos shing spro ba med ces bya ba ni | phyugs rdzi lta bur sems bskyed pa'i phyir ro* ||.

[169] This and the next citation have not been identified.

[170] See the *Daśabhūmikasūtra* (p. 71.11–14; also cited in *TSD*, s.v. *gzhon nu'i sa*): *iyaṃ bho jinaputra bodhisattvasya aṣṭamījñānabhūmir acalety ucyate 'saṃhāryatvāt ... kumārabhūmir ity ucyate anavadyatvāt* |.

[171] Described in the colophon as a *rgya'i mkhan po* ('Chinese preceptor (*upādhyāya*)').

identical with the herdsman-like *bodhisattva*.[172] The notion of a *bodhisattva* giving priority to the Buddhahood of others can be found in the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* cited by Śāntideva.[173]

(b) Assessments by Some Tibetan Scholars

These categories must have been quite important for Klong-chen-pa, for he included them in both the basic verse text of his *Sems nyid ngal gso* and the autocommentary in prose.[174] The actual context, however, is a discussion about the three kinds of *bodhisattva*s, and not about *cittotpāda*. Let us first look at how Klong-chen-pa explains these three types of *bodhisattva*s with their respective kinds of *cittotpāda*:[175]

> The [first kind] is called a *bodhisattva* whose *cittotpāda* is characterised by great desire, that is, one who [wishes to] liberate sentient beings after first becoming a *buddha* himself. For example, it is like a king who wishes to place his subjects in [a state of] well-being after obtaining the throne. It is said to be a type of *cittotpāda* like that of the Noble Maitreya in several *sūtra*s. Desiring liberation for oneself and [other] sentient beings together is called *cittotpāda* characterised by excellent gnosis. It is like boatmen desiring that [their] boat passengers and they themselves reach the shore of the river together. The desire to become free [only] after first liberating [other] sentient beings is called *cittotpāda* without comparison. The herdsmen of goats, sheep, and cows—upon seeing a narrow, dreadful area such as a footpath along a precipice or something [similar]—place them (i.e. the cattle) ahead of themselves and proceed [only] after ensuring that not even one is left behind. [The last two] are like the *cittotpāda* of Mañjuśrī and that of Śākyamuni, respectively. Of these [three types of *bodhisattva*s with three types of *cittotpāda*], those of dull faculty (i.e. of the first type) will become awakened in the

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[172] *Tathāgatahṛdayālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 325b3–4; D, fol. 279a5–6; S, vol. 70, p. 676.9–12): *byang chub sems dpa' rnam pa gsum || zhes pa ni byang chub dman pa sngon du btang nas dus ring mo zhig nas sangs 'rgyas par'* [rgya bar PN] *'gyur ba dang | dbang po rnon po de 'dra ba sngon du ma song bar myur du tshogs rdzogs par byas nas | 'tshang* [sangs PN] *rgya ba dang | 'dod chen pa dang gsum du 'gyur ba'o ||*.

[173] *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 145.16–17; VAIDYA, p. 81.4–5): … *bodhisattvaḥ sarvasattvānāṃ prathamataraṃ bodhim icchati, nātmanaḥ |*; *ibid.* (BENDALL, p. 146.10–11; VAIDYA, p. 81.17): *katamā bodhisattvānāṃ mahākaruṇā | yat pūrvataraṃ sattvānāṃ bodhim icchanti, nātmaneti ||*.

[174] *Sems nyid ngal gso* (p. 68.1–3):

rgyal sras de yang rnam pa gsum nyid de ||
rang nyid grol nas 'gro ba sgrol 'dod pa ||
rgyal po lta bu'i byang chub sems dpa' dang ||
rang dang 'gro ba mnyam du thar 'dod pa ||
gru pa lta bu'i byang chub sems dpa' dang ||
'gro ba bsgral nas rang nyid zhi 'dod pa ||
rdzi bo lta bu'i byang chub sems dpa' gsum ||
rim bzhin grangs med sum cu rtsa gsum dang ||
bdun dang gsum gyis grol ba thob pa ni ||
dbang po'i rim pa lags par mdo las gsungs ||.

See also the *Yon tan mdzod* (p. 54.1–7).

[175] *Shing rta chen po* (p. 637.1–6): *de'ang byang chub sems dpa' 'dod chen pa'i* [= po'i] *sems bskyed ces bya ste | rang nyid thog mar sangs rgyas nas phyis 'gro ba sgrol ba ni | dper na rgyal pos rgyal srid thob nas rgyal 'bangs bde ba la 'god par 'dod pa ste | 'phags pa byams pa lta bu'i sems bskyed du mdo du ma las bshad do || rang dang 'gro ba mnyam du grol bar 'dod pa ni ye shes dam pa'i sems bskyed ces bya ste | mnyen* [= mnyan] *pa dag gru'i 'grub* [= 'grul] *po dang rang nyid mnyam du chu bo'i pha rol tu phyin par 'dod pa'o || thog mar sems can bsgral nas gdod rang nyid grol bar 'dod pa dpe med pa'i sems bskyed ces bya ste | ra lug dang ba lang gi rdzi bo dag gis 'phrang la sogs pa dog cing nyam nga ba'i gnas mthong ngam | gzhan du'ang rang gi mdun du de dag bcug nas | gcig kyang phyi la ma lus par byas te 'gro ba ni 'jam dpal dang shākya thub pa lta bu'i sems bskyed yin no || de dag kyang dbang po rtul po rnams kyis grangs med sum cu rtsa gsum dang | 'bring pos bdun dang | rnon pos gsum gyis bla na med pa'i byang chub tu 'tshang rgya ba ste |*.

highest [state of] awakening in thirty-three countless [aeons], those of mediocre [faculty] (i.e. of the second type) in seven countless [aeons], and those of sharp [faculty] (i.e. of the third type) in three countless [aeons].

In order to authenticate his statement, Klong-chen-pa cites the following passage from the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*:[176]

> Of these, one who has generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*] characterised by great desire will be freed from *saṃsāra* in thirty-three countless [aeons]. One who has generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*] characterised by excellent gnosis will accomplish [his goal] in seven countless [aeons]. One who has generated the resolve [to become a *buddha*] without comparison will become perfectly awakened in three countless [aeons]. Why is it so? [It is] on account of [their] small, medium, and great mental capacity, [respectively]. These, if illustrated with analogies, are [respectively] like a universal ruler (*cakravartin*), a steerer (*sārathi*) of a boat, and a herdsman (*pālaka*).

The actual context in which these three kinds of *cittotpāda* are treated in the *sūtra* seems to be the duration of time taken by the three different kinds of *bodhisattva*s to become a *buddha*. Of greater interest to us here is the three different degrees of what we may call the 'magnanimity' of a *bodhisattva*. However, the context makes it clear that the kind of *cittotpāda* is what really makes one a particular kind of *bodhisattva*. Klong-chen-pa provides one case for each of these kinds of *bodhisattva*s. According to him, Śākyamuni Buddha was a herdsman-like *bodhisattva*, Mañjuśrī is a boatman-like *bodhisattva*, and Maitreya is a king-like *bodhisattva*. Whether this configuration was Klong-chen-pa's own or whether it was based on an early Indian or Tibetan source is unclear. In any case, such a concept seems to have other doctrinal implications. It would mean that the outcome does not necessarily correspond to the resolution made by a *bodhisattva*. In order words, Śākyamuni, who according to Klong-chen-pa wished to become a *buddha* last, was in reality one of the first to become one.[177]

It is obvious that this concept of *cittotpāda* merely reflects the forcefulness of attitude and has no bearing on the actual course of events relating to a *bodhisattva*. The trouble arose once it began to be overinterpreted, as Tsong-kha-pa's discussion of the issue demonstrates:[178]

> The desire to become a *buddha* oneself [only] after placing all sentient beings in the state of Buddha[hood] is the herdsman-like [type of *cittotpāda*]. The desire that oneself and all others become *buddha*s together is the boatman-like [type of *cittotpāda*]. The desire that others be released [only] after one has become a *buddha* oneself is the king-like [*cittotpāda*]. Thus it has

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[176] *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, as cited in the *Shing rta chen po* (pp. 637.6–638.3): *de la 'dod chen po'i sems bskyed pas ni grangs med pa sum cu rtsa gsum gyis 'khor ba las thar ba yin no || ye shes dam pa'i sems bskyed pas ni grangs med bdun gyis tshar* [= mthar] *phyin pa yin no || dpe med pa'i sems bskyed pas ni grangs med pa gsum gyis mngon par rdzogs par byang chub pa yin no || de ci'i phyir zhe na | sems stobs chung ngu dang | 'bring dang | chen por gyur pa'i phyir te | 'di dag dper bya na | 'khor los sgyur ba'i rgyal po dang | gru'i kha lo pa dang | skyong byed lta bu'o.*

[177] Such an idea begs the question as to whether spiritual practices such as aspirational wishes (*praṇidhāna*) and those involving the exchange of happiness and sufferings actually affect persons other than the practitioner.

[178] *gSer phreng* (pp. 203.6–204.5): *sems can thams cad sangs rgyas la bkod nas rang nyid sangs rgya bar 'dod pa phyugs rdzi lta bu dang | bdag gzhan thams cad dus mnyam du sangs rgya bar 'dod pa mnyan pa lta bu dang | rang nyid sangs rgyas nas gzhan grol bar 'dod pa rgyal po lta bu'i sems bskyed dang gsum yod ces 'chad do || don 'di la bcom ldan pa ni | snga ma gnyis ltar na de dag gis mi srid pa dam bcas pa dang blo log shes su 'gyur te | sems can thams cad rang gi sngar dang dus mnyam du sangs rgya ba mi srid pa'i phyir ro || sems can thams cad sangs rgyas na rang nyid sangs rgya ba la dgos pa med de | skra bregs nas tshes grangs rtog pa bzhin no || des na rgyal po lta bu'i sems bskyed 'di nyid gzhung las bshad pas 'di kho na'o zhes gsung yang byang chub sems dpa'i thugs sbyong ba la mi srid pa du ma yod pa dang | smon lam 'debs pa yang mi 'grub pa'i smon lam du ma snang ba'i phyir dgag pa de dag mi rigs so || des na rgyal po lta bu 'di gzhung lugs rnams su mang bar gsungs kyang byang sems kyi thugs sbyong tshul bsam gyis mi khyab pas srid do ||.*

been explained. On this point, bCom-ldan-pa states:[179] "In the first two cases, [it would illogically follow that] they (i.e. the *bodhisattvas*) had vowed [to do] the impossible and that [theirs] is [thus] an erroneous perception, since it is not possible for all sentient beings to become *buddhas* before or together with oneself. If all sentient beings become *buddhas* [ahead of oneself], there is no point [any more] in oneself becoming a *buddha*, just as [there is no point in] examining the date once one has cut one's hair.[180] Therefore, since it is the king-like *cittotpāda* that is taught in the scriptural treatises, it is the only [authentic] *cittotpāda*."[181] Nonetheless, these critiques are unwarranted since many [kinds of] resolve (*thugs*) on the part of *bodhisattvas* are impossible on the practical level, and also in regard to the making of aspirations, many unachievable aspirations can be seen. Thus, although [it is true that] the king-like [*cittotpāda*] is what has been mainly taught in the scriptural traditions, [the other two] are [also] possible since the methods the *bodhisattvas*[182] use to train their minds are inconceivably [manifold].

Tsong-kha-pa does not indicate any Indian source. Nevertheless, he documents an interesting piece of criticism and his own attempt to resolve the doctrinal problems regarding these three kinds of *cittotpāda*.[183] There are also some other interesting reflections made by later Tibetan scholars, which cannot be discussed here in detail.[184]

12. A Fourfold Classification

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* subclassifies *cittotpāda* into four types:[185]

The *cittotpāda* on the stages [of a *bodhisattva*]

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[179] Tsong-kha-pa probably means bCom-ldan Rig-pa'i-ral-gri (b. thirteenth century), a bKa'-gdams-pa master from sNar-thang Monastery.

[180] According to Tibetan (and perhaps also Indian or Chinese) astrology, certain days of the week or of the month of the lunar calendar are unfavourable for cutting one's hair.

[181] A somewhat different critique is presented by Bod-sprul mDo-sngags-bstan-pa'i-nyi-ma (1895/1900–1959) in his *lTa grub shan 'byed rtsa 'grel* (pp. 104.4–105.10), without any author or text being named. The passage containing the critique is introduced with the expression *mkhas dbang la la dag*. He then goes on to defend all three types of *cittotpāda* as genuine.

[182] Note that the term *byang sems* here is an abbreviation of *byang chub sems dpa'* (*bodhisattva*) and not of *byang chub kyi sems* (*bodhicitta*). It seems to be a widely accepted abbreviation in prose, particularly in later Tibetan literature, such as Tsong-kha-pa's writings. In translated literature, too, the word *bodhisattva* has been occasionally rendered not as *byang chub sems dpa'* but as *byang chub sems*, obviously *metri causa*. See, for example, *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 1.11a and 1.24a; *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 2.25.

[183] The explanation of the three kinds of *cittotpāda* given here by Tsong-kha-pa need not necessarily be the 'official' position of the dGe-lugs school on the issue. It is said that Tsong-kha-pa's *gSer phreng* was composed before he reached his intellectual maturity and that some of the positions presented there were modified over the years.

[184] mKhan-po Ngag-dbang-dpal-bzang (or Ngag-dga') (1879–1941) has stated that the three types of *cittotpāda* differ with regard not to the first aspect of *cittotpāda*, that is, fixing on sentient beings with compassion (*snying rje'i sems can la dmigs pa*), but to the second, that is, aiming with discriminating insight at perfect awakening (*shes rab kyis rdzogs byang la dmigs pa*). He explains that a *bodhisattva* drawn towards the herdsman-like *cittotpāda* does not really care whether he himself becomes a *buddha* or not. In other words, the herdsman-like *cittotpāda* is conceived as a total denial of thought for one's own benefit (*rang don yid byed*), such thought being described by him as a demon (*'gong po*) that must be subdued (*btul*) by *bodhicitta*. See the *Zhal lung zin bris* (fol. 108a3–b3).

[185] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.2:
cittotpādo 'dhimokṣo 'sau śuddhādhyāśayiko 'paraḥ |
vaipākyo bhūmiṣu matas tathāvaraṇavarjitaḥ ||.

> Is commonly taken to be [of four kinds]: one [characterised by] confidence, [and]
> Another [by] pure altruistic inclination;
> One [characterised by] ripening [and] likewise one [by] abandonment of obstructions.

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* comments:[186]

> The *cittotpāda* of a *bodhisattva* is of four kinds: [1] The one characterised by confidence is found at the stage [where the spiritual] practice [is carried out by exerting] confidence. [2] The one characterised by pure altruistic inclination is found at the [first] seven stages. [3] The one characterised by ripening is found at the eighth and later (i.e. the eighth to the tenth) [stages]. The one characterised by lack of obstructions is found at the stage of a *buddha*.

According to this commentary, the four kinds of *bodhicitta* explicated in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* are distributed among the different stages of a *bodhisattva* and the stage of a *buddha* in the manner shown in the following chart:

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">cittotpāda</th><th colspan="3">bhūmi</th><th colspan="3">mārga</th></tr>
<tr><td>4.</td><td>anāvaraṇika</td><td>11th</td><td colspan="2">buddhabhūmi</td><td>5.</td><td colspan="2">aśaikṣamārga</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">3.</td><td rowspan="3">vaipākika</td><td>10th</td><td>bhūmi</td><td rowspan="3">3 pure stages</td><td rowspan="9">4.</td><td rowspan="9">bhāvanāmārga</td><td rowspan="12">śaikṣamārga</td></tr>
<tr><td>9th</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>8th</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="7">2.</td><td rowspan="7">śuddhādhyāśayika</td><td>7th</td><td>"</td><td rowspan="7">7 impure stages</td></tr>
<tr><td>6th</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>5th</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>4th</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>3rd</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>2nd</td><td>"</td></tr>
<tr><td>1st</td><td>"</td><td>3.</td><td>darśanamārga</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">1.</td><td rowspan="2">ādhimokṣika</td><td colspan="3" rowspan="2">adhimukticaryābhūmi</td><td>2.</td><td>prayogamārga</td></tr>
<tr><td>1.</td><td>saṃbhāramārga</td></tr>
</table>

Sthiramati cites the *Gayāśīrṣasūtra*, apparently to authenticate the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*'s fourfold classification of *bodhicitta*. However, the four kinds of *cittotpāda* cited therein are not specified by name, merely by ordinal number ('the first *cittotpāda*' and so forth).[187] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*'s fourfold classification of *cittotpāda* seems to be the only one of its kind, and it has often been alluded to by later Indian scholars, such as Abhayākaragupta.[188] The pertinent verse from the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* has also been cited in tantric commentaries including Vanaratna's *Rahasyadīpikā*, a commentary on Kṛṣṇācārya's *Vasantatilakā*.[189] Another fourfold mode of classification of *cittotpāda* can be found in the

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[186] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 14.7–9): *caturvidho bodhisattvānāṃ cittotpādaḥ | ādhimokṣiko 'dhimukticaryābhūmau | śuddhādhyāśayikaḥ saptasu bhūmiṣu | vaipākiko 'ṣṭamyādiṣu | anāvaraṇiko buddhabhūmau |.*

[187] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 58a5–7; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 52b6–7; S, vol. 71, p. 1027.15–20): *de bas na 'phags pa 'ga ya'i'* ['ga' yi'i PN] *rtse mo'i mdo* [add. mdo P] *las kyang | lha'i bu gzhan yang sems bskyed pa dang po ni rgyu las yang dag par 'byung*[a] *ba'o || sems bskyed pa gnyis pa ni ye shes las yang dag par 'byung*[a] *ba'o || sems bskyed pa gsum pa ni spong ba las yang dag par 'byung*[a] *ba'o || sems bskyed pa bzhi pa ni 'bras bu las yang dag par 'byung*[a] *ba'o zhes gsungs so ||.* [a] [byung PN].

[188] *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 283a3–5; D, fol. 216a3–5; S, vol. 63, pp. 1418.18–1419.1): *mdo sde rgyan du ni*[a] *byang chub sems dpa' rnams kyi sems bskyed pa ni rnam pa bzhi ste mos pa* [pas DC] *spyod pa'i sa la lhag* [spyod DC] *par mos pa las byung ba'o || sa bdun rnams la lhag pa'i bsam pa rnam par dag pa pa'o || brgyad pa la*[b] *sogs pa rnams la rnam par smin pa pa'o || sangs rgyas kyi sa la sgrib pa med pa* [om. DC] *pa'o zhes rtogs par mdzad do ||.* [a] gloss in PN: sems bskyed de ni sa rnams la mos pa dang | lhag bsam dag pa dang rnam par smin pa gzhan du 'dod | de bzhin sgrib pa [om. PD] spangs pa'o zhes pa'i 'grel par; [b] gloss in PN: rgya mtshor btang ba'i gru bo che ltar | lhun gyis grub pas rang gi ngang gis 'byung bas.

[189] *Rahasyadīpikā* (p. 3.15–16).

Bodhisattvabhūmi;[190] it does not seem, however, to be as popular as the one found in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.

13. Subclassifying *Bodhicitta* into Ten Types

The ten *bhūmi*s, as presented in Candrakīrti's *Madhyamakāvatāra* and in its commentaries, are also referred to as ten kinds of *cittotpāda*.[191] Another tenfold classification is found in the *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo*, which is one of the primary rNying-ma *tantra*s belonging to the Anuyoga class. The ten types mentioned in it are *bodhicitta* characterised by: (1) movement (*g.yo ba*), (2) aspiration (*smon pa*), (3) soaring (*ldang ba*), (4) preparation (*sbyor ba*), (5) setting out (*'jug pa*), (6) efficiency (*dge ba*), (7) not changing (*mi 'gyur ba*), (8) cognition (*rig pa*), (9) abiding (*gnas pa*), and (10) perfection (*rdzogs pa*).[192] I have not been able to trace this tenfold classification in sources outside the rNying-ma tantric literature. Four of these categories, namely, movement (*g.yo ba*), aspiration (*smon pa*), soaring (*ldang ba*), and setting out (*'jug pa*), are also found in other rNying-ma tantric sources (such as the **Guhyagarbhatantra*). Noteworthy, too, is the fact that the more archaic categories of *praṇidhicitta* and *prasthānacitta* are included in both of these ten- and fourfold classifications. I have not been able to find definitions of these ten categories. The ambiguity of some of the terms seems to be intended, suggesting that they apply to psycho-physiological *bodhicitta*.

14. Twenty-Two Kinds of *Cittotpāda*

It is well known that *cittotpāda* is subdivided in some sources into twenty-two kinds. A comprehensive treatment of this classification is not possible here, simply owing to the mass of material. What will be attempted is to look at the *loci classici* of the scheme that underlies this classification and at some aspects of its conception and development.

(a) Sources of the Twenty-Two Kinds of *Cittotpāda*

The *loci classici* setting forth the twenty-twofold classification of *cittotpāda* are *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.15–20 and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 1.19–20. It may, however, be assumed that the key terms of the twenty-two types of *cittotpāda* were compiled from earlier

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[190] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.4 (WOGIHARA, p. 326.3–11; DUTT, p. 223.9–13): *punar etat suviniścitaṃ bodhisattvapraṇidhānaṃ cittotpāda ity ucyate | sa punar eṣa cittotpādo bodhisattvasya samāsataś caturbhir ākārair veditavyaḥ | katamaiḥ caturbhiḥ | ādita eva tāvat kīdṛśānāṃ bodhisattvānāṃ tac cittam utpadyate | kiṃ c' ālaṃbyotpādyate | kīdṛśaṃ ca kiṃ lakṣaṇaṃ ken' ātmanā utpadyate | utpanne ca tasmiṃś citte ko 'nuśaṃso bhavati | ity ebhiś caturbhir ākāraiḥ sacittotpādo veditavyaḥ |.*

[191] *Madhyamakāvatāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 20b5–7; D, fol. 17a7–b1; S, vol. 61, p. 40.17–19): *byang chub kyi sems kyi dbye ba rnam pa bcu zhes pa ni sa rab tu dga' ba la sogs pa sa bcu'i dbye bas byang chub kyi sems* [add. pa P] *rnam pa bcu bstan par 'dod pas so ||.*

[192] *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 23a6–7; D, fol. 23b6–7):
byang chub sems ni gang zhe na ||
'di yi grangs kyang rnam pa bcu ||
[1] *g.yo ba byang chub sems nyid dang ||*
[2] *de bzhin smon pa byang chub sems ||*
[3] *ldang ba byang chub chen po'i sems ||*
[4] *de bzhin sbyor ba byang chub sems ||*
[5] *'jug pa'i sems dang* [6] *dge ba'i sems ||*
[7] *mi 'gyur ba dang* [8] *rig pa dang ||*
[9] *gnas pa dang ni* [10] *rdzogs pa'o ||.*

Mahāyāna sources. In fact, the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* explicitly states that *cittotpāda* is presented in it, both in short and in detail, in accordance with the *sūtras*.[193] Haribhadra identifies the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā* as the source of this classification.[194] Likewise, Abhayākaragupta states in his *Munimatālaṃkāra* that the twenty-twofold classification has been taught in the *Śatasāhasrikā* and the *Pañcaviṃśatisāhasrikā*.[195] I have so far, however, been unable to explore these huge works.

(b) A Historical Sketch

It is conceivable that the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* as we know them today were systematised for the first time in texts that belong to Strand A, such as the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*. If the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* is older than the *Abhisamayālaṃkāra*, it is also conceivable that the classification in the latter was based on the former, and perhaps also on its own source if it had one. It is interesting that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, despite its undeniable similarity of structure and content with the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, does not contain the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda*. This would suggest that this classification had not yet been conceived or was not yet known during the final redaction of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Also, the fact that such a scheme cannot be found in very old Prajñāpāramitā texts, such as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā* and *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya*, indicates that the same applies to them. Although it is possible that the classification was formalised in texts belonging to Strand A, it is likely that the list of twenty-two similes had originally been a collection of picturesque illustrations of *bodhicitta* found in various texts belonging to Strand B, such as the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*.[196]

Since its conception, the scheme of twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* seems to have undergone at least two phases of development at the hand of commentators or interpreters. During the first phase, the twenty-two were commented upon and interpreted in the light of various factors pertaining to the *bodhisattva* paths and results. In other words, attempts were made to relate each of the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* with a certain factor. It is doubtful whether such an interpretation was actually intended by the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* themselves. The similes do not disclose a clear hierarchal sequence, nor have I found any explanation as to why the number of similes, or kinds of *cittotpāda*, was fixed at twenty-two. At any rate, the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* seems to be one of the first commentaries to undertake the task of establishing a connection between the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* and the various factors pertaining to the practices of a *bodhisattva*.[197] Such

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[193] *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 1.18cd: *samāsavyāsataḥ sā ca yathāsūtraṃ sa cocyate* ||.

[194] *Abhisamayālaṃkārāloka* (p. 35.5–7).

[195] *Munimatālaṃkāra* (P, fols. 223b8–224a1; D, fol. 173b6; S, vol. 63, p. 1310.13–14): *sems bskyed pa de'ang* [de yang D] *dbye na nyi*[a] *shu rtsa gnyis su*[b] *bcom ldan 'das ma stong phrag nyi shu lnga pa dang 'bum par yang gsungs so* ||. [a] gloss in PN: 'dun ldan chos skus dang ldan pa'i bar; [b] gloss in PN: slob dpon chos kyi bshes 'gnyes kyi ṭi ka' [= gnyen gyi ṭī kā] ru | 'dir sems bskyed pa kha cig ni sems bskyed pa dngos gtsor ston pa ste 'dun pa la sogs pa'o || kha cig ni sems bskyed pa 'phel bar byed pa'i grogs la der gdags te sbyin pa la sogs pa'o || kha cig na re | sems bskyed pa'i 'bras bu la der btags te 'gro ba gcig pa'i lam la sogs pa'o || zhes gsungs so ||.

[196] Tibetan scholars often allude to the 230 similes employed in the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* (pp. 494.1–496.14) to describe *bodhicitta*. See the *Dwags po thar rgyan* (p. 180. 13–14); *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 137.7–9). See also the *Buddhāvataṃsaka* (T, vol. *cha*, fols. 240b3–244b2; D, vol. *a*, fols. 309b1–312a3), where *bodhicitta* is described in a series of 120 similes.

[197] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (pp. 16.17–17.8).

an interpretation was influenced by the concept of the inexhaustibles (*akṣaya*) found in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*, as stated explicitly by the commentary itself:[198]

> This *cittotpāda* characterised by twenty-two similes, it should be known, accord with the [eighty] inexhaustibles that occur in the *Āryākṣayamatisūtra*.[199]

It is important to note that the commentary does not state that this scheme of twenty-two can be found in the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*. The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* does not correlate the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* with the various stages of the *bodhisattva* path explicitly, although a hierarchical sequence seems to be presupposed. Sthiramati does not propose any similar scheme either, but he does take some clear steps in that direction. For instance, he situates the first type of *cittotpāda* between the beginner's stage and the end phase of *prayogamārga*, that is, within *saṃbhāramārga* and *prayogamārga* (or collectively *adhimukticaryābhūmi*).[200]

The second phase of development is marked by the actual allocation of the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* to all stages of a *bodhisattva* and to the resultant stage, and by a wide variety of positions pertaining to it, as is evident in Haribhadra's *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti*.[201] A comparison of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* and *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* reveals that they not only differ in the way the factors associated with the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* are assigned to the stages, but also in the factors themselves. The attempt to combine the so-called eighty inexhaustibles, the subject-matter of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra*, with the twenty-two kinds of *cittotpāda* may be seen as the culmination of the classification of *bodhicitta*—an attempt perhaps first made by Vasubandhu, the author of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*, and later continued in Tibet.[202]

15. Concluding Remarks

Hopefully I have been able to demonstrate in this chapter that the idea of *bodhicitta*, which probably began as the initial resolve to become a *buddha*, became ever more comprehensive in scope, until the entire doctrine of Mahāyāna contained in the eighty inexhaustibles was expressed in terms of *bodhicitta*. It is part and parcel of the theory, the practice and path, and finally the goal, of a *bodhisattva*, and is hence the *sine qua non* of Mahāyāna, or the *bodhisattva* doctrine.

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[198] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 17.8–9): *eṣa ca dvāviṃśatyupamaś cittotpāda āryākṣayamatisūtre 'kṣaga*[= 'kṣaya]*tānusāreṇānugantavyaḥ* |. See also *Asvabhāva's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 63a3–7; D, fol. 56a1–4; S, vol. 71, p. 140.10–21).

[199] Note that according to the Tibetan translation of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (P, fol. 150a8; D, fol. 141b6; S, vol. 70, p. 1163.6), the title of the *sūtra* referred to here should read *Āryākṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* (*'Phags pa blo gros mi zad pas bstan pa'i mdo*).

[200] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fols. 64b7–69a6; D, vol. *mi*, fols. 58a5–61b7; S, vol. 71, pp. 1041.11–1050.13).

[201] *Abhisamayālaṃkāravivṛti* (p. 12.23–28): *tatrādyām* [= °dyaṃ] *trayo mṛdumadhyādhimātratayā ādikarmikabhūmisaṃgṛhītāḥ* | *tatas prathamabhūmipraveśamārgasaṃgṛhīta ekaḥ* | *tato daśa pramuditādidaśabhūmisaṃgṛhītā darśanabhāvanāmārgagocarāḥ* | *tato viśeṣamārgasaṃgṛhītāḥ pañca* | *tato buddhabhūmisaṃgṛhītāḥ trayacittotpādāḥ prayogamaulapṛṣṭhadvāreṇety ādikarmikabhūmim ārabhya yāvad buddhabhūmisaṃgṛhītā iti cittotpādaprabhedaḥ* |.

[202] See KAWAMURA 1981 where Mi-pham's treatment of the eighty 'inexhaustibles' of the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* is discussed. Kawamura goes into Mi-pham's distribution of the eighty inexhaustibles among the four levels of *cittotpāda*, but not among the twenty-two types of *cittotpāda*.

Chapter Nine

Causes and Conditions pertaining to *Bodhicitta*

> If, as also taught in the *Śūraṃgama[samādhi]sūtra*, even *bodhicitta* that is generated with recourse to deception is a cause of Buddhahood, then how much more [*bodhicitta* that is generated] by committing a few wholesome deeds!
>
> – Śāntideva, *Śikṣāsamuccaya*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

We all know that most Buddhist tenets including those of karma, the four noble truths (*āryasatya*), and dependent origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) are thought of in one way or another as being in accordance with the principle of cause and effect. According to this principle, a given conditioned phenomenon 'x' is a result of multiple and complex factors. Mono-causality, or the self-sufficiency of a single cause, is basically not accepted in Buddhism.[2] *Bodhicitta*, particularly in its ethico-spiritual sense, is, of course, a conditioned entity, and its arising presupposes a host of necessary causes and conditions. The multiplicity and complexity of these factors imply that *bodhicitta* is not something that can be generated easily and quickly but rather demands much time, patience, and skill. In this chapter, I shall attempt to determine how the causes and conditions pertaining to *bodhicitta* are conceived in various Mahāyāna *sūtra*s and *śāstra*s.

2. Causes and Conditions pertaining to *Bodhicitta* in the *Sūtra* Sources

Mahāyāna *sūtra*s are, generally speaking, not the right place to look for a systematic presentation of the causes and conditions relating to *bodhicitta*. Nonetheless, I should like to

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[1] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 8.19–20; VAIDYA, p. 8.24–25): *śūraṃgamasūtre 'pi | śāṭhyotpāditasyāpi bodhicittasya buddhatvahetutvābhidhānāt | kaḥ punar vādaḥ kiṃcid eva kuśalaṃ kṛtvā* |. The *sūtra* is also cited by sKa-ba dPal-brtsegs in his *gSung rab rin po che* (P, fol. 271b6–7; D, fol. 357b7; S, vol. 115, p. 929.14–17). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 9. See also chapter three, n. 49.

[2] For example, see *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 9.13: *naikasya sarvasāmarthyaṃ pratyayasyāsti kutracit* |. For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 116.

present a few passages from some Mahāyāna *sūtras* in which the matter is dealt with. The *Daśadharmakasūtra* mentions four possible causes (*kāraṇa*) of *bodhicitta*, as follows:[3]

> O son of a noble family, the *bodhisattva* who abides in [his] spiritual disposition [and] who has not [yet] generated *bodhicitta*, having been encouraged, moved, and caused to take [it] upon [himself] by either a *tathāgata* or a *śrāvaka* of a *tathāgata*, generates *bodhicitta*, [that is, the resolve to strive] for the highest, perfect awakening. This is the first cause of the generation of *bodhicitta*.[4] Having heard praise of either perfect awakening or *bodhicitta* being sung, [he] generates the resolve [to strive] for the highest, perfect awakening. This is the second cause. Having seen sentient beings with no guide, [no protection], and no place of refuge, [and] having placed [himself] in a compassion[ate frame of mind] ... (*yāvat*) he generates the resolve [to strive] for the highest, perfect awakening. This is the third cause of the generation of *bodhicitta*. Having seen the fulfilment of all types of excellence of a *tathāgata*, [and] having generated delight, he generates the resolve [to strive] for the highest, perfect awakening. This is the fourth cause.[5]

The four possible causes of *bodhicitta* mentioned in the *Daśadharmakasūtra* may be thus summarised as follows: (1) an initiative on the part of a *tathāgata* or a *śrāvaka*, (2) hearing the advantages of *bodhi* and *bodhicitta*, (3) compassion towards needy and defenceless sentient beings, and (4) delight upon seeing the perfection of a *tathāgata*. The *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhisūtra* states that a *bodhisattva* generates resolve to become a *buddha* in seven ways. These seven ways are actually seven different causes or occasions, which may be summarised as:[6] (1) an initiative on the part of a *buddha*, (2) the thought of protecting the doctrine from disappearing, (3) great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), (4) an initiative on the part of a *bodhisattva*, (5) an occasion of paying respect and making offering, (6) witnessing *bodhicitta* being generated, and (7) hearing about the qualities of a *buddha*.

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[3] *Daśadharmakasūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 8.8–15; VAIDYA, p. 8.13–18): *iha kulaputra bodhisattvo gotrasthaḥ* [°tvagotra° VAIDYA] *sann anutpāditabodhicittaḥ tathāgatena vā tathāgataśrāvakeṇa vā saṃcodyamānaḥ saṃvedyamānaḥ samādāpyamāno 'nuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbo[dhau] bodhicittam 'utpādayati | idaṃ'* [°yatīdaṃ BENDALL] *prathamaṃ kāraṇaṃ bodhicittotpādāya | saṃbodher vā bodhicittasya vā varṇaṃ* [ava° Vaidya] *bhāṣyamāṇaṃ śrutvā anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam 'utpādayati | idaṃ'* [°yatīdaṃ BENDALL] *dvitīyaṃ kāraṇam | sa 'sattvān anāthā[n atrāṇān] aśaraṇān'* [sattvā...naśa° BENDALL] *advīpān dṛṣṭvā kāruṇyacittam upasthāpya yāvad anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam 'utpādayati | idaṃ'* [°yatīdaṃ BENDALL] *tṛtīyam kāraṇam bodhicittotpādāya | sa tathāgatasya sarvakāraparipūrṇatāṃ dṛṣṭvā prītim utpādya anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau cittam 'utpādayati | idaṃ'* [°yatīdaṃ BENDALL] *caturthaṃ kāraṇam....* See the Tibetan translation of the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (P, fol. 8a3–8; D, fol. 7a1–5; S, vol. 64, pp. 1018.15–1019.7). The passage is also cited by Prajñākaramati in his commentary on *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 3.22–23, but the original Sanskrit text of the commentary containing the passage is lost (*Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā*, p. 42.29, n. 2). See also Śrikumāra's *Bodhisattvacaryāvatārasaṃskāra* (P, fol. 6a1–6; D, fols. 4b4–5a1; S, vol. 62, pp. 10.14–11.5).

[4] Cf. the Tibetan translation (P, fol. 8a5; D, fol. 7a2; S, vol. 64. p. 1018.19–20), which reads *'di ni byang chub kyi sems la mos pa'i rgyu dang po'o*, as if the Sanskrit read **idaṃ prathamaṃ kāraṇaṃ bodhicittādhimokṣāya* or something similar.

[5] Cf. the translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 8–9.

[6] *Tathāgatajñānamudrāsamādhisūtra* (T, fol. 56a2–b1; D, fol. 240a7–b4): *byams pa rnam pa bdun gyis byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed* [skyed T] *do || bdun gang zhe na | 'di lta ste |* [1] *sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams kyis byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [2] *dam pa'i chos rnam par 'jig pa'i dus na dam pa'i chos yongs su bsrung ba'i phyir byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [3] *sdug bsngal sna tshogs kyis yongs su gzir ba'i sems can gyi khams mthong nas snying rje chen po skyes te byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [4] *byang chub sems dpas byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [5] *bsti stang du byas te sbyin pa bzang po yid du 'ong ba byin nas | byang chub sems dpa' bdag nyid byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [6] *gzhan yang* [om. T] *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa mthong nas byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa dang |* [7] *de bzhin gshegs pa'i sku'i* [sku T] *mtshan dang dpe byad bzang po'i rgyan sna tshogs kyi yon tan bsngags pa yongs su rdzogs pa* [par T] *thos nas byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed pa ste | byams pa rnam pa bdun po de dag gis byang chub sems dpa' byang chub tu sems bskyed do ||*.

The *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* for its part mentions ten kinds of conditions or factors pertaining to the generation of *bodhicitta*:[7]

> O son of the Victorious One, these ten are conditions under which *bodhisattva*s generate *bodhicitta*. What are the ten? They are: [1] the condition leading to the ripening and taming of the realm of sentient beings is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [2] the condition leading to the removal of the mass of sufferings (*duḥkhaskandha*) of all sentient beings is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [3] the condition leading to all sentient beings' acquiring a provision of happiness is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [4] the condition leading to the elimination of the ignorance of all sentient beings is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [5] the condition leading to all sentient beings' attaining a *buddha*'s gnosis is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [6] the condition leading to paying respect and rendering service to all *buddha*s is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [7] the condition leading to pleasing all *tathāgata*s is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [8] the condition leading to the complete revelation of all *buddha*s' physical bodies with [their thirty-two] major marks and [eighty] minor marks is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [9] the condition leading to access to the gnosis of all *buddha*s is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*, [and 10] the condition leading to the complete revelation of all forms of strength (*bala*) and fearlessness of a *buddha* is a condition conducive to *bodhicitta*.

Lastly, I refer to a verse from the *Ratnolkādhāraṇī* which is often cited by Tibetan scholars as scriptural authority in the context of the cause of absolute *bodhicitta*:[8]

> Putting clear faith in the Victorious Ones and the doctrines of the Victorious Ones,
> [He] puts clear faith in the conduct of a *buddha*'s sons.
> Given [his] clear faith in the unsurpassable awakening (*bodhi*),
> The resolve (*citta*) of the Great Persons arises [in him].

3. Causes and Conditions pertaining to *Bodhicitta* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* associates *cittotpāda* with four conditions (*pratyaya*), four (pre)requisites (*hetu*), and four strengths (*bala*).[9] It may be recalled here that *cittotpāda* in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* primarily means the generation of the initial resolve (*prathamacittotpāda*), and hence that the causes and conditions discussed there are to be understood purely as causes and conditions governing the initial resolve, which can be subsumed under what is later called

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[7] *Buddhāvataṃsakasūtra* (T, vol. *nga*, fol. 205a6–b6; D, vol. *ga*, fol. 155a5–b3): *kye rgyal ba'i sras bcu po 'di dag ni byang chub sems dpa' rnams* [add. kyi T] *rkyen gang gis byang chub tu sems 'bskyed par'* [skye bar T] *'gyur ba'i byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen rnams te | bcu gang zhe na 'di ltar* [1] *sems can gyi khams yongs su smin par bya ba dang | rnam par gdul bar bya ba'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [2] *sems can thams cad kyi sdug bsngal gyi phung po rnam par bzlog pa'i* [par T] *rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [3] *sems can thams cad la bde ba'i yo byad 'kyis sdud'* [kyi bstud T] *pa'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [4] *sems can thams cad kyi mi shes pa bsal* [= bstsal D] *ba'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [5] *sems can thams cad la sangs rgyas kyi ye shes nye bar bsgrub pa'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [6] *sangs rgyas thams cad mchod cing rim gro* [gror D] *bya ba'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [7] *de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad mnyes par bya ba'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [8] *sangs rgyas thams cad kyi sku gzugs dang mtshan dang dpe byad bzang po yongs su bstan pa'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* || [9] *sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ye shes la 'jug cing khong du chud par 'byed pa'i'* [bya ba'i T] *rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi* [om. T] *rkyen to* || [10] *sangs rgyas kyi stobs dang mi bsnyengs pa thams cad yongs su bstan* [ston T] *pa'i rkyen ni byang chub kyi sems kyi rkyen to* ||.

[8] *Ratnolkādhāraṇī*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 2.16–17; VAIDYA, p. 4.22–23):

> *śraddhayamānu jinān jinadharmān śraddhayate cari buddhasutānām* |
> *bodhi anuttara śraddhayamāno jāyati citta mahāpuruṣāṇām* ||.

Cf. DE JONG 1981: 240; cf. also *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.8.

[9] A critical edition of the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 is found in the Appendix. All references to passages from *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 translated in the following discussion refer to the edition found there.

'conventional' *cittotpāda*. First, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* explains the four occasions or motives in the following manner:[10]

> What are the four motives? [1] There [is] a son of a noble family, or a daughter of a noble family, [who] sees or hears from a trustworthy person about the inconceivable and amazing, extraordinary manifestation [and] power of a *tathāgata* or of a *bodhisattva*. Having seen or heard [about these things], he falls to thinking thus: "Oh, of great power is this [state of] awakening, [since] such an extraordinary manifestation or such an ability on the part of those abiding and engaging in it is seen and heard!" He, on account of just such seeing or hearing about the power, is strongly inclined towards the great awakening and generates the resolve [to strive] for the great awakening. This is the first motive occasioning the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [2] He neither sees nor hears about the power at all. Rather, [he] listens to the Sublime Doctrine, which tells of the highest, perfect awakening being preached, namely, [in] the *Bodhisattvapiṭaka*. And then, after listening [to it, he] conceives faith. After conceiving faith [and] becoming strongly inclined towards the gnosis of the *tathāgata* from having listened to the Sublime Doctrine, [he] generates the resolve [to become a *buddha*] in order to attain the gnosis of a *tathāgata*. This is the second motive occasioning the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [3] He does not hear the [Sublime] Doctrine at all. Rather, [he] sees that the disappearance of the Sublime Doctrine of the *bodhisattva* is at hand and is imminent. And again, after seeing [the precarious state of the *bodhisattvasaddharma*], he falls to thinking thus: "Alas, the endurance of the Sublime Doctrine of the *bodhisattva* serves to dispel the suffering of an infinite number of sentient beings. Suppose I generate the resolve [to become a *buddha*] so that the Sublime Doctrine of the *bodhisattva* [can] endure for a long time, in order to eradicate the suffering of these same sentient beings." He, on account of the sheer [wish] to uphold the Sublime Doctrine, is strongly inclined towards the gnosis of the *tathāgata* and generates the resolve [to become a *buddha* that is needed] for attaining the gnosis of a *tathāgata*. This is the third motive occasioning the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [4] He does not see the impending disappearance of the Sublime Doctrine at all. Rather, in the final age, during the final time, [he] sees the basis of sentient beings' [personal existence]—those who are inferior [and] of the last age—as being defiled by the following ten defilements: [they are] [i] full of confusion, [ii] full of shamelessness and lack of embarrassment, [iii] full of jealousy and envy, [iv] full of suffering, [v] full of baseness, [vi] full of defilements, [vii] full of bad conduct, [viii] full of carelessness, [ix] full of laziness, and [x] full of faithlessness. And again, having seen that, he falls to thinking thus: "Alas, this long, grave time of degeneration has dawned. During this time, which is defiled in this way, the generation of the resolve [to strive] even for the lesser awakening of the *śrāvaka*s and the *pratyekabuddha*s is in itself not at all easy to come across, and how much less so the highest, perfect awakening! Suppose I myself generate the resolve [to become a *buddha*]; [then] hopefully others too, following my lead, may generate [*bodhicitta*]." He, being bent on [attaining] the great awakening in spite of the difficulty in generating the resolve [to become a *buddha*] in the final time, generates the resolve [to strive] for the great awakening. This is the fourth motive occasioning the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*].

The four *pratyaya*s may be summarised as follows: (1) being awestruck by the power of *buddha*s or *bodhisattva*s, (2) being inspired by the sublime teachings (of the Mahāyāna), and thus inclined towards the gnosis of the *tathāgata*, (3) having a sense of responsibility for preserving the Sublime Doctrine, and (4) reflecting upon the rarity of the generation of *bodhicitta* in the time of degeneration. Hence one may say that while the first two conditions pertain to the power and knowledge of a *buddha*, the last two mediate concern for the fast disappearance of the Buddhist doctrine (which was meant to make up for the loss of the historical Buddha). The latter are particularly noteworthy because, as I have already tried to show, from a historical point of view it may have been just such a concern that motivated people to introduce the theory of *bodhicitta* as a measure to guarantee the continued existence

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[10] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.1.1).

of the Three Jewels. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* then goes on to explain the four (pre)requisites (*hetu*):[11]

> What are the four (pre)requisites? [1] Excellence of the spiritual basis is the first (pre)requisite for the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] within a *bodhisattva*. [2] Being under the care of *buddhas*, *bodhisattvas*, and spiritual friends is the second (pre)requisite for the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] within a *bodhisattva*. [3] Compassion towards living beings is the third (pre)requisite for the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] within a *bodhisattva*. [4] Being unafraid of even the long-lasting, manifold, intense, [and] unceasing suffering [characteristic] of *saṃsāra*, and of the suffering of the practice of hardships, is the fourth (pre)requisite for the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] within a *bodhisattva*.

The first (pre)requisite, the excellency of spiritual disposition (*gotrasampat*), is not earned by hard work but rather said to be inherent.[12] The text does not comment much on this point, since it has been dealt with in a separate chapter (*paṭala*) of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[13] The second (pre)requisite, the excellence of the spiritual friend (*mitrasampat*), is explained by subclassifying it into four types:[14]

> The excellence of the spiritual friend of a *bodhisattva* should be known to be of four types: [i] The spiritual friend of a *bodhisattva* proves right from the beginning not to be stupid [or] dull by nature, [but] learned and wise, and [one who has] not fallen into bad views. This is the first excellence of a spiritual friend. [ii] Moreover, [the spiritual friend] neither causes him [to display] carelessness nor provides him an occasion for doing so. This is the second excellence of a spiritual friend. [iii] Further, [the spiritual friend] neither causes him [to engage] in bad conduct nor provides him an occasion for doing so. This is the third excellence of a spiritual friend. [iv] And [lastly, the spiritual friend] does not persuade him to display inferior qualities of faith, devotion, right undertaking, perseverance, [and] efficient strategy by dissuading [him] from [displaying] superior qualities of faith, devotion, right undertaking, perseverance, [and] efficient strategy—for instance, [persuading him to follow] the Śrāvakayāna or the Pratyekabuddhayāna by dissuading [him] from [following] the Mahāyāna; or [to strive after] contemplation-born [insight] by dissuading [him] from [striving after] meditation-born [insight]; [to strive after] learning-born [insight] by dissuading [him] from [striving after] contemplation-born [insight]; [to engage] in doing [physical] service [in the monastery or temple] by dissuading [him] from [striving after] learning-born [insight]; [to engage] in the [meritorious activity] of generosity by dissuading [him] from [engaging in the merit] accruing from ethical-moral discipline. Thus [he] does not persuade [sentient beings to engage] in one or the other inferior virtuous [activities] by dissuading [them] from [engaging in] one or the other superior virtuous [activities]. This is the fourth excellence of a spiritual friend.

As to the third (pre)requisite, that is, compassion, the text mentions four reasons why a *bodhisattva* is full of compassion:[15]

> A *bodhisattva* proves to be full of compassion towards sentient beings for four reasons: [i] There do [indeed] exist world spheres, among the endless unbounded [systems of] world spheres in the ten directions, in which no suffering is perceived. However, this *bodhisattva* has taken birth in a [world] sphere containing suffering, [that is,] where suffering is perceived, [and] not in [a place where there is] no suffering. [ii] [The *bodhisattva*] sees that another [sentient being] is affected,

[11] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.2).

[12] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.2): "Amongst [these], it should be known that the excellent spiritual basis of the *bodhisattva* has been attained by nature" (*tatra gotrasaṃpad bodhisattvasya dharmatāpratilabdhaiva veditavyā* |).

[13] See *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1 (the *Gotrapaṭala*).

[14] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.2).

[15] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.2).

> tormented, [and] overwhelmed by a certain [kind of] suffering. [iii] And [that] he himself becomes affected, tormented, and overwhelmed by a certain [kind] of suffering. [iv] Moreover, [the *bodhisattva*] sees another or himself or both being affected, tormented, [and] overwhelmed by long-lasting, manifold, intense, and unceasing suffering. Owing to these four [objective] supports [or] bases, compassion—[first] mild, [then] moderate, [and later] intense—originates-and-continues in this *bodhisattva* on account of his spiritual disposition, [that is,] because he is benevolent by nature, [and this even] without repeated practice [in his lifetime].

Regarding the fourth (pre)requisite, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* explains why a *bodhisattva* is not deterred by the long, intense, and varying difficulties faced by him in *saṃsāra*:[16]

> Having set compassion towards the sentient beings as [his] priority, a *bodhisattva*, on account of the [following] four reasons, neither dreads nor is afraid of even the long-lasting, manifold, intense, and unceasing sufferings [characteristic] of *saṃsāra*, much less of lesser ones: [i] He is by nature daring, steadfast, and vigorous. This is the first reason. [ii] He is learned, having a disposition towards proper reflection and possessing a capacity for critical analysis. This is the second reason. [iii] He is endowed with an intense inclination towards the highest, perfect awakening. This is the third reason. [iv] He is endowed with intense compassion towards sentient beings. This is the fourth reason.

The four *hetu*s are thus: (1) having an ideal spiritual disposition, (2) having virtuous spiritual friends, (3) being compassionate, and (4) not being deterred by the suffering endemic to *saṃsāra*. Furthermore, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* speaks of four strengths (*bala*) that give rise to *cittotpāda*:[17]

> What are the four strengths? [i] Personal strength (*adhyātmabala*), [ii] the strength of others (*parabala*), [iii] the strength of the (pre)requisites (*hetubala*) [attained during past lives], and [iv] the strength of exertion (*prayogabala*) [in the present life].

The four are explained thus:[18]

> [i] Among these, the passion for the highest, perfect awakening that has arisen in virtue of one's power is called the personal strength of a *bodhisattva* [conducive] to the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [ii] On the other hand, the passion for the highest, perfect awakening [that] has been aroused by the power of someone else is, consequentially, called a *bodhisattva*'s strength of others [conducive] to the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [iii] The previous habitual pursuit of the Mahāyāna-related wholesome factors of a *bodhisattva*, [having the effect] that the resolve [to become a *buddha*] arises swiftly in this [present life] as a result of merely seeing *buddha*s and *bodhisattva*s or of merely hearing praise [of them]—and how much more so of seeing [their] power or hearing the sublime teachings [taught by them]! [This] is called the strength of (pre)requisites of a *bodhisattva* [conducive] to the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. [iv] The long-term habitual pursuit of wholesome factors in the present life, such as relying on noble persons and listening to [and] reflecting upon sublime teachings, is called the strength of the exertion of a *bodhisattva* [conducive] to the arising of the resolve [to become a *buddha*].

The four *bala*s may be summarised as follows: (1) personal strength, (2) the strength of others, (3) the strength of the (pre)requisites, and (4) the strength of exertion. Although Sthiramati does not name the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as his source, his summary of the four conditions (*pratyaya*), four prerequisites (*hetu*), and four strengths (*bala*) of *cittotpāda* in the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā* is evidently based on the pertinent passage of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[19]

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[16] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.2).

[17] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.3).

[18] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2. (§3.1.3).

[19] *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā* (P, fols. 255b6–256b1; D, fols. 208b1–209a1; S, vol. 67, pp. 556.13–557.17).

4. Causes and Conditions pertaining to *Bodhicitta* in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* not only reformulated the four conditions (*pratyaya*), four prerequisites (*hetu*), and four strengths (*bala*) found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*—turning, for example, the four into five strengths (the fifth, however, is not designated specifically as a 'strength')—but also introduced the concept of 'absolute' *cittotpāda* and explored its causes, neither of which topics is found in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. Sāgaramegha's attempt to relate the four *pratyaya*s and the four *hetu*s with the four *bala*s of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* may have been influenced by this new scheme in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*.[20] It must be made clear, however, that the actual context in which these five strengths occur in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* is the five kinds of conventional *cittotpāda* given rise to by various extrinsic causes and not the causes and conditions pertaining to *cittotpāda* as such. The five strengths that conduce to conventional *cittotpāda*, as specified there, are:[21] (a) the strength of friends (*mitrabala*), (b) the strength of causes (*hetubala*), (c) the strength of basic [wholesome virtues] (*mūlabala*), (d) the strength of learning or study (*śrutabala*), and (e) the strength of repeated practice of wholesome virtues (*śubhābhyāsa*) or repeated learning (*śrutābhyāsa*).[22]

There are some textual problems with the basic text. Nonetheless, the five strengths (*bala*) listed in it are clarified by the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* attributed to one Vasubandhu and by Sthiramati's **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā*. Sthiramati's subcommentary naturally provides more details, for it not only comments on the verses but occasionally also on prose portions of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya*. *Asvabhāva's *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā*, on the other hand, does not contribute anything helpful in the present case. The explanation of the five strengths can be summarised thus: (a) *Bodhicitta* may be generated on the initiative of one's spiritual friends (*kalyāṇamitra*), preceptors (*upādhyāya*), or masters (*ācārya*).[23] (b) It may be generated by a cause (*hetu*) that lies within oneself, that is, one's inherent spiritual disposition (*gotra*).[24] (c) *Bodhicitta* may arise as a result of the waxing of the spiritual disposition (*rigs rgyas pa*) following the accumulation of basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) in the past.[25] (d) *Bodhicitta* may arise in this life as a

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[20] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 24b1–2; D, fols. 20b7–21a1; S, vol. 75, p. 655.15–16): "The first two *hetu*s are two *bala*s, and also the first two *pratyaya*s are two *bala*s" (*dang po'i rgyu gnyis nyid stobs gnyis yin zhing | dang po'i* [po PN] *rkyen gnyis kyang stobs gnyis yin no ||*).

[21] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.7ab.

[22] The alternative reading **śrutābhyāsa* is according to Sthiramati's **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 60b4–7; D, vol. *mi*, fols. 54b6–55a1; S, vol. 71, pp. 1032.15–1033.1), where the expression *thos pa goms pa'i stobs* occurs twice.

[23] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.2): *sa punar mitrabalād vā bhavati kalyāṇamitrānurodhāt* |; **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 60a5–7; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54b1–3; S, vol. 71, pp. 1031.19–1032.3): *grogs stobs zhes bya ba'i tshig dang | sems bskyed gzhan gyis bstan pa zhes bya ba'i tshig gnyis su sbyar te | sems bskyed pa gang mkhan po'am slob dpon nam | dge ba'i bshes gnyen la la zhig gis «byang chub tu* [du P] *sems bskyed na phan pa dang legs pa rgya chen po 'byung bas sems* [sams P] *bskyed pa'i rigs so» zhes bya ba'i chos bstan pa las byang chub tu sems bskyed pa ni grogs kyi stobs kyis* [kyi PN] *sems bskyed pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[24] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.2): *hetubalād vā gotrasāmarthyāt* |; **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 60a8; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54b3; S, vol. 71, p. 1032.3–5): *byang chub sems dpa'i rigs yod pas rigs kyi mthus shugs kyis bskul nas byang chub tu* [du P] *sems bskyed pa ni rgyu'i stobs kyis sems* [om. PN] *bskyed pa zhes bya'o || rgyu dang rigs dag ni don gcig go ||*.

[25] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.3): *kuśalamūlād vātītapuṣṭitaḥ* |; according to the Tibetan translation (P, fol. 148a6; D, fol. 140a1; S, vol. 70, p. 1158.16), which reads: *dge ba'i rtsa ba'i stobs las te | de'i rigs rgyas pa'i sgo nas....: kuśalamūlabalād vā tadgotrapuṣṭitaḥ*. See also the **(Mahāyāna)sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*,

result of having studied, contemplated, and meditated on the *bodhisattva* theories and practices during previous lives.[26] (e) It may also arise as a result of habitual study and contemplation during this lifetime.[27] *Bodhicitta* generated on the initiative of one's friends or teachers is said to be unstable and prone to relapse. (The relapse of *bodhicitta*, however, will be discussed elsewhere.)

We shall now move on to the causes of absolute *cittotpāda* presented in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and its commentaries. In this case, too, it must be noted that these causes are brought up only parenthetically within the context of absolute *cittotpāda*. We have already seen that, according to the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* and its commentaries, *bodhicitta* is considered absolute or supreme if it fulfils three criteria. One of the criteria is its gnoseological quality, namely, its being a non-conceptual form of gnosis (*nirvikalpajñāna*). The other two criteria are connected with the causes that give rise to such a gnosis: absolute *bodhicitta* arises as a result of one's having duly approached (*sūpāsita*) the Fully Awakened Ones (*saṃbuddha*) and of having duly gathered (*susaṃbhṛta*) the accumulations of gnosis and beneficial resources (*jñānapuṇyasaṃbhāra*). The causes of absolute *bodhicitta* mentioned in *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.8 must be compared with the verse cited and discussed above. The two causes mentioned there are explained in the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* as pertaining to instructions (*upadeśa*) and practice (*pratipatti*).[28] Sthiramati designates the two as 'supreme instruction' (*lung dam pa*) and 'supreme cause' (*rgyu dam pa*), respectively. Non-conceptual gnosis itself is called the 'supreme nature' (*rang bzhin dam pa*). Sthiramati also makes it clear that the causes of absolute *bodhicitta* discussed here are attended to by a *bodhisattva* while still on the *adhimukticaryābhūmi* for one countless aeon. The attainment of the *darśanamārga* or first *bhūmi* is thus identical with the attainment of absolute *bodhicitta*.[29]

5. Causes and Conditions pertaining to *Bodhicitta* as Discussed Elsewhere

The *Guṇāparyantastotraṭīkā* attributed to Dignāga cites a verse which alludes to four causes of *bodhicitta*. It states:[30]

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fol. 60a8–b2; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54b3–4; S, vol. 71, p. 1032.6–9): *tshe rabs snga ma la theg pa chen po'i chos* [om. PN] *don zab cing rgya che ba rtogs par 'gyur ba dang | byang chub tu sems bskyed par 'gyur ba'i dge ba'i rtsa ba dang | bsod nams kyi tshogs bsags pas rigs brtas* [rtas PN] *par gyur nas byang chub tu sems bskyed* [om. PN] *pa ni rtsa ba'i stobs kyis sems* [om. PN] *bskyed pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[26] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.3–4): *śrutabalād vā tatra tatra dharmaparyāye bhāṣyamāṇe bahūnāṃ bodhicittotpādāt* |; *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 60b2–4; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54b4–6; S, vol. 71, p. 1032.9–15): *tshe rabs snga ma la theg pa chen po'i chos nyan pa dang | bsam* [bsams PN] *pa dang | bsgom* [bsgoms PN] *pa 'bya ste'* [= byas te]| *ye shes* [add. kyi DC] *tshogs bsags pas tshe 'dir byang chub tu sems bskyed pa ni thos pa'i stobs kyis sems bskyed pa zhes bya ste | yang na de bzhin gshegs pas lang kar gshegs pa la sogs pa'i mdo sde de dang de dag bshad pa na lha dang mi la sogs pa'i 'gro ba mang po byang chub tu sems bskyed pa ni thos pa'i stobs kyis sems bskyed pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[27] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.4–5): *śubhābhyāsād vā dṛṣṭa iva dharme satataśravaṇodgrahaṇadhāraṇādibhiḥ* |; *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 60b4–5; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 54b6; S, vol. 71, p. 1032.15–18): *tshe 'di la dge ba'i bshes gnyen mang po las chos thos pa yang lan grangs mang du mnyan* [mnyen P] *te chos dang don shes* [shas PN] *kyis mthong nas sems bskyed pa ni thos pa* [pas PN] *goms pa'i stobs kyis sems bskyed pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[28] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 15.21): *prathamena ślokenopadeśapratipattyadhigamaviśeṣaiḥ pāramārthikatvaṃ cittotpādasya darśayati* |.

[29] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 61a5–b5; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 55a5–b4; S, vol. 71, pp. 1033.17–1034.19).

> *Bodhicitta* arises-and-continues
> On account of these four causes and conditions:
> Spiritual disposition (*gotra*), a spiritual friend (*kalyāṇamitra*),
> Compassion (*karuṇā*), and not being deterred by suffering.

Ratnākaraśānti, too, discusses the causes of *bodhicitta* and presents for his part five causes and one condition:[31]

> What are the causes of *cittotpāda*? What are the conditions? ... The causes are of five kinds: [1] Seeing the suffering of sentient beings [by] repeated practice of the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), [2] knowing the nature [of one's objective, i.e. the Three Jewels] from having taken refuge (*śaraṇagamana*) [in them],[32] [3] purifying the mental continuum by gathering the [two] accumulations (*saṃbhāra*), [4] the mind becoming serene upon encountering the supports [of the Buddha's body, speech, and mind, such as statues, scriptures, and *stūpa*s?], and [5] repeatedly practising compassion (*karuṇā*). As for the conditions, they are [one]: being under the influence of a good spiritual friend (*kalyāṇamitra*).

Furthermore, the *Akṣayamatinirdeśasūtra* lists forty-five ways in which *bodhicitta* is said to arise. These, however, cannot be discussed here.[33]

6. Compassion as the Root Cause of *Bodhicitta*

The relation between *karuṇā* and *bodhicitta* is somewhat complex. Sometimes one gets the impression that *karuṇā*, alongside *prajñā*, is seen as the basic constituent of *bodhicitta*. At other times, *karuṇā*, *prajñā*, and *bodhicitta* are spoken of as co-factors in the emergence of a *bodhisattva*.[34] Some sources also speak of *karuṇā* as an outcome of insight into true reality or of awakening itself. Nevertheless, *karuṇā* is often seen not only as a cause of *bodhicitta* but as its root cause, and it is this relation between *karuṇā* and *bodhicitta* that I shall look at here. Although we have seen in the preceding paragraphs that compassion does not always occur as a cause or condition pertaining to *bodhicitta*, both the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, which present the most detailed discussions of such causes and conditions, do restate the role of *karuṇā* in this regard and explicitly name it as a cause of *bodhicitta*.

According to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, the generation of the resolve to become a *buddha* is the natural outcome (*niṣyanda*) of compassion:[35]

> Furthermore, a *bodhisattva* who is compassionate (*kāruṇika*) towards afflicted sentient beings [and who harbours] the intention of completely rescuing [them], generates the resolve [to become a *buddha*]. Therefore, the generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] is the natural outcome of compassion (*karuṇāniṣyanda*).

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[30] *Guṇāparyantastotraṭīkā* (P, fols. 234b8–235a1; D, fol. 201a2–3; S, vol. 1, p. 590.15–17): *byang chub kyi smon lam de'i rgyu* [add. yang PN] *bzhi ste | «rigs dang dge bshes snying rje dang || sdug bsngal rnams kyis mi ldog pa || rgyu bzhi rkyen ni 'di dag gis || byang chub sems ni rab tu 'jug ||» ces gsungs pa dag ste |*.

[31] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 282a2–4; D, fol. 240b1–3; S, vol. 64, p. 677.10–16): *byang chub tu sems bskyed pa'i rgyu ni gang | rkyen ni gang |... rgyu ni rnam pa lnga ste |* [1] *tshad med pa goms pa* [= pas] *sems can gyi sdug bsngal mthong ba dang |* [2] *skyabs su song bas bdag nyid shes pa dang |* [3] *tshogs bsags pas rgyud rnam par dag pa dang |* [4] *rten mngon du gyur pas rgyud dang bar gyur pa dang |* [5] *snying rje goms pa'o || rkyen ni dge ba'i bshes gnyen dbang du gyur pa'o ||*.

[32] Cf. the *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 282b1; D, fol. 240b6; S, vol. 64, p. 678.7–8): "Taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha with the desire to obtain them..." (*sangs rgyas dang chos dang dge 'dun la de nyid thob par 'dod pas skyabs su 'gro....*).

[33] For details, see the *Akṣayamatinirderśasūtra* (T, fols. 19a3–20b6; D, fols. 90a2–91b5).

[34] *Madhyamakāvatāra* 1.1. See also SEYFORT RUEGG 2004: 7.

[35] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§1.2.3).

Guṇaprabha, too, makes it clear that *cittotpāda* is the result of compassion.[36] And again, Sāgaramegha, while accepting both insight (*prajñā*) and compassion (*karuṇā*) as the principal causes of awakening (*bodhi*), states that it is compassion which causes *bodhicitta*:[37]

> The two, [namely,] insight and compassion, are the principal causes of awakening. Of these [two], does the resolve [to strive] for awakening arise from insight or does it arise from compassion? [It is] for this reason [that the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*] says: "[being compassionate] towards tormented sentient beings" (*duḥkhiteṣu ca sattveṣu*) and so on. If [*bodhicitta*] were to arise from insight, [this] would be the principal [cause of] attaining awakening. However, [*bodhicitta*] does not arise on account of it (i.e. insight). Whence [*bodhicitta*] arises from compassion, and hence it should be known that *cittotpāda* is the natural outcome of compassion. A *bodhisattva*, having first generated the resolve to protect sentient beings resolutely and unwaveringly, afterwards seeks ways of efficiently protecting sentient beings, and seeing no [means] other than Buddhahood, generates the resolve [to strive] for the highest, perfect awakening. Hence, it is compassion that protects tormented sentient beings. Thus should the meaning of this [passage] be understood. The mother whose son has fallen into a well should be taken here as an example [of being compassionate].

The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* states that the root of all four kinds of *cittotpāda* outlined in it is compassion.[38] The *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* makes this point even more explicitly:[39]

> [Question:] What is the root of the four kinds of *cittotpāda* of the *bodhisattvas*? ... Answer: Great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*) is the root.

Sthiramati more or less states the same thing except that he provides a reason why *bodhicitta* should be rooted in compassion:[40]

> [*Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.3a has been formulated] as an answer to the question "What is the root of the four kinds of *bodhicitta*?" For it is maintained [there] that the root of the four kinds of *bodhicitta* is compassion, that is, an impulse reflecting the will (*cetanā*) to eliminate the pain [or suffering] of sentient beings out of compassion. The latter endures in virtue of taking in all sentient beings. If compassion were not at the root [of *bodhicitta*],[41] *bodhicitta* would not be

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[36] *Bodhisattvabhūmivṛtti* (P, fol. 184a4; D, fol. 146b6–7; S, vol. 75, p. 402.15): *gang gi 'bras bu yin zhe na | smras pa | snying rje'i rgyu mthun pa zhes bya'o ||*.

[37] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 23a8–b5; D, fol. 20a1–5; S, vol. 75, p. 653.8–21): ... *shes rab dang snying rje gnyis ni byang chub kyi rgyu'i gtso bo yin no || de* [da P] *dag las kyang ci byang chub kyi sems de shes rab las 'byung bar 'gyur ram | 'on te snying rje las 'byung bar 'gyur zhe na | de lta bas na «sems can sdug bsngal ba rnams la» zhes bya ba la sogs pa la | shes rab las kun tu* [du D] *'byung ba yin na ni byang chub thob pa gtso bor 'gyur zhing | de'i dbang gis byung* [= 'byung] *bar mi 'gyur ro || de'i phyir snying rje las kun tu* [du D] *byung ba yin pas | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa de ni snying rje'i rgyu mthun pa yin no zhes bya bar rig par bya'o || byang chub sems dpa' ni sngar sems can yongs su bskyab pa'i bsam pa brtan po mi g.yo ba bskyed nas | de'i rjes la yongs su bskyab pa'i thabs kyi lam tshol bar byed pa na | sangs rgyas nyid las gzhan ma mthong nas bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems skyed* [bskyed PN] *par byed do || de lta bas na sdug bsngal ba'i sems can rnams yongs su bskyab pa ni snying rje* [add. chen po N] *yin no zhes 'di'i don rig par bya'o || 'dir khron pa'i nang du bu lhung ba'i ma dper bya'o ||*.

[38] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra* 4.3a: *karuṇamūla iṣṭo 'sau....*

[39] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkārabhāṣya* (p. 14.18–20): *kiṃmūla eṣa caturvidho bodhisattvānāṃ cittotpādaḥ ... āha | karuṇāmūlaḥ |*.

[40] *(*Mahāyāna*)*sūtrālaṃkāravyākhyā* (P, vol. *mi*, fol. 58b1–3; D, vol. *mi*, fol. 53a1–3; S, vol. 71, p. 1028.5–11): *byang chub kyi sems rnam pa bzhi'i rtsa ba gang zhe na zhes dris* [dres P] *pa dang | de'i lan du byang chub kyi sems rnam pa bzhi'i rtsa ba ni snying rje yin par 'dod pa'i phyir ro zhes snying rjes sems can gyi sdug bsngal bsal bar bya'o snyam du sems pa ste | des sems can thams cad bsdus nas gnas so || gal te snying rje rtsa bar gyur pa med na ni sems can rnams kyi don du byang chub kyi sems rnams kyang* [kyi PN] *mi skyed kyi nyan thos bzhin du mya ngan las 'das par 'jug par 'gyur te | de bas na rtsa ba ni snying rje'o ||*.

[41] Or "If [*bodhicitta*] were not rooted in compassion."

generated for the sake of sentient beings, and [the *bodhisattvas*] would enter into *nirvāṇa* [in a traditional sense], like *śrāvakas*. Therefore, the root [of *bodhicitta*] is compassion.

Asvabhāva adds that great compassion 'embraces' ('khyud*) all sentient beings, and without it as a root, a *bodhisattva* would never generate the resolve to strive for the highest awakening but, like the *śrāvakas*, enter into *nirvāṇa* without considering the needs of sentient beings.[42]

The *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanā* attributed to one Aśvaghoṣa presents what appears to be practical guidance for the generation of *bodhicitta*. It states that the 'sprout' of *bodhicitta* arises from the 'seed' of compassion, and goes on to exhort that one should first of all dwell in a secluded place, where one can detach oneself from meaningless and deceptive worldly concerns.[43] Mind, it notes, is itself a place of seclusion since it is primordially unborn. Beginners, however, should first of all abide in a secluded place without, and only afterwards seek the place of seclusion within. This place of seclusion is described as the 'seed' (*bīja*) that is the very 'seat of awakening' (*bodhimaṇḍa*), perhaps meaning 'spiritual disposition' (*gotra*) or even the *tathāgatagarbha* itself.[44] (We should perhaps distinguish this 'seed' from the 'seed of compassion' also mentioned in this context.) Thus, having sought and secured the outer and inner 'seats of awakening,' one engages in the contemplative practices of the so-called 'four immeasurables' (*apramāṇa*). The well-prepared field of equanimity (*upekṣā*) is watered or moistened with the water of benevolence (*maitrī*), and a practitioner endowed with a sense of joyousness (*muditā*) plants the seed of compassion (*karuṇā*). Room for insightful view having thus been provided, the sprout of *bodhicitta* is brought forth by efficient strategies (*upāya*).[45]

Several other authors have referred to compassion as the root of *bodhicitta*. The *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* states:[46]

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[42] *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāraṭīkā* (P, fol. 60b6–7; D, fol. 53b5–6; S, vol. 71, p. 135.10–15): *snying rje chen po ni sems bskyed pa'i rtsa ba'o zhes bya ba ni | de ni 'gro ba 'khyud de 'dug pa yin no || gal te snying rje chen po rtsa ba yin par ma gyur na | byang chub sems dpa' rnams nam yang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems bskyed par mi 'gyur gyi* [gyis PN] | *sems can la mi lta bas nyan thos dag bzhin du mya ngan las 'das pa la gzhol bar 'gyur ro* ||.

[43] *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fol. 15b7–8; D, fol. 14a2; S, vol. 64, p. 39.5–7):
de yang thog mar 'di lta ste ||
don med rnam par bslu ba yin [= yi?]||
'jig rten chos la ma chags par ||
nags tshal la sogs dben par bsdad ||.

[44] *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fols. 15b8–16a1; D, fol. 14a2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 39.7–11):
sems nyid gdod nas ma skyes pa ||
rang 'byung [byung PN] *dgon pa yin mod kyi* ||
las dang po pa'i sems can gyis ||
phyi rol dgon pa thog mar bsten [bston D] ||
de [de'i PN] *'og sems nyid dgon pa btsal* ||
byang chub snying po'i sa bon la ||
brten nas don chen 'di ltar sgrub [bsgrub PN]||.

[45] *Saṃvṛtibodhicittabhāvanā* (P, fol. 16a1–2; D, fol. 14a3–4; S, vol. 64, p. 39.11–14):
de yang thog mar tshad med blo ||
btang snyoms sa gzhi legs bdal la ||
byams pa'i chu bos rnam bcus la ||
rab tu dga' ba'i rnal 'byor pas ||
snying rje'i sa bon legs par gdab ||
lta ba'i nam mkha' go phye [phya D] *la* ||
byang sems myu gu thabs kyis bskyed ||.

[46] *Bodhicittavivaraṇa* 85:
snying rjes brtan pa'i rtsa ba can ||

> The Sons of the Victorious Ones strive for awakening (*bodhi*),
> Which has the benefit of others as [its] single objective,
> And which comes forth from the sprout of *bodhicitta*,
> Which [in turn] has steadfast compassion as [its] root.[47]

Furthermore, Ācārya Śūra is quoted as having stated the following:[48]

> All good qualities depend on *bodhicitta*;
> Excellent *bodhicitta* arises from compassion.

Candrakīrti also emphasised the role of compassion,[49] as did later Indian scholars such as Kamalaśīla[50] and Atiśa. The latter states:[51]

> It is because the sentiment of compassion (*karuṇācitta*) arises out of the sentiment of benevolence (*maitrīcitta*), and *bodhicitta* arises out of the sentiment of compassion that I have stated here: "Having been preceded by the sentiment of benevolence...."[52]

Likewise, his *Samādhisaṃbhāra* states:[53]

> Strengthen the resolve [to strive] for perfect awakening (*saṃbodhicitta*),
> Once it has arisen by the power of initial compassion.

According to Ratnākaraśānti, compassion not only causes *bodhicitta* to arise but also to subsist and attain completion.[54] The importance of great compassion as the root or seed of *bodhicitta* is also echoed in Vajrayāna Buddhism. For example, in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, the *bodhisattva* Vajrapāṇi, having extolled the qualities of omniscient gnosis (*sarvajñajñāna*), asks the Buddha what its cause (*hetu*) is and what its root (*mūla*) and completion are. Thereupon the Buddha answers:[55]

> *byang sems myu gu las byung ba* ||
> *gzhan don gcig 'bras byang chub ni* ||
> *rgyal ba'i sras rnams sgom par byed* ||.

[47] Note that my translation of the verse slightly differs from the English translation provided in LINDTNER 1997: 61.

[48] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 285a7–8; D, fol. 243a7; S, vol. 64, p. 684.14–16): *slob dpon dpa' bos* | *yon tan ma lus byang chub sems la brten* || *byang chub mchog sems snying rje'i rgyu las 'byung* || *zhes 'chad do* ||. Ratnākaraśānti is apparently referring to Śūra's *Pāramitāsamāsa*. Cf. *Pāramitāsamāsa* 2.57bc:

> *saṃbodhicitte ca guṇāḥ samagrāḥ* ||
> *abhyasyate tac ca kṛpāguṇena* |.

For an English translation of the verse, see MEADOWS 1986: 191.

[49] *Catuḥśatakaṭīkā* (P, fol. 61a2–3; D, fol. 56b4–5; S, vol. 60, p. 1068.9–10): *bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub kyi sems snying rje chen po'i rgyu can* |.

[50] See SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 96.

[51] *Bodhimārgapradīpapañjikā* (P, fol. 287a1–2; D, fol. 249a2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 1669.16–18): *byams pa'i sems las snying rje'i sems 'byung la snying rje'i sems las byang chub kyi sems 'byung bas na bdag* [dag P] *gis 'dir* | *byams pa'i sems ni sngon 'gro bas* || *zhes smras so* ||. For the text and a translation, see SHERBURNE 2000: 70–71.

[52] Cf. the translation in SHERBURNE 2000: 71. Atiśa is here explaining *Bodhipathapradīpa* 10a. See EIMER 1978: 108–109; SHERBURNE 2000: 6–7.

[53] *Samādhisaṃbhāra* 1 (P, fol. 169a2–3; D, fol. 134b6; S, vol. 27, p. 542.4):

> *dang po'i* [po PN] *snying rje'i stobs las byung* ||
> *rdzogs pa'i byang chub sems brtan bya* ||.

[54] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 285a8; D, fol. 243a7–b1; S, vol. 64, p. 684.16–17): ... *snying rje brtan* [bstan PN] *pas byang chub kyi sems brtan par 'gyur te skye ba na* [dang PN] *gnas pa dang mthar thug pa'i rgyu yin pa'i phyir* |.

> This omniscient gnosis has *bodhicitta* as [its] cause, compassion as [its] root, and efficient strategy as [its] completion.

Similarly, Rong-zom-pa states:[56]

> The generation of the resolve [to strive] for omniscient gnosis in order to liberate all sentient beings from the ocean of *saṃsāra* is the main part of the commitment (*saṃvara*). Without attaining this omniscient gnosis one cannot act for the benefit of sentient beings. Hence, if one attains it, [its] cause will have been *bodhicitta*. [Its] root is great compassion. [Its] completion is [dependent on] efficient strategies. One cannot do without any of these three.

Although compassion is not directly viewed here as the root of *bodhicitta* but rather of omniscient gnosis, it can be still argued that compassion is indirectly considered to be the root of *bodhicitta*, which is the cause of omniscient gnosis. Candrakīrti employed logical reasoning and authoritative scriptures to demonstrate that *śrāvakas* and *pratyekabuddhas* arise from *tathāgatas*, *tathāgatas* from *bodhisattvas*, and *bodhisattvas* from compassion, non-dual insight, and *bodhicitta*; and that non-dual insight and *bodhicitta* are rooted in compassion.[57] Finally, it needs to be pointed out that *mahākaruṇā* is not just conceived of as the root cause of *bodhicitta*, but occasionally, as in the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*, also described as the single most important *dharma* to be practised by a *bodhisattva*.[58]

7. Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, I have attempted to present a systematic and exhaustive treatment of the causes and conditions pertaining to ethico-spiritual *bodhicitta* as found in relatively early sources, such as the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṃkāra*, and some later treatises. It may be said that even though the causes and conditions pertaining to *bodhicitta* are multiple, they can be subsumed under what one may call 'inner cause' and 'external conditions'—the 'inner cause' being the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) and the 'external conditions' being good spiritual friends or teachers (*kalyāṇamitra*). Furthermore, of all causes and conditions pertaining to *bodhicitta*, compassion stands out as the seed or the root of *bodhicitta*, and indirectly even of Buddhahood itself. This is an important point in Mahāyāna Buddhism because, doctrinally, it is compassion that makes the appearance and activities of a *buddha* possible.

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[55] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, as cited in the First *Bhāvanākrama* (p. 196.20–21): *tad etad sarvajñajñānaṃ karuṇāmūlaṃ bodhicittahetukam upāyaparyavasānam* |; cf. the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fol. 104b5; D, fol. 153a5): *rgyu ni byang chub kyi sems so* || *rtsa ba ni snying rje chen po 'o* || *mthar thug pa ni thabs so* ||. This passage is also cited in the *Pāramitāyānabhāvanā* (P, fol. 83b7–8; D, fol. 77a4–5; S, vol. 64, p. 221.10–13) and in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 154a4–b1; B, p. 250.10–15). A further citation is found in Tsong-kha-pa's *Lam rim chen mo* (fol. 185a3–b1); see the corresponding English translation in LAMRIM TRANSLATION COMMITTEE 2002: 17. See also SEYFORT RUEGG 1981: 98; TSUDA 1978: 183; WAYMAN 1991: 55; HODGE 2003: 54–55, 544, n. 11.

[56] *lTa 'grel* (A, fol. 264a2–5; B, p. 348.14–19): *sems can thams cad 'khor ba'i rgya mtsho' las bsgral ba'i phyir* | *thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi sems bskyed pa ni* | *sdom pa'i dngos gzhi yin la* | *thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes de ma thobs* [= thob] *par sems can gyi don byed kyang mi nus pas* | *de thob par bya na rgyu ni byang chub kyi sems* | *rtsa ba ni snying rje chen po 'o* || *mthard 'phyin pa ni thabs la mkhas pa ste* | *'di gsum ni mi tshang du mi rung ngo* ||.

[57] *Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya* (pp. 1.12–11.12).

[58] See the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 286.7–287.5; VAIDYA, p. 151.14–25). For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 261. See also the *Dharmasaṃgītisūtra* (T, fol. 314a1–b1; D, fol. 84a5–b3).

Chapter Ten

The Mahāyāna Observances and the Maintenance of *Bodhicitta*

In sum, apart from striving [to observe] the discipline
Of guarding [one's] mind on all fronts,
Why strive [to maintain] other disciplines!

– Rong-zom Chos-kyi-bzang-po (11th century), *mDo rgyas*[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

In this chapter I should like to present the fundamentals of the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna ethical-moral codes and offences,[2] with particular reference to how they are linked with the maintenance of *bodhicitta.* Given the heterogeneity of the materials and systems, there is no uniform scheme of primary and secondary precepts and offences. Each system, and sometimes even each treatise, seems to have its own scheme. For example, the total number of cardinal (or mortal) transgressions (*mūlāpatti*) provided by the *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (probably falsely attributed to Atiśa) is eighty,[3] namely, four common cardinal transgressions, twelve according to the Pāramitāyāna, thirteen according to the Kriyā tantric system, fourteen according to Caryā tantric system, fourteen according to the Yoga tantric system, fourteen according to the *mahāyoga* tantric system, and an additional five and four cardinal transgressions which are not specified. And as for the secondary transgressions, they are too

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[1] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 149a6–b1; B, p. 244.19–20):
mdor na rnam pa thams cad du ||
sems bsrung sdom brtson ma gtogs pa ||
sdom pa gzhan brtson ci zhig dgos ||.
This is obviously influenced by *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 5.18cd: *cittarakṣāvrataṃ muktvā bahubhiḥ kiṃ mama vrataiḥ* ||. One wonders if the Tibetan translation does not yield here a better sense than the English translation in CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 35.

[2] For Tsong-kha-pa's discourse on tantric ethical-moral discipline (*gsang sngags kyi tshul khrims*), see SPARHAM 2005.

[3] Note that the total number of *mūlāpatti*s specified in the text is seventy (see the following footnote).

numerous to be counted.[4] I shall focus here on the primary precepts and offences, particularly on those that are somehow connected with the maintenance of *bodhicitta*. I shall begin with what seems to be the most conservative Mahāyāna tradition and conclude with the Atiyoga or rDzogs-chen system. In most cases, I shall avail myself of the writings of Rong-zom-pa, particularly his *mDo rgyas*, which is, to my knowledge, the most comprehensive and sophisticated treatise that deals exclusively with both tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna observances. It is evident that the *mDo rgyas* in turn was inspired by the *Saṃvarasaṃgraha*.

Perhaps it is worthwhile first to consider some of the relevant terms. Rong-zom-pa employs and explains nine closely related terms which are said to occur in the *kriyātantras* and *yogatantras*. These are:[5] (1) vows (*saṃvara: sdom pa*),[6] (2) pledges (*samaya: dam tshig*), (3) ethical-moral discipline (*śīla: tshul khrims*), (4) austerities (*tapas: dka' thub*), (5) austere practices (*duścara: dka' spyod*), (6) ascetic precepts (*vrata: brtul zhugs*),[7] (7) monastic codes (*vinaya: 'dul ba*), (8) course of conduct (*caryā: spyod pa*),[8] and (9) mode of dealings or interactions (*gocara: spyod yul*).[9] In addition, he also frequently employs terms such as precepts (*śikṣā: bslab pa*) or code of precepts (*śikṣāpada: bslab pa'i gzhi*), transgressions (*āpatti: ltung ba*),[10] cardinal transgressions (*mūlāpatti: rtsa ba'i ltung ba*), and serious offences (*pārājika: phas pham pa*), the last of these entailing expulsion from the Order.

2. The Model of the Four Cardinal Transgressions (*mūlāpatti*)

In chapter six I presented an outline of the various *bodhisattva*-related precepts and transgressions in a purely non-tantric context. What I should like to recall here is the four *mūlāpattis* found in both *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, though not in an identical form. The scheme of four *mūlāpattis* can be found also in Vajrayāna sources such as the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*. Following Rong-zom-pa,[11] it may be assumed that the scheme of four *mūlāpattis* found in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna systems was modelled on the historically and doctrinally conservative Vinaya scheme of the four *pārājika* offences, offences entailing expulsion from the Order.[12] Although the term *pārājika* or *pārājayika* is

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[4] *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 255a3–6; D, fol. 45a3–5; S, vol. 41, p. 693.7–14): *de la rkang grangs ni thun mong gi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi dang pha rol tu phyin pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu gnyis dang kṛ ya'i rgyud kyi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu gsum dang | spyod pa'i rgyud kyi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi dang | rnal 'byor gyi rgyud kyi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi dang | rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud kyi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi dang | yang lnga dang yang bzhi dang | rtsa ba'i ltung ba bdun cu* [bcu PN] *tham pa'o || de la yan lag gi dam tshig rnams ni 'di rnams so zhes bgrang bar mi nus te | mdo sde dang mngon pa dang 'dul ba dang rgyud sde rnams su blta bar bya'o ||*.

[5] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 150a1–152a5; B, pp. 245.9–248.2). See also the *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 255a3; D, fol. 45a3; S, vol. 41, p. 693.5–7): *de la ming gi rnam grangs ni dam tshig dang sdom pa dang brtul zhugs dang spyod yul dang dka' spyad dang spyod pa dang shī la la sogs pa'o ||*.

[6] *BHSD*, s.v. *saṃvara*.

[7] Cf. *BHSD*, s.v. *vrata-pada*.

[8] *BHSD*, s.v. *caryā*.

[9] *BHSD*, s.v. *gocara*.

[10] *CPD*, *BHSD*, s.v. *āpatti*.

[11] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 159a6–b1; B, p. 256.11–13): … *'dir ni so sor thar pa las gsungs pa'i phas pham pa bzhi dang | byang chub sems pa'i* [= dpa'i] *pham pa bzhi tshul bstun nas bshad pa yin te*…. Cf. the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.28–29): … *byang sa'i don bsdus sdom pa nyi shu par gsungs pa nyan thos kyi pham pa dang 'dra ba'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi ste |*.

used occasionally also in tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna contexts,[13] the preferred term seems to be *mūlāpatti*.[14] The term *pārājika* must have been originally employed in the *bodhisattva* context only as a point of comparison. For example, according to *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 31.5, a *bodhisattva* who generated the resolve to become an *arhat* (i.e. a *śrāvaka* saint) or a *pratyekabuddha* would commit an offence far more serious than a *pārājika* offence. Also the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and its commentaries seem to refer to the four cardinal transgressions of the *bodhisattva* vow as *pārājika*-like offences and not as *pārājika*s.[15]

A question we may ask is: Why has the list of four cardinal transgressions been changed in the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna systems, whereas the scheme itself has been retained? Jinaputra, in his *Śīlaparivartaṭīkā*, asserts that the four cardinal transgressions of both the *prātimokṣa* and *bodhisattva* vows can be committed only when one or the other of the three fundamental intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*)—namely, desire (*rāga*), hatred (*dveṣa*), and disorientation (*moha*)—are present. That is to say, without these intellectual-emotional defilements, the concept of the four cardinal transgressions in both Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna systems would be rendered meaningless. It may be worthwhile here to pause over Jinaputra's comparison of the four cardinal transgressions of the Mahāyāna and non-Mahāyāna systems:[16]

> [1] Just as a *śrāvaka* renders himself unfortunate (i.e. commits a *pārājika* offence) by abusing himself and others through [the gratification of his] sexual desire, so would a *bodhisattva* commit the *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were to abuse himself and others through [his] craving for [material] gain and reputation. [2] A *śrāvaka* would commit a *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were to steal property of other [people] out of craving. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, would commit a *pārājika* [offence] if, out of greed for material wealth, [he] were not to give to desperate persons who ask for [material help], even though [he] is in possession of wealth; or if [he] were not to share [his knowledge of] the doctrine (*dharma*) [with them]. [3] A *śrāvaka* would commit a *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were to kill a human being. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, would

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[12] Edgerton notes that the four *pārājayika*s (= *pārājika*s) are described in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* "but bear no resemblance to the four *pārājika*[s] of monks, being evidently a recent invention patterned on that ancient category" (*BHSD*, s.v. *pārājayika*).

[13] See, for example, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 66.16; VAIDYA, p. 41.2): *ratnatrayasvaharaṇād āpat pārājikā matā* |; and the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (DUTT, p. 108.11–12): *evañ ca śīlasaṃvaravyavasthitasya bodhisattvasya catvāraḥ pārājayikasthānīyadharmā bhavanti* | (cf. WOGIHARA, p. 158.2–3). For the terms *pārājika* and *pārājayika*, see *BHSD*, s.vv. For the occurrence of the term *pārājika* (*phas pham pa*) in the *Vajraśikharatantra*, see the citation in n. 90. Rong-zom-pa considers the four *pārājika*s relating to the *bodhisattva* vow to be uncommon or special (*thun mong ma yin pa*). See the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 76a6–b2; B, p. 499.19–23). Cf., however, the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 159a1; B, p. 218.3), where the four *mūlāpatti*s are described as '*pārājika*-like' (*phas pham pa dang 'dra ba*).

[14] In the tantric context, Rong-zom-pa tends to use the expression 'great' as an attribute of the *mūlāpatti*s, for example, in his *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fols. 76b6–77a1; B, p. 500.7–10). This is perhaps intended to set the tantric *mūlāpatti*s apart from those used in the non-tantric context.

[15] *Śīlaparivartaṭīkā* (P, fols. 256b8–257a5; D, fol. 204a4–7; S, vol. 75, p. 558.10–20).

[16] *Śīlaparivartaṭīkā* (P, fol. 257a5–b3; D, fol. 204a7–b5; S, vol. 75, pp. 558.21–559.14): [1] *nyan thos ji ltar 'khrig pa'i 'dod chags kyis bdag dang gzhan sun phyung bas skal ba med par 'gyur ba de bzhin du byang chub sems dpa' yang rnyed pa dang bkur sti la brkam pas bdag dang gzhan sun phyung na pham par 'gyur ro* ||…[2] *nyan thos ni brkam* [bskam PN] *chags kyis gzhan gyi* [gyis PN] *nor brkus na pham par 'gyur la* | *byang chub sems dpa' ni bdag la nor yod bzhin du zang zing la ser sna byed pas slong ba po nyam thag pa la ma byin nam chos kyi bgo bsha' ma byas na pham par 'gyur ro* || [3] *nyan thos ni mi* [ma PN] *bsad pas pham par 'gyur la* | *byang chub sems dpa' ni sems can thams cad la kun nas mnar sems kyi sems bskyed nas lag pa'am bong ba la sogs pas gnod pa bskyed nas gnod pa byed byed* [om. PN] *pas gnod pa'i nyes pa shad kyis* [kyi PN] *sbyangs shing nyes pa* [om. PN] *bshags pa las kyang mi nyan na pham par 'gyur ro* || [4] *nyan thos ni med bzhin du thob pa'i chos bsgrags pas pham par 'gyur la* | *byang chub sems dpa' ni yod pa mi ston pa dang* | *dam pa'i chos la skur ba* [add. mi PN] *'debs pa dang* | *dam pa'i chos ma yin pa ston pas pham par 'gyur ro* ||.

commit a *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were to generate malicious thought (*āghāta*) against all sentient beings, inflict injury with his hands, with clods of soil, or the like, and continue the act of injury relentlessly despite courteous pleas [to consider] the negative consequences of injury and [despite] an acknowledgement of fault. [4] A *śrāvaka* would commit a *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were to proclaim the non-existent qualities of [spiritual] attainments. A *bodhisattva*, on the other hand, would commit a *pārājika* [offence] if [he] were not to teach [despite his] actual [ability to do so], disparage the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*), and teach [what is] not the Sublime Doctrine.

It is clear that desire (*rāga*) is involved in the first two cardinal transgressions, hatred (*dveṣa*) in the third, and disorientation (*moha*) in the fourth.

The motive mentioned in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*, as explained by Rong-zom-pa, was to induce (*gzud*) the *śrāvaka*s to enter into the Vajrayāna system by offering a scheme that they already knew.[17] Such a justification may sound polemical, and hence one not to be taken seriously. Nonetheless, greater reflection suggests that the reason for not retaining the old list of four *pārājika* offences (i.e. killing, stealing, lying, and engaging in sexual misconduct) in the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna ethical-moral context is that these basic offences can, under exceptional circumstances, be committed in the course of applying efficient strategies (*upāya*) and insight (*prajñā*), and thus be condoned, thereby creating room for equivocality. In other words, the unequivocalness of the four *pārājika* offences, taken for granted in the non-Mahāyāna system, no longer holds in Mahāyāna. For example, if a *bhikṣu* living according to the non-Mahāyāna system commits one of the four *pārājika* offences, he would automatically lose his *bhikṣu* status, but if a *bodhisattva* commits one of these same four deeds under the Mahāyāna system, the consequence is no longer straightforward. The possibility that a *bodhisattva* could commit one of the four deeds and yet retain his *bodhisattva* status renders the old scheme inapplicable. We thus understand why the four *mūlāpatti*s of the *bodhisattva* or the tantric yogin had to be reassigned to include only offences that can never be condoned—such as abandoning the *saddharma* and *bodhicitta* or nourishing thoughts of greediness and cruelty.

As we have already seen in chapter six, Candragomin's *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* is often cited as a scriptural authority on the four cardinal transgressions of the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition. The *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* is said to be based in turn on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*,[18] which is representative of what is perhaps the most conservative Mahāyāna tradition. The four cardinal transgressions outlined in the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* are:[19] (1) praising oneself and disparaging others out of attachment to gain or respect, (2) not administering *dharma* and wealth to the deprived and defenceless out of greediness, (3) assaulting others out of rage despite their acknowledging their faults, and (4) abandoning the Mahāyāna doctrine and propagating a pseudo-*saddharma*. When it comes to a scriptural authority on the four cardinal transgressions of a *bodhisattva* according to the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna tradition, the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* is often cited, which is said to be based in turn on the *Upāyakauśalyasūtra*.[20]

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[17] See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 159b5–160b5; B, pp. 256.23–258.3), where the pertinent passages from the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* are cited and discussed. See also the *Caryāmelāpakapradīpa* (p. 78.16–17):

upāyarahitaṃ jñānaṃ śikṣā cāpi hi deśitā |
śrāvakāṇāṃ mahāvīra avatāraya[a] *teṣu vai ||*. [a] *varia lectio*: *avadhāraya*.

For the verse cited in the *Tattvasiddhi* (ascribed to Śāntarakṣita), see MORIGUCHI 1993: 184.

[18] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.10 (WOGIHARA, pp. 158.2–160.9; DUTT, pp. 108.11–109.20); *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 358.28); SOBISCH 2002: 51, 91.

[19] See chapter six, n. 113.

[20] For example, see the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 356.8–12).

The four cardinal transgressions given in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* are:[21] (1) abandoning *bodhicitta*, (2) not giving, out of greediness and covetousness, (3) beating others in wrath or out of intolerance, and (4) giving false teachings under the influence of defilements or as a result of following others. Although the abandonment of *bodhicitta* is not mentioned in the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* as one of the four *mūlāpatti*s, Rong-zom-pa states that abstaining from the *mūlāpatti*s mentioned in it is a means of securing *bodhicitta*, whereas committing them contributes to the abandonment of *bodhicitta*. In particular, the four *mūlāpatti*s mentioned in the *Saṃvaraviṃśaka* are equated by Rong-zom-pa with those listed in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, namely, with abandoning *bodhicitta*, being greedy, being cruel, and abandoning the *saddharma*, respectively. He also links these four respectively with the acts of desire, stealing, killing, and lying, which correlate with the four *pārājika*s of the Vinaya tradition.[22]

Rong-zom-pa, without indicating his source, also discusses the four *mūlāpatti*s according to the Vajrayāna:[23] (1) blatantly disparaging one's tantric teacher (*vajrācārya*), (2) abandoning *bodhicitta* for good, (3) refuting doctrines that teach equality (i.e. of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*), and (4) scorning fellow tantric practitioners. These four *mūlāpatti*s, however, are neither identical with the four taught in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*[24] nor do they correspond with the four basic pledges (*samaya*) taught in Jñānākara's *Mantrāvatāra*.[25]

3. Pledges and the Maintenance of *Bodhicitta* in the *Kriyātantra*s

We shall first consider the pledges (*samaya*) relating to *bodhicitta* in the so-called *kriyātantra*s. One may argue about which *tantra*s belong to this category,[26] but for practical reasons I shall follow here Rong-zom-pa's system of tantric classification,[27] which considers,

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[21] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 67.15–18; VAIDYA, p. 41.20–23):
bodhicittaparityāgād yācakāyāpradānataḥ |
tīvramātsaryalobhābhyāṃ krodhād vā sattvatāḍanāt ||
prasādyamāno yatnena sattveṣu na titikṣate |
kleśāt parānuvṛttyā vā saddharmābhāsavarṇanāt ||.
For an English translation of these verses, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 71.

[22] See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 159a1–6; B, pp. 255.22–256.11).

[23] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 247b5–6; B, p. 360.1–4): *tshul de dag bsrung bar bya ba la rtsa ba'i ltung ba chen po bzhir grags pa ni* | [1] *snying nas rdo rje slob dpon gyi sku smad pa dang* | [2] *byang chub kyi sems gtan spangs pa* | [3] *mnyam pa nyid kyi chos sun phyung ba* | [4] *rdo rje mched la 'khus pa ste* | *'di dag ni mi bzad pa chen po'i las zhes grags so* ||; *Rwa ba brgyad* (A, fols. 279b5–280a1; B, p. 398.4–7): *gsang sngags rdo rje theg pa las khyad par du gsungs pa'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi ni* | *'di lta ste* | [1] *snying nas rdo rje slob dpon gyi sku la dmod pa dang* | [2] *rdo rje byang chub kyi sems gtan du gtong ba dang* | [3] *mnyam pa nyid kyi chos sun 'byin pa dang* | [4] *rdo rje mched la 'khu ba rnams te* | *'di dag ni mtshams med pa'i las kyis kyang nye bar mi 'gro ba'i ltung ba mi bzod pa yin no* ||.

[24] Cf. n. 36.

[25] *Mantrāvatāra* (P, fol. 221a6–7; D, fol. 196a2–3; S, vol. 41, p. 533.8–11):
de la gzhi yi dam tshig ni ||
rnam pa bzhir ni shes bya ste ||
yang dag lta dang ldan pa dang ||
dkon mchog gsum po mi spong dang ||
byang chub sems dang ldan pa dang ||
dbang bskur yang dag mi spong ba'o ||.
Cf. the verses cited in the *Shes bya mdzod* (pp. 372.33–373.2).

[26] For a general discussion of the classifications of Buddhist *tantra*s, see ENGLISH 2002: 2–6.

among other *tantra*s, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*,[28] *Guhyatantra*,[29] *Susiddhikaratantra*, and *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* to be *kriyātantras*.[30] He remarks, however, that some earlier teachers (*pūrvācārya*) considered the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* also to be a *caryātantra* or an *ubhayatantra*.[31]

(a) The *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*

Let us, then, first turn to how the pledges relating to and the maintenance of *bodhicitta* are conceived in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra*. According to Rong-zom-pa, the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* prescribes the following ethical-moral discipline for the lay *bodhisattva*: the *bodhisattva* should abide by the precepts pertaining to ten wholesome (*kuśala*) attitudes or actions characterised by efficient strategies (*upāya*) and discriminating insight (*prajñā*), observe the code of precepts (*śikṣāpada*) comprising five basic ethical-moral disciplines, gather sentient beings into the *dharma* by means of four gathering techniques (*saṃgrahavastu*), and make sure that the four *mūlāpatti*s are not committed, even at the cost of one's life.[32] The five *śikṣāpada*s are:[33] (1) avoiding killing, (2) avoiding stealing, (3)

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[27] For Rong-zom-pa's tantric classification, see the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 31a3–32b2; B, pp. 59.6–60.20) and the *Theg chen tshul 'jug* (A, fol. 76a1; B, p. 499.7–8). Cf. the *lTa 'grel* (A, fols. 247a3–255b1; B, pp. 329.4–338.15). See also n. 114.

[28] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 152b3–4; B, p. 249.16–19): ... *thabs dang shes rab zab mo'i tshul nye bar bstan pa | las dang bya ba la rnam par smad pa | byang chub kyi sems gtso bor gyur pa | bya ba bye brag gi rgyud du grags pa | rnam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud las |*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 227b1–2; B, p. 336.6–10): *bya ba'i rgyud du'ang ... rnam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud lta bu ni bya ba bye brag gi rgyud de zab mo'i tshul ston pa'o zhes grags so ||*. If the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* is a *kriyātantra*, one may wonder why it is described by Rong-zom-pa as one that 'disparages activities and actions' (*las dang bya ba la rnam par smad pa*). Addressing this doubt, Rong-zom-pa adds (*ibid.*, A, fol. 227b2–3; B, p. 336.9–10): "Because of this, some early teachers have considered [it] a *caryātantra* or an *ubhayatantra*" (*de nyid kyi dbang las sngon gyi slob dpon kha cig gis spyod pa'i rgyud dang gnyi ga'i rgyud du'ang bshad do ||*).

[29] The *Guhyatantra* is cited by Rong-zom-pa as a *kriyātantra* in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 154b5–6; B, p. 251.1–4): *spyir bya ba'i rgyud rnams su bsgrub cing nyams su blang bar bya ba'i rtsa ba'i dam tshig ni bcu gsum du grags te | de yang 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis rigs gsum gyi dkyil 'khor gyi bye brag tu gyur pa | dkyil 'khor sum stong lnga brgya snyed gsungs pa thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga bstan pa gsang ba'i rgyud las |*.

[30] Rong-zom-pa regarded the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* as a *kriyātantra*. See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 227b1–2; B, p. 336.6–9): *bya ba'i rgyud du'ang 'phags pa dpung bzang gis zhus pa lta bu ni spyi'i tshul | ... ston pa'o zhes grags so ||*; cf. *ibid.* (A, fol. 156b1; B, p. 252.23–24): *de yang rgyud thams cad kyi spyi'i bsgrub pa'i cho ga rgyas par bstan pa dpung bzang gis zhus pa las |*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 185a2–3; B, p. 286.18–19): *'di ltar rgyud thams cad kyi spyi'i sgrub pa'i cho ga rgyas par ston pa dpung bzang gis zhus pa las |*. According to the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (pp. 308.20–309.5), both the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* and the *Susiddhikaratantra* are counted among the six general *tantra*s (*spyi'i rgyud drug*) of the Kriyā class. For an English translation of the *Susiddhikaratantra* from the Chinese translation (Taishō, vol. 18, no. 893) by Śubhākarasiṃha (637–735), see GIEBEL 2001: 109–325.

[31] See ENGLISH 2002: 3, where the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* is said to be the root text of the *caryātantra*s. It was Buddhaguhya who most prominently took the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* to be an *ubhayatantra* (HODGE 2003: 23, 43). Perhaps for Rong-zom-pa the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* is indeed a *kriyātantra*, but by no means is it an ordinary *kriyātantra*; rather, an exclusive one (*bye brag gi rgyud*) in emphasising *bodhicitta* and the profundity (*zab mo'i tshul*) of the tantric doctrine.

[32] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fols. 208b3–209a4; D, fol. 220b2–7). The pertinent passage from this *tantra* has been paraphrased in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 153b4–6; B, p. 249.18–23) as follows: *rnam par snang mdzad mngon par byang chub pa'i rgyud las | 'di ltar gsang sngags kyi sgor zhugs pa'i byang chub sems dpa' khyim pa rnams kyis thabs dang shes rab kyis yongs su zin pa'i dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam yang dag par blangs te | bslab pa'i gzhi lnga gzung nas bsdu ba'i dngos po bzhis sems can rnams sdud cing ltung ba'i rtsa ba bzhi srog gi phyir yang yongs su mi gtang ba bar gsungs te....* See also *ibid.* (A, fols. 159b4–160b5; B, pp. 256.22–258.3).

avoiding illicit sexual conduct, (4) avoiding telling lies, and (5) avoiding false views. What is perhaps remarkable is that these *śikṣāpada*s are for the most part identical with those laid down for the lay Buddhist followers,[34] except that the last one, 'avoiding alcoholic drinks,' has been replaced by 'avoiding false views.' This is, however, not the case with all *tantra*s. As we shall see, 'avoiding alcoholic drinks' is included in the *śikṣāpada*s taught in other *kriyātantra*s, such as the *Susiddhikaratantra* and the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*, along with some *yogatantra*s, such as the *Vajraśikharatantra* and *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*.[35]

The *mūlāpatti*s, which are reminiscent of the four *mūlāpatti*s that we know from the non-tantric Mahāyāna system, are:[36] (1) abandoning the *saddharma*, (2) abandoning *bodhicitta*, (3) greediness (*mātsarya*), and (4) cruelty (*vyāpāda*). My primary interest, however, is not the *śikṣāpada*s and *mūlāpatti*s as such but rather their relationship to the maintenance or abandonment of *bodhicitta*, which is explained by Rong-zom-pa as follows:[37]

> [Question:] How is *bodhicitta* adopted-and-maintained by means of these vows (*saṃvara*)? [Answer:] The [first] four *śikṣāpada*s, namely, avoiding killing and so forth, involve the ethical-moral discipline of [observing] vows (*saṃvaraśīla*), [and thus are] the foundation of *bodhicitta*. A false view (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) is a hindrance to the arising of *bodhicitta*, since if one is present, it leaves no room for the arising of *bodhicitta*. If one has abandoned it and has a correct view (*samyagdṛṣṭi*), *bodhicitta* has room to arise. Thus given that this code of five [precepts] is the foundation for the arising of *bodhicitta*, the *śikṣāpada*s are these five specific ones.

In treating the relation of the four *mūlāpatti*s to the abandonment of *bodhicitta*, Rong-zom-pa first refers to the passage in the *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (which we have already seen), where *bodhicitta* is identified as the cause of the gnosis of the Omniscient One (or of omniscience), great compassion as its root, and efficient strategy as the cause of its completion, and then states:[38]

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[33] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fols. 208b6–209a1; D, fol. 220b4–6): *de la srog gcod pa dang | ma byin par len pa dang | 'dod pas log par g.yem pa dang | brdzun du smra ba dang | log par lta ba rab tu spangs pa yin te | byang chub sems dpa' khyim pas bslab pa'i gzhi de lnga bzung nas | bslab pa ji skad bstan pa rnams la slob cing dad pas | sngon gyi de bzhin gshegs pa rnams kyi rjes su bslab par bya'o ||*. This passage is also cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 160a5–b1; B, p. 257.13–17). See also *ibid.* (A, fol. 153b6; B, pp. 249.23–250.1): *de la bslab pa'i gzhi lnga ni | srog gcod pa spong ba dang | ma byin par len pa spong ba dang | 'dod pas log par g.yem pa spong ba dang | rdzun du smra ba spong ba dang | log par lta ba spong ba'o ||*; *Rwa ba brgyad* (A, fol. 275a3–4; B, p. 393.11–16).

[34] See NYANATILOKA 1989, s.v. *sikkhāpada*; *BHSD*, s.v. *śikṣāpada*.

[35] See the respective *śikṣāpada*s outlined in the *Susiddhikaratantra*, *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*, *Vajraśikharatantra*, and *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, and also Rong-zom-pa's remark in nn. 62 & 63.

[36] *Vairocanābhisaṃbodhitantra* (T, fol. 209a3–4; D, fol. 220b6–7): *ltung ba'i rtsa ba bzhi ni srog gi phyir* [add. yang T] *yongs su nyams par mi bya'o || bzhi gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | dam pa'i chos spong ba dang | byang chub kyi sems gtong ba dang | ser sna byed pa dang | sems can la gnod pa* [par T] *byed pa'o ||*. This is cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 160b2–3; B, p. 257.19–22). See also HODGE 2003: 512; WAYMAN 1992: 139.

[37] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 154a1–4; B, p. 250.2–9): *sdom pa 'di dag gis byang chub kyi sems ji ltar 'dzin par 'gyur zhe na | srog gcod pa spong ba la sogs pa bslab pa'i gzhi bzhi ni | sdom pa'i tshul khrims kyi bdag nyid byang chub kyi sems kyi gzhir gyur pa'o || log par lta ba ni byang chub kyi sems skye ba'i gegs su gyur pa ste | gang de yod na byang chub kyi sems skye ba'i go skabs mi 'byed do || de spangs shing yang dag pa'i lta ba dang ldan na | byang chub kyi sems skye ba'i go skabs 'byed par 'gyur bas | de bas na gzhi de lnga ni byang chub kyi sems skye ba'i gzhir gyur pa'i phyir bslab pa'i gzhi ni 'di lnga kho na yin no ||*.

[38] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 154b1–3; B, p. 250.15–20): ... *'dir byang chub kyi sems spangs pas ni thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes de'i rgyu spangs par 'gyur ro || de bzhin du ser sna byed pa dang gnod sems kyis ni de'i rtsa ba snying rje chen po spangs par 'gyur ro || dam pa'i chos spong bas ni | de'i mthar thug pa thabs la mkhas pa spangs par 'gyur te | de lta na thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes de thams cad du spangs par 'gyur ba'i phyir | 'di rnams ni ltung ba'i rtsa ba chen por gsungs pa yin no ||*.

The abandonment of *bodhicitta* (i.e. the second *mūlāpatti*) would cause the abandonment of the cause of the gnosis of omniscience (or of the Omniscient One). Similarly, greediness (*mātsarya*) and thoughts of cruelty (*vyāpāda*) (i.e. the third and fourth *mūlāpatti*s, respectively) will cause the abandonment of great compassion, which is its root (i.e. the root of the gnosis of omniscience, and the abandonment of the Sublime Doctrine (i.e. the first *mūlāpatti*) would cause the abandonment of [the means of] bringing it to completion—[namely,] the efficient strategy. In such cases, the gnosis of omniscience will be wholly abandoned, and hence these are taught as being the great *mūlāpatti*s.

(b) The *Guhyatantra*

The *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* states that there are thirteen cardinal transgressions (*mūlāpatti*) according to the *kriyātantra*s.[39] It is probably referring to the *Guhyatantra*, which proposes thirteen basic pledges (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*), as follows:[40] (1) placing firm confidence (*śraddhā*) in the Three Jewels, *bodhisattva*s, tantric knowledge (*vidyā*), and tantric formulas (*mantra*), (2) putting constant trust in the 'great seal' (*mahāmudrā*), (3) showing confidence in those who have taken pledges, in friends, and in teachers, (4) harbouring no aversion towards any deity, (5) making occasional offerings to the deities, (6) not showing reverence to

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[39] *Saṃvarasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 255a4; D, fol. 45a4; S, vol. 41, p. 693.8–9): ... *kṛ ya'i rgyud kyi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu gsum....*

[40] *Guhyatantra* (T, fols. 311b4–312a2; D, fols. 163b7–164a4):
de nas bla mas [ma T] *slob ma rnams* ||
ma yengs legs par bkod nas su ||
shes rab pha rol phyin bklags te ||
dam tshig 'di la bsgo bar bya ||
[1] *de ring phyin chad khyed rnams kyis* ||
sangs rgyas chos dang dge 'dun dang ||
byang chub sems dpa' rnams dang ni ||
rig sngags gsang sngags tshogs rnams la ||
dad pas [pa T] *rab tu brten* [brtan T] *par bya* ||
[2] *rtag par phyag rgya chen po la* ||
khyad par du ni mos par bya ||
[3] *dam tshig can dang mdza' bo dang* ||
bla ma la yang gus par bya ||
[4] *lha rnams kun la sdang mi bya* ||
[5] *dus mtshams* ['tshams T] *dag tu mchod par bya* ||
[6] *ston pa gzhan gyi gzhung mi mchod* ||
[7] *rtag tu glo* [blo T] *bur mgron* ['gron T] *mchod bya* ||
[8] *srog chags rnams la byams pa'i sems* ||
rab tu brtan pa nye bar gzhag ||
[9] *theg pa la ni dga' rnams kyis* [kyi D] ||
bsod nams dag la nan tan bskyed ||
[10] *bzlas brjod byed la 'bad pa yis* [kyi T] ||
gsang sngags spyod la brtson par bya ||
[11] *gsang sngags rgyud las bstan pa yi* ||
dam tshig rnams kyang bsrung bar bya ||
[12] *dam tshig med pa rnams la ni* ||
sngags dang phyag rgya mi sbyin no ||
[13] *gsang sngags rgyud ni legs bsrung* [srung T] *zhing* ||
de yang bdag gis rtogs par bya ||.
See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 154b6–155a6; B, p. 251.5–17), where these verses are cited. See *ibid.* (A, fol. 154b5–6; B, p. 251.1–5), where, as an introduction to the citation, Rong-zom-pa states: *spyir bya ba'i rgyud rnams su bsgrub cing nyams su blang bar bya ba'i rtsa ba'i dam tshig ni bcu gsum du grags te* | *de yang 'di ltar bcom ldan 'das kyis rigs gsum gyi dkyil 'khor gyi bye brag tu gyur pa* | *dkyil 'khor sum stong lnga brgya snyed gsungs pa thams cad kyi spyi'i cho ga bstan pa gsang ba'i rgyud las spyi'i rtsa ba'i dam tshig gsungs te* |. Cf. Buddhaguhya's *Tantrārthāvatāra* (P, fol. 12a3–7; D, fol. 10a4–b1; S, vol. 27, p. 1005.2–14).

treatises of non-Buddhist teachers, (7) showing hospitality to unexpected guests, (8) cultivating unflagging benevolence towards sentient beings, (9) making an earnest effort to generate beneficial resources (*puṇya*)—effort, that is, on the part of those who take delight in the vehicle (perhaps Mahāyāna), (10) being industrious in tantric conduct by diligently reciting *mantras*, (11) keeping all the pledges taught in the *tantras*, (12) not bestowing *mantras* and *mudrās* on those who have taken no pledges, and (13) protecting *tantras* and being oneself proficient in them. Rong-zom-pa then demonstrates how each of these thirteen basic pledges, in one way or another, concerns the maintenance of *bodhicitta*. He does not, however, strictly follow the sequence of thirteen pledges as they occur in the verses, but rather deals with related pledges together:[41]

> These thirteen basic pledges include [those relating to] the four *mūlāpattis* explained above, and [also] encompass *bodhicitta* [in one way or another]. How so? The placing of firm confidence in the Three Jewels is the cause of [generating] *bodhicitta*.[42] Constantly putting trust (*adhimukti*) in the *mahāmudrā* maintains the defining characteristics of *bodhicitta*. Placing firm confidence in deities of *vidyā* and *mantra* forms a foundation for the characteristics of *bodhicitta*. Showing respect to tantric masters [concerns the maintenance of *bodhicitta*, for they are] the providers of *bodhicitta*. Showing respect to those bound by pledges and to the friends of those bound by pledges [is justified, for they] are friends who are conducive to *bodhicitta*. Being industrious in tantric conduct by diligently reciting *mantras* can accelerate the attainment of *bodhicitta*. Not bestowing *mantras* and *mudrās* upon those not bound by pledges can prevent the destruction of *bodhicitta*. Not showing reverence to treatises of non-Buddhist teachers is to avoid what is not the cause of [generating] *bodhicitta*. Harbouring no aversion to any deity is to eliminate factors that hinder *bodhicitta*. Making an earnest effort to generate beneficial resources (*puṇya*) is an accessory factor conducive to *bodhicitta*. Cultivating unflagging benevolence towards sentient beings is to abandon thoughts of cruelty (*vyāpāda*), and making occasional offerings (*pūja*) to one's deity, tutelary deity,[43] and *guru*, and offerings and donations (*dāna*) to non-Buddhists (*bāhyaka*) and visitors who are non-partisan (*udāsīna*), will eliminate greediness (*mātsarya*). These will also remove factors opposed to *bodhicitta* and stabilise the root of great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*). Protecting tantric scriptures and being oneself proficient in them is to uphold the

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[41] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 155a6–156a5; B, pp. 251.17–252.18): *rtsa ba'i dam tshig bcu gsum po 'di dag gis kyang gong du bstan pa'i ltung ba'i rtsa ba bzhi yang bsdus pa yin la | byang chub kyi sems yongs su bzung bar yang gyur ba* [= pa] *nyid yin no || ji lta zhe na | dkon mchog gsum la dad pa brtan par bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems kyi rgyu mtshan no || rtag tu phyag rgya chen po la lhag par mos par bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems kyi mtshan nyid bzung ba yin no || rig sngags dang gsang sngags kyi lha la dad pa brtan par bya ba ni | de bzhin du byang chub kyi sems kyi mtshan gzhi'o || bla ma la gus par bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems sbyin par byed pa'o || dam tshig can dang dam tshig can gyi 'dza'* [= mdza'] *bo rnams la gus par bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems dang mthun pa'i grogs so || bzlas brjod la 'bad pas gsang sngags kyi spyod pa la brtson par bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems myur du sgrub pa'o || dam tshig med pa la rnams la sngags dang phyag rgya mi sbyin pa ni | byang chub kyi sems chud mi gsan pa'o || ston pa gzhan gyi gzhung mi mchod pa ni | byang chub kyi sems kyi rgyu mtshan ma yin pa spang ba'o || lha thams cad la sdang bar mi bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems kyi gegs bsal ba'o || bsod nams kyi tshogs la nan tan bskyed pa ni | byang chub kyi sems dang mthun pa'i yan lag go || srog chags rnams la byams pa'i sems nye bar bzhag pa ni | gnod sems spong ba dang | rang gi lha dang | lhag pa'i lha dang | bla ma la dus mtshams kyi mchod pa bya ba dang | phyi rol pa dang tha mal pa'i glo bur 'ba dag'* [bdag B] *la mchod pa dang | sbyin pa byed pas ni | ser sna byed pa spong bar 'gyur te | 'di dag kyang byang chub kyi sems kyi mi mthun pa bsal nas rtsa ba snying rje chen po brtan par byed pa'o || gsang sngags kyi rgyud rnams kyi glegs bam bsrung zhing | de yang bdag gis rtogs par bya ba ni dam pa'i chos yongs su gzung ba ste | byang chub kyi sems kyi thabs la mkhas pa yongs su 'dzin par byed pa ste | de bas na rtsa ba'i dam tshig bcu gsum po 'dis kyang dam tshig thams cad bsdus par shes par bya ste | gang dag 'dir ma gsungs pa rnams kyang | gsang sngags rgyud las bstan pa yi || dam tshig rnams kyang bsrung bar bya || zhes gsungs pa 'dir 'dus te | de bas na 'di dag ni thams cad kyi thun mong du bsrung bar bya ba yin la | gzhan las gsungs pa'i dam tshig rgyas pa rnams kyang bsrung bar gsungs pa yin no ||*.

[42] See also the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 6b1; B, p. 33.1): *dkon cog gsum gyi rang bzhin byang chub sems ||*.

[43] It is not clear what the difference between 'one's deity' (*rang gi lha*) and 'special deity' (*lhag pa'i lha*) is.

Sublime Doctrine and to uphold efficient strategy regarding *bodhicitta*. Thus one should know that all pledges are included in these thirteen basic pledges, and ones not taught here are included in them as well, as stated:

One should also keep
The pledges taught in the [other] *tantras* of the Mantra[yāna].

Therefore these [thirteen pledges] are to be observed in common by all, and the detailed pledges taught elsewhere as well. So it is said.

In sum, what Rong-zom-pa is attempting to do here is to demonstrate how the thirteen basic pledges taught in the *Guhyatantra*, a *kriyātantra* according to him, are bound up with the maintenance of *bodhicitta*. He is, however, aware that there are also other sets of basic pledges and *śikṣāpadas* taught elsewhere, but he asserts that in essence they can all be subsumed under the basic pledges presented here.[44]

(c) The *Susiddhikaratantra*

The *Susiddhikaratantra* presents the abandonment of various kinds of 'baseness' (*dauṣṭhulya*) of body, speech, and mind,[45] together with the four *mūlāpattis* in great detail. We shall here concentrate on its understanding of the *mūlāpattis* and on how they figure in in other Buddhist spiritual practices, particularly that of *bodhicitta*. The following precepts are mentioned in the *Susiddhikaratantra*:[46] (1) take refuge three times daily, (2) confess negative deeds three times

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[44] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 156a5–b1; B, p. 252.21–23): *rgyud gzhan du cho ga zhib mo bstan pa dag las | bslab pa'i gzhi mang du gsungs pa dang | dam tshig gi sdom pa mang du rgyas par bshad pa rnams kyang rtsa ba 'di dag tsam du shes par bya'o ||*.

[45] *Ibid.* (A, fols. 156b6–157a2; B, p. 253.12–17).

[46] *Susiddhikaratantra* (T, fol. 328a6–b4; D, fol. 174a7–b4):
[1] *sgrub pa po ni blo can gyis ||*
dus gsum du yang skyabs su 'gro ||
[2] *dus gsum du ni* [yang D] *sdig pa bshags ||*
[3] *dus gsum byang chub sems kyang bskyed ||*
[4] *rgyud mthong cho ga shes pa yis ||*
dus gsum du yang smon lam gdab ||
[?] *cho gar spyad pa de dang de ||*
ji ltar 'dod par ci nus bya ||
[5] *rtag tu gtong la brtson pa dang ||*
[6] *'jungs bral* ['bral T] [7] *snying rje ldan pa dang ||*
[8] *rtag tu bzod cing* [9] *byams par ldan ||*
[10] *rtag tu brtson 'grus ldan par bya ||*
[11] *rjes su dran pa drug rnams kyang ||*
bsam pa des [nges D] *pas rtag tu bsgom ||*
[12] *rnam pa sna tshogs chos mnyan nas ||*
[13] *mos pa rnam par spyad par bya ||*
[14] *gsang sngags cho ga zhib bklag cing ||*
[15] *sngags dang phyag rgya rnams kyang mchod ||*
[16] *cho ga las ni 'byung ba bzhin ||*
blo dang ldan pas dkyil 'khor bri ||
[17] *yang dag lta ba nges gyur cing ||*
byang chub sems ni brtan byas la ||
dge slong la sogs 'khor bzhi rnams ||
mkhas pas rtag tu gzung bar bya ||
[18] *dam tshig phyag rgya bcings nas su ||*
rang gi gsang sngags rgyud rnams bstan ||
[19] *mkhas pas gsang sngags lung gi rnams ||*
thams cad yang dag rgyas par bya ||.

daily, (3) generate *bodhicitta* three times daily, (4) make aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*) three times daily on the strength of having studied the *tantra*s and being knowledgeable about ritual procedures, (5) constantly make an earnest effort to practise giving (*dāna*), (6) be free from greediness (*mātsarya*),[47] (7) be constantly endowed with compassion (*karuṇā*), (8) be constantly endowed with patience or receptivity (*kṣānti*), (9) be constantly endowed with benevolence (*maitrī*), (10) be constantly endowed with diligence (*vīrya*), (11) constantly practise the six kinds of recollection (*anusmṛti*) with great suppleness (*des pa*) of mind, (12) listen to the various teachings (*dharma*), (13) analyse them with devotion (*adhimukti*), (14) recite detailed tantric ritual procedures (*vidhi*),[48] (15) make offerings of tantric formulas (*mantra*) and tantric gestures (*mudrā*), (16) draw *maṇḍala*s in accordance with the stipulated procedures,[49] (17) initiate the 'four retinues'[50] who have a correct view (*samyagdṛṣṭi*) and firm *bodhicitta*, (18) expound *tantra*s to those who abide by their pledges, and (19) propagate tantric scriptural transmissions.

The total number of precepts is not specified in the *Susiddhikaratantra* verses cited by Rong-zom-pa. The figure nineteen is according to Rong-zom-pa, who arranged the precepts into six groups with varying numbers of precepts (4 + 3 + 2 + 1 + 1 + 8).[51] A group which contains more than one precept is considered by him to contain 'limbs' or 'ancillaries' (*yan lag*). The enumeration of these precepts is, however, not certain. For example, Rong-zom-pa seems to ignore the precept between numbers 4 and 5.[52] Let us take a closer look at how Rong-zom-pa attempts to interpret these precepts as they pertain to the maintenance of *bodhicitta*:[53]

> The *mūlāpatti* that involves the abandonment of *bodhicitta* cannot possibly occur to one who maintains *bodhicitta* by means of the four limbs, namely, taking refuge three times [daily], confessing negative deeds, generating *bodhicitta*, and making aspirational wish. The *mūlāpatti* that involves [succumbing to] greediness cannot possibly occur to one who is endowed with the three limbs, namely, constantly making an earnest effort to give, being free from greediness, and being endowed with compassion. The *mūlāpatti* that involves [harbouring] thoughts of cruelty (*vyāpāda*) cannot possibly occur to one who is endowed with two limbs, namely, constant possession of patience or receptivity (*kṣānti*) and of benevolence (*maitrī*).

For an English translation of the Chinese translation, see GIEBEL 2001: 150. Cf. the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 157a3–b2; B, pp. 253.18–254.5); *ibid.* (A, fol. 178a3–b2; B, pp. 278.23–279.9). Cf. the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantrapañjikā* (P, fol. 199a6–b6; D, fol. 166a5–b4; S, vol. 23, p. 1139.4–21).

[47] The Tibetan word employed for *mātsarya* is *'jungs pa*, which is recorded in the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.) as an archaic word with the meaning of *ser sna*.

[48] In the quoted text of the *Susiddhikaratantra* (see n. 46), nos. 14 and 15 are counted as one, for good syntactic reasons, but Rong-zom-pa (see n. 54) counts them separately.

[49] For Rong-zom-pa's interpretation of this precept, see precept no. 7 in n. 54.

[50] That is, (1) *bhikṣu*s, (2) *bhikṣuṇī*s, (3) *upāsaka*s, and (4) *upāsikā*s (*Tshig mdzod chen mo*, s.v. *'khor rnam bzhi*).

[51] According to some, however, the *Susiddhikaratantra* teaches thirty pledges. See the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 373.6–14).

[52] See the precept marked with [?] in n. 46. The verse seems to mean: "Whatever ritual procedure [a practitioner engages in] should be carried out as practicability dictates and to the best of [his or her] ability."

[53] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 157b2–5; B, p. 254.5–12): *de la dus gsum du skyabs su 'gro ba dang* [deng A] | *sdig pa bshags pa dang | byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa dang | smon lam gdab pa ste | 'di ltar yan lag bzhi'i sgo nas byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pa la ni | ltung ba'i rtsa ba byang chub kyi sems spong ba 'byung ba'i gnas med do || rtag tu gtong ba la brtson pa dang | 'jungs pa dang bral ba dang | snying rjer ldan pa ste | yan lag gsum dang ldan pa la ni ltung ba'i rtsa ba ser sna 'byung ba'i gnas med do || rtag tu bzod pa dang byams par ldan pa ste yan lag gnyis dang ldan pa la ni | ltung ba'i rtsa ba gnod sems 'byung ba'i gnas med do ||*.

So much for these three *mūlāpatti*s. Concerning the *mūlāpatti* that involves the abandonment of the *saddharma*, the following explanation is given:[54]

> The *mūlāpatti* that involves the abandonment of the *saddharma* cannot possibly occur to one who upholds (or maintains) the *saddharma* by virtue of possessing the eight limbs, as follows: [1] listening to the various teachings (*dharma*), [2] analysing [them] with devotion (*adhimukti*), [3] reading detailed tantric ritual procedures (*vidhi*), [4] making offerings (*pūja*), that is, making two offerings, [one] external and [one] internal, consisting [each of] tantric formulas (*mantra*) and tantric gestures (*mudrā*), [5] bestowing empowerments (*abhiṣeka*) and pledges upon disciples in a *maṇḍala* in accordance with (lit. without contravening) the ritual procedures (*vidhi*), [6] initiating the four kinds of followers—*bhikṣu*s and so forth—who are firm in [their] *bodhicitta*,[55] [7] expounding *tantra*s of the Mantra[yāna] to those disciples, all the while abiding by the 'seal' (*mudrā*) of [one's] pledges,[56] and [8] propagating tantric scriptural transmissions.

To summarise, four of these precepts (nos. 1–4) are supposed to prevent one from committing the *mūlāpatti* of abandoning *bodhicitta*; three precepts (nos. 5–7), from committing the *mūlāpatti* of succumbing to greediness; two precepts (nos. 8–9), from committing the *mūlāpatti* of harbouring thoughts of cruelty (*vyāpāda*); and eight precepts (nos. 12–19), from committing the *mūlāpatti* of abandoning the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*). In addition, precept no. 10, the constant possession of diligence, is said to be compatible with all other precepts,[57] and precept no. 11, consisting of the practice of the six kinds of mindfulness (*anusmṛti*), to be an antidote for all four *mūlāpatti*s.[58] The *Susiddhikaratantra* passage quoted by Rong-zom-pa mentions, to be sure, six *anusmṛti*s but does not list them. The six *anusmṛti*s as recorded, for example, in the *Mahāvyutpatti*,[59] are *buddhānusmṛti*, *dharmānusmṛti*, *saṃghānusmṛti*, *śīlānusmṛti*, *tyāgānusmṛti*, and *devatānusmṛti*. Instead of *śīlānusmṛti*, Rong-zom-pa has *ānāpānānusmṛti* ('mindfulness of breathing').[60] He states:[61]

> Also, [amongst] the six kinds of *anusmṛti*s, the *anusmṛti*s pertaining to the Three Jewels (i.e. *buddhānusmṛti*, *dharmānusmṛti*, and *saṃghānusmṛti*) are what causes *bodhicitta* to arise and the efficacy of strategies (*upāyakauśalya*) to be maintained. Two, namely, *tyāgānusmṛti*

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[54] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 158a2–4; B, pp. 254.18–255.1): [1] *dam pa'i chos sna tshogs nyan pa dang* | [2] *mos pas dpyod pa dang* | [3] *cho ga zhib mo klog pa dang* | [4] *sngags dang phyag rgya phyi nang gi mchod pa gnyis kyis mchod pa dang* | [5] *cho ga ma nyams par dkyil 'khor du slob ma la dbang dang dam tshig sbyin pa dang* | [6] *byang chub kyi sems brtan pa'i dge slong la sogs 'khor rnam bzhi gzud pa dang* | [7] *dam tshig gi phyag rgya dang ldan pas* [= pa'i?] *slob ma rnams la gsang sngags kyi rgyud bshad pa dang* | [8] *gsang sngags kyi lung rnams rgyas par bya ba ste* | *de ltar yan lag brgyad dang ldan pas dam pa'i chos 'dzin par byed pa la ltung ba'i rtsa ba dam pa'i chos spang ba 'byung ba'i gnas med do* ||.

[55] Note that the pertinent verse in the *Susiddhikaratantra* has also the ascertainment of the correct view (*samyagdṛṣṭi*), which is omitted by Rong-zom-pa.

[56] Or, perhaps: "expounding *tantra*s of the Mantra[yāna] to those disciples who abide by the 'seal' (*mudrā*) of pledges."

[57] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 157b5; B, p. 254.12): *brtson 'grus ni kun gyi grogs so* ||.

[58] See n. 61.

[59] *Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 1148–1154; *BHSD*, s.v. *anusmṛti*.

[60] See *BHSD*, s.vv. *anusmṛti* and *ānāpāna*.

[61] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 157b5–158a2; B, p. 254.12–18): *rjes su dran pa drug kyang dkon mchog gsum rjes su dran pa gsum ni* | *byang chub kyi sems 'byung ba'i rgyu dang thabs la mkhas pa 'dzin pa'i rgyu'o* || *gtong ba rjes su dran pa dang* | *lha rjes su dran pa gnyis ni* | *rgyu dang 'bras bu gnyis kyi sgo nas ser sna dang gnod sems kyi gnyen po'o* || *dbugs* [dbug B] *phyi nang du rgyu ba rjes su dran pa ni rnam par ma zhi ba'i gnyen po ste* | *de dag kyang bsam pa des pas bsgom pas ni khengs pa dang dregs rgyags kyi gnyen por 'gyur te* | *de bas na rjes su dran pa drug po 'di nyid kyis kyang ltung ba'i rtsa ba bzhi'i gnyen por 'gyur ro* ||.

> ('mindfulness of giving') and *devatānusmṛti* ('mindfulness of deities'), are, in terms of cause and result, antidotes for greediness (*mātsarya*) and cruelty (*vyāpāda*), [respectively]. The *ānāpānānusmṛti* is an antidote for restlessness (or unruliness). The practice of these with a gentle attitude (*sauratya*) will be an antidote for haughtiness (*unnati*) and arrogance (*mada*). Therefore, the six *anusmṛti*s, too, can [serve as] antidotes for the four *mūlāpatti*s.

Rong-zom-pa concludes his discussion of the precepts presented in the *Susiddhikaratantra* with the following remarks:[62]

> In some treatises there is also the statement that there are five [*śikṣāpada*s], namely, the four *śikṣāpada*s pertaining to [the abandonment of] the four *mūlā*[*patti*s], and the abandonment of meat and alcohol as the fifth. Of the latter, the abandonment of meat is [associated with] the maintenance of great compassion. Cruelty (*vyāpāda*) and greediness (*mātsarya*) will recede from one who possesses it (i.e. great compassion). Therefore, all the vows (*saṃvara*) taught in Mahāyāna are supplementary elements in the maintenance of *bodhicitta*.

(d) The *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*

Finally, let us look at how the *śikṣāpada*s, the pledges, and the maintenance of *bodhicitta* are dealt with in another *kriyātantra*, namely, the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*. The *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* devises an ethical-spiritual code of nine precepts:[63] (1) avoiding greediness (*mātsarya*), (2) avoiding conceit (**darpa*),[64] (3) avoiding arrogance (**mada*), (4) avoiding causing harm (**apakāra*), (5) avoiding alcoholic consumption,[65] (6) avoiding harsh words (*pāruṣya*), (7) avoiding vain words (*pralāpa*), (8) avoiding slanderous words (*paiśunya*), and (9) avoiding false views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*). The first four *śikṣāpada*s involve not committing the four *mūlāpatti*s, which are, however, not identical with what we have seen thus far.[66] Obviously, the *śikṣāpada*s associated with the mind or with attitude are here considered to be more important. The correct view (*samyagdṛṣṭi*) is given a prominent status, the abandonment of false views (*mithyādṛṣṭi*) being considered the root of the *śikṣāpada*s. The *tantra* compares a mind overcome by false views to a burnt seed, which is incapable of giving rise to any wholesome virtue.[67]

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[62] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 158a4–6; B, p. 255.1–5): *gzhung là las ni bslab pa'i gzhi rtsa ba bzhi dang sha chang spang ba ste lngar gsungs pa yang yod na | de la sha spang ba ni snying rje chen po 'dzin pa yin la | gang de yod na gnod sems dang ser sna yang ldog par 'gyur te | de bas na theg pa chen por gsungs pa'i sdom pa thams cad kyang byang chub kyi sems gzung ba'i yan lag yin no ||*.

[63] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 156b1–2; B, pp. 252.23–253.2): *de yang rgyud thams cad kyi spyi'i bsgrub pa'i cho ga rgyas par bstan pa dpung bzang gis zhus pa las ni bslab pa'i gzhi dgu gsungs te | 'di ltar | rtsa ba bzhi | chang dad* [dang B] *byed pa dang | tshig rtsub mo dang | kyal pa dang | phra ma smra ba dang | log par lta ba spang ba dang dgu gsungs so ||*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 158a6–b1; B, p. 255.5–7): *'phags pa dpung bzang gis zhus pa las ni | gong du bstan pa bzhin du | ser sna dang dregs rgyags dang gnod sems spang pa'ang gsungs la....* See also the citation in *ibid.* (A, fol. 185a4–6; B, pp. 286.22–287.2). Cf. the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 390a6–b1; D, fol. 118b2–4).

[64] *TSD*, s.v. *rgyags pa*.

[65] Note that the xylographic edition of the text (A) reads *chang dad byed pa*, which must mean something like 'craving for alcohol' (see Jäschke, s.v. *dad pa*: secondary form of *'dod pa*), whereas the modern edition (B) reads *chang dang byed pa*, which makes no sense.

[66] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 156b5; B, p. 253.9–10): *ltung ba'i rtsa ba'ang | ser sna dang | dregs pa dang | rgyags pa dang | gnod par byed pa spang bar gsungs te |*.

[67] *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 390b1–3; D, fol. 118b4–5):
dper na sa dang chu dang dus ldan yang ||
sa bon tshig pa myu gu mi skye ltar ||
de bzhin mi shes log ltas bcom pa yi ||

The *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* also deals with the characteristic Mahāyāna ethical-moral discipline including the generation of *bodhicitta* out of faith (*śraddhā*).[68] According to it, just as a king endowed with the 'seven limbs'[69] can conquer the world without difficulty, so too can a tantric practitioner (*māntrin*) endowed with the seven limbs specified below conquer evil deeds (*pāpa*). The seven limbs pertaining to the maintenance of *bodhicitta* are, according to the *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra*, the following:[70] (1) ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*), (2) diligence (*vīrya*), (3) endurance or receptivity (*kṣānti*), (4) faith (*śraddhā*), (5) *bodhicitta*, (6) *mantra*, and (7) absence of laziness (*kauśīdya*). Rong-zom-pa briefly explains the seven as follows:[71]

> [1] The ethical-moral discipline consisting in vows (*saṃvaraśīla*) is the basis and the root of *bodhicitta*. [2] Diligence (*vīrya*) is the impetus [behind it]. [3] Endurance (*kṣānti*) is the acceptance [of *bodhicitta*]. [4] Faith (*śraddhā*) is [its] cause. [6] *Mantras* are a quick [means of] attaining [it]. [7] Learning [is characterised by] the absence of laziness (*kauśīdya*). [These six and *bodhicitta* (i.e. no. 5)] embody the nature of the seven limbs of awakening (*bodhyaṅga*). [5] The nature of *bodhicitta* itself is here [seen to be] the power (*bala*) of *praṇidhicitta*. If one possesses it, one is able to keep all vows (*saṃvara*), and there are no broken and [seemingly] irreparable *prātimokṣa* vows that cannot be restored if renewed by the power of this [*bodhicitta*].

Rong-zom-pa also states that in both Kriyā and Yoga tantric systems the application of one's body, speech, and mind to the yogic practices pertaining to deities in reliance upon *bodhicitta* constitutes the principal part of all pledges (*samaya*).[72]

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sems la [las T] *dge ba'i chos rnams mi skye 'o* ||
de phyir log par lta ba rnam spangs la ||
yang dag lta ba la ni rten [bsten T] *par gyis* ||.

See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 156b3–4, 185b1–2; B, pp. 253.5–8, 287.4–7).

[68] *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 390a5–6; D, fol. 118b2–3):
de yis bde bar gshegs la dad bskyed nas ||
de bzhin du ni byang chub sems kyang bskyed ||
ser sna dregs dang rgyags pa rnam [rnams T] *spangs te* ||
dkon mchog gsum la dad 'pas bsnyen bkur' [pa bsten par T] *bya* ||.

See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 185a4–5; B, p. 286.21–23); *ibid.* (A, fol. 156b1–6; B, pp. 252.23–253.11): ... *dpung bzang gis zhus pa las ni ... gzhan yang dad pas byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa dang | dkon mchog gsum la dad pas brten par bya ba la sogs pa yang gsungs so* ||.

[69] Cf. the term *saptagaṇa* 'consisting of 7 [units of] troops' (*MW*, s.v. *sapta*), and also the term *caurаṅga* (*Mahāvyutpatti*, nos. 3638–3641).

[70] *Subāhuparipṛcchātantra* (T, fol. 417b1–2; D, fol. 138b4–5):
sngags kyi rtsa ba dang po tshul khrims te ||
de nas brtson 'grus dang ni bzod pa dang ||
rgyal ba la ni dad [bzod T] *dang byang chub sems* ||
gsang sngags dang ni le lo med pa'o ||
ji [de T] *ltar mi dbang yan lag bdun ldan pa* ||
skyo ba med par skye dgu 'dul bar byed ||.

See the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 158a6–b3; B, p. 255.5–12), where the text corresponds with the reading in D. The verses are also cited in *ibid.* (A, fol. 197a3–4; B, p. 300.15–19).

[71] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 158b3–5; B, p. 255.12–18): *de la sdom pa'i tshul khrims ni byang chub kyi sems kyi gzhi dang rtsa ba'o || brtson 'grus ni bskul ba'o || bzod pa ni 'dzin pa'o || dad pa ni rgyu'o || gsang sngags ni myur du bsgrub pa'o || thos pa ni le lo med pa ste byang chub yan lag bdun gyi rang bzhin no || byang chub kyi sems kyi rang gi ngo bo ni | 'dir smon pa'i sems stobs te | 'di yod na sdom pa kun kyang 'dzin par nus shing | so so thar pa'i sdom pa zhig cing gsor mi rung bar gyur pa rnams kyang 'di'i stobs la brten nas blangs na mi 'thob pa med do zhes so* ||.

[72] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 201a5–6; B, p. 305.13–17): *mdor na byang chub kyi sems la brten nas rang gi lus ngag yid gsum lha'i rnal 'byor du bya ba 'di ni dam tshig thams cad kyi dngos gzhir gyur pa bya'i rgyud dang rnal 'byor*

4. Pledges and the Maintenance of *Bodhicitta* in the *Yogatantras*

We shall now examine the pledges and the maintenance of *bodhicitta* as presented in the *yogatantras* (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud*). As noted by Kong-sprul, there are too many pledges and transgressions (*āpatti*) in the *yogatantras* to be summarised along consistent lines.[73] I use the term *yogatantra* here in a narrow sense of the word to refer to only what is occasionally called 'outer *yoga*' (*rnal 'byor phyi pa*),[74] which excludes all 'inner *tantras*' (*nang rgyud*) or *mahāyogatantras* (*rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud*), which in turn should be differentiated from *tantras* belonging to the Mahāyoga class, to which we shall return later. For Rong-zom-pa, *tantras* such as the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, *Vajraśikharatantra*,[75] *Śrīparamādyatantra*,[76] and *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra*[77] are *yogatantras*.

(a) The *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*

Again we may begin by considering the various schemes of *śikṣāpadas* and pledges. The *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* mentions the following seven *śikṣāpadas*:[78] (1) not killing, (2) not stealing, (3) not telling lies, (4) not committing sexual misconduct, (5) not consuming alcohol, (6) not eating meat or the like,[79] and (7) never injuring sentient beings.[80] As for the basic

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gyi rgyud gnyis gar [= kar] *thun mong du grags par gyur pa* [ba B] *yin te* | *man ngag dang lung dang rig* [= rigs] *pas grub pa'o zhes lung nyid las gsungs pa'o* ||.

[73] *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 377.20–21): *spyir rnal 'byor rgyud las dam tshig dang ltung ba'i rnam grangs bshad pa ni shin tu mang bas mtha' gcig tu bsdu mi nus so* ||.

[74] For references, see n. 27.

[75] The *Vajraśikharatantra* (or *Vajraśekharatantra*) is designated by Rong-zom-pa as a *yogatantra* (*rnal 'byor gyi rgyud*) and as an 'outer *tantra*' (*phyi'i rgyud*). See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 152b6–153a1; B, p. 248.18–21): *tshul 'di ni bya ba'i rgyud 'ba' zhig tu ma zad* [thad B] *kyi* | *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud du yang de bzhin du gsungs te* | *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud thams cad kyi dgongs pa dang cho ga ston pa phyi'i rgyud rdo rje rtse mo las....*); *ibid.* (A, fol. 227b3; B, p. 336.10–11): *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud du'ang rdo rje rtse mo lta bu ni spyi'i tshul bstan pa* |. See also the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 309.19), where it is treated as one of the four outer *yogatantras*. Cf. the title *Vajraśekhara* in HODGE 2003: 11, 12. For an English translation of the *Vajraśikharatantra* from the Chinese translation (Taishō, vol. 18, no. 865) by Amoghavajra (705–774), see GIEBEL 2001: 1–107.

[76] The *Śrīparamādyatantra* is also considered to be a *yogatantra* in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 309.19). For some details on the Tibetan translation of this *tantra*, see DE JONG 1979: 635.

[77] Note that while the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* is, according to some, a *yogatantra*, according to others it is a *mahāyogatantra*. See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 227b3; B, p. 336.10–12): *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud du'ang ... ta twa sang gra ha lta bu ni zab mo'i tshul bstan pa'o zhes grags so* || *de nyid kyis* [= kyi] *dbang gis ta twa sang gra ha ni rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud yin no zhes kyang zer ro* ||. It is also classified as a *yogatantra* in the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 309.18).

[78] The *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 209a4–5; B, p. 314.19–22):

> *khyod kyis srog chags bsad mi bya* ||
> *ma byin par yang blang mi bya* ||
> *rdzun dang 'dod pa spyod pa rnams* ||
> *dngos grub 'dod pas bya ba min* ||
> *chang ni btung bar mi bya zhing* ||
> *sha la sogs pa bza' mi bya* ||
> *sems can gnod par sbyor ba ni* ||
> *nam* [nams B] *yang bya ba ma yin no* ||.

Cf. the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (Tib. A, p. 316.27–31).

[79] The phrase 'or the like' here is probably intended to include fish.

pledges (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*), Rong-zom-pa states that, in most cases (*phal cher*), there are seven basic pledges according to the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*. If I understand him correctly, these seven are:[81] (1) not abandoning the Three Jewels, (2) not abandoning *bodhicitta*, (3) not abandoning *hṛdaya*s, *mantra*s, and *mudrā*s, (4) not abandoning *devatā*s, (5) not abandoning one's *guru* (or *vajrācārya*), (6) not insulting one's Vajra brothers (*vajrabhrātṛ*), Vajra sisters (*vajrabhagini*), or Vajra consorts (*vajrā*),[82] and (7) not revealing tantric secrets. It is to be noted, however, that these seven are, in Rong-zom-pa's own words, not found 'in one cluster' (*tshoms gcig tu*) in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* and are, in fact, not specified as seven. The first five are found together in one passage, the fifth is mentioned again together with the sixth in another passage, and the seventh is mentioned separately in yet another passage. Theoretically, one could enumerate the non-abandonment of the Three Jewels as three, the non-abandonment of *hṛdaya*s, *mantra*s, and *mudrā*s as three, and so forth. But, as far as I can see, Rong-zom-pa counted the basic pledges as I have indicated above. That the non-abandonment of *mantra*s and *mudrā*s could be treated as one was, in any case, known to Rong-zom-pa from the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, where the non-abandonment of the two is listed as one of five basic pledges.

He also justifies why these seven pledges, although scattered in different places in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, can still be considered basic pledges. That only five (and not all seven) basic pledges are taught in one cluster can, according to him, be explained by the fact that the *yogatantra*s do not emphasise group practice in a *maṇḍala* (*tshogs kyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub pa*), there being hence no need to stress the sixth and seventh basic pledges, which are connected with fellow tantric practitioners and with the disclosure of secret tantric activities.[83]

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[80] *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (p. 216.22–23):
prāṇinaś ca na saṃghātyā adattaṃ naiva cāharet ||
mṛṣā naiva ca bhāṣeta nācaret tatparastriyam ||.
See also *ibid.* (Tib. A, p. 351.24–25) and the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 209b2–3; B, p. 315.5–6):
srog chags rnams ni bsad mi bya ||
ma byin par yang mi blang zhing ||
rdzun du smra ba bya ba min ||
pha rol bud med spyad mi bya ||.

[81] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 209b3–210a2; B, p. 315.7–19): *rtsa ba'i dam tshig ni phal cher bdun du grags te* | *'di ltar dpal ngan song sbyong ba las* | *rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor chen por dam bsgrags pa'i skabs su gsungs pa* | «[1] *dkon mchog gsum ni yongs mi spang* || [2] *dus kun du ni byang chub sems* || [3] *snying po sngags dang phyag rgya dang* || [4] *lha dang* [5] *bla ma de bzhin no* ||»[a] *zhes gsungs nas* | *de nyid kyi bka' bsgo ba'i skabs nas yang gsungs pa* | «*sangs rgyas kun dang bla mar mnyam* || *rdo rje slob dpon brnyas na ni* || *rtag tu sdug bsngal thob 'gyur bas* || *cung zad tsam yang brnyas mi bya* || [6] *rdo rje spun dang sring mo dang* || *rdo rje ma rnams nyid la ni* || *rnal 'byor can gyis brnyas mi bya* || *rtag tu 'khon* [mkhon B] *dang bcug* [bcugs A] *mi bya* ||»[b] *zhes gsungs so* || [7] *gsang ba mi bstan pa yang skabs 'dir ma gsungs kyang* | *rigs bzhi 'khor lo sgyur ba'i dkyil 'khor gyi skabs nas dam bsgrag pa'i skabs su gsungs pa* | «*gang khyod kyis su'ang rung ba la smras na phyag na rdo rje nyid kyis rdo rje rab tu 'bar bas khyod kyi mgo 'gas par 'gyur ro*»[c] *zhes gsungs te* | *de ltar na rtsa ba'i dam tshig ni bdun du gsungs so* ||. [a] *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (Skt., p. 238.5–6): … *tyājyaṃ ratnatrayaṃ na ca* || *bodhicittahṛnmudrā tu gurudevās tathaiva ca* ||; cf. *ibid.* (Tib. B, p. 239.6–9). [b] Cf. the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (Tib. A, p. 317.30–34); *ibid.* (Skt., p. 238.30–33): *sarvabuddhasamaṃ guruṃ vajrācāryanindayā* || *nityaduḥkhāvāptir iti ācāryaṃ na nindayet* || *vajrabhātṛbhaginīmātā yogī na nindayet* || *upanāhaṃ ca na kuryāt* ||; *ibid.* (Tib. B, p. 239.36–39). [c] This citation has not been located in the versions of the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* consulted by me.

[82] The term *rdo rje ma* seems to refer here to female consorts rather than to female tantric deities (cf. *TSD*, s.v. *rdo rje ma*).

[83] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 210a2–6; B, pp. 315.19–316.3): *gang dag 'di skad du 'di dag tshoms gcig tu gril nas ma gsungs pas rtsa bar 'gyur bar nges pa med do zhes bsam par mi bya ste* | *'di ltar tshe dpag med kyi dkyil 'khor du dbang bskur ba rgyas par gsungs pa* | *rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor la sogs pa gzhan du sbyar du mi rung ba med pa bzhin no* || *'di dag tshoms gcig tu ma gsungs pa'i dgongs pa 'di yin par dgongs te* [ste B] | *rnal 'byor gyi rgyud 'di dag tu tshogs kyi dkyil 'khor gyi sgrub pa gtsor ma bstan pas* | *de'i phyir rdo rje mched kyi dam tshig dang*

Thus only the first five out of the seven are regarded as principal basic pledges. These recur in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* in slightly different wording.[84] Rong-zom-pa has made it clear that the Yoga tantric system follows the scheme of fourteen *mūlāpatti*s.[85] Nevertheless, it seems that these fourteen *mūlāpatti*s are not found in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*.

(b) The *Vajraśikharatantra*

We shall now examine what the next *yogatantra*, namely, the *Vajraśikharatantra*, has to say about the *śikṣāpada*s, basic pledges, and *mūlāpatti*s. The *śikṣāpada*s taught in the *Vajraśikharatantra*,[86] according to Rong-zom-pa, involve adopting ten courses of wholesome

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gsang ba'i spyod pa mi bstan cing mi smra ba'i dam tshig la yang | yang dang yang nan tan bskyed mi dgos te gtsor nan tan bskyed pa ni rnam pa lnga yin par dgongs te | de'i phyir rtsa ba'i dkyil 'khor du'ang tshoms gcig tu lnga po gtsor bstan la |.

[84] *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 210a6–b2; B, p. 316.4–8):
dkon mchog gsum dang byang chub sems ||
bla ma dam pa rnams mi spang ||
bla ma smad pa mi bya ste ||
de yi grib ma 'gom mi bya ||
slob dpon ma yin mi gzung la ||
rdo rje slob dpon mtshan mi brjod ||
sngags dang phyag rgya mi smad de ||
lha rnams la lta smos ci dgos ||
ci ste glen pas smad na ni ||
nad kyis nges par 'chi bar 'gyur ||.
Cf. *Durgatipariśodhanatantra* (Skt., p. 216.21–27); *ibid.* (Tib. B, p. 217.24–31); *ibid.* (Tib. A, p. 351.23–29).

[85] See n. 94.

[86] *Vajraśikharatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 209a5–b1; B, pp. 314.22–315.2):
khyod kyis srog chags bsad mi bya ||
ma byin par yang blang mi bya ||
rdzun pa'i tshig nyid smra mi bya ||
nyes pa kun gyi rtsa ba yin [= yi] ||
myos byed btung ba rnam [rnams B] *par spang ||*
bya ba ma yin spang ba nyid ||
rnal 'byor pa la bsnyen bkur bya ||
lus kyi las ni rnam gsum dang ||
ngag gi yang ni rnam pa bzhi ||
yid kyi rnam pa gsum dag ni ||
rtag tu spang zhing bsrung bar bya ||.
Cf. *Vajraśikharatantra* (D, fol. 156b4–6):
khyod kyis srog chags gsad mi bya ||
ma byin pa yang blang mi bya ||
'dod pas log par g.yem mi bya ||
brdzun du yang ni smra mi bya ||
nyes pa kun gyi rtsa ba yi ||
chang dag 'thung ba spang bar bya ||
bya ba ma yin thams cad dor ||
mchog tu sems can gdul bar bya ||
dam pa rnams la rim gro dang ||
rnal 'byor pa rnams bsnyen bkur bya ||
rnal 'byor rig pa bsgrub pa'i phyir ||
mkhas pa rnams la bsten par bya ||
lus kyi las ni rnam gsum dang ||
ngag gi yang ni rnam pa bzhi ||
yid kyi rnam pa gsum dag kyang ||
ci nus par ni bsrung bar bya ||.

attitude or action (*daśakuśalakarmapathasamādāna*) in general,[87] and of avoiding the four *mūlāpattis* (such as homicide) and lesser failings (such as consumption of intoxicating drinks) in particular.[88] The details of the *śikṣāpadas* taught in the two *yogatantras*, the *Vajraśikharatantra* and the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, however, differ slightly. For example, while the consumption of alcoholic drinks is mentioned in both, the consumption of meat is mentioned only in the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*. We have seen above that Rong-zom-pa put together seven basic pledges of the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, of which five are principal ones. These five main pledges are also mentioned in the *Vajraśikharatantra*, as follows:[89] (1) adopting the Three Jewels, (2) adopting a 'chief' (*gtso bo*), (3) not abandoning *bodhicitta*, (4) not abandoning *devatās*, and (5) not abandoning *mantras* and *mudrās*. Minor differences are noticeable in the sequence and the terminology employed. It is, however, possible that the sequence varies due to the Tibetan translation. Presumably, the term 'chief' should be understood to be referring to the tantric master or *guru*.

The *Vajraśikharatantra*, unlike the *Durgatipariśodhanatantra*, proposes a scheme of fourteen *mūlāpattis*, or, when positively formulated, fourteen basic precepts.[90] Rong-zom-pa

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Cf. also the readings in T (fol. 58b1–3), which deviate from those in D. Apparently Amoghavajra's Chinese translation of the *Vajraśikharatantra* does not contain these verses.

[87] For the term *daśakuśalakarmapathasamādāna*, see *BHSD*, s.v. *karmapatha*.

[88] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 209a1–2; B, p. 314.14–16): *'dir yang bslab pa'i gzhi ni | dge ba bcu'i las kyi lam yang dag par blang ba dang | khyad par du'ang srog gcod pa la sogs pa rtsa ba bzhi yan lag dang bcas par spang bar gsungs te |*.

[89] *Vajraśikharatantra* (T, fol. 96a1–3; D, fol. 211b3–5):
sangs rgyas chos dang dge 'dun dang ||
gtso bo da [= de] *dag lhur blang bya ||*
'tsho ba'i srog gi phyir yang ni ||
byang sems nges par dor mi bya ||
lha rnams la ni smad mi bya ||
sngags dang phyag rgya nam yang min ||.
See the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 210b2–3, 222a3–4; B, pp. 316. 8–10, 329.17–19).

[90] *Vajraśikharatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 211a1–5; B, pp. 316.20–317.9):
sangs rgyas rnal 'byor sdom pa la ||
sdom pa yi ni tshul khrims dang ||
dge ba'i chos ni bsdu ba dang ||
sems can don bya tshul khrims gsum ||
de dag brtan por gzung bar bya ||
sangs rgyas chos dang dge 'dun te ||
bla na med pa'i dkon mchog gsum ||
deng nas brtsams te gzung bar bya ||
rdo rje rigs mchog chen po yi ||
rdo rje dril bu phyag rgya yang ||
blo gros chen po khyod kyis gzung ||
byang chub sems gang de rdo rje ||
shes rab dril bu zhes su brjod ||
slob dpon yang ni bzung bya ste ||
bla ma sangs rgyas kun dang mnyam ||
rin chen rigs mchog chen po yi ||
dam tshig yid du 'ong ba la ||
nyin re bzhin du lan drug tu ||
zang zing byams dang mi 'jigs chos ||
sbyin pa rnam bzhi rtag tu sbyin ||
pad ma'i rigs mchog dag pa la ||
phyi nang [= dang][a] *gsang ba'i theg pa gsum ||*
dam pa'i chos ni rab tu gzung ||

conveniently enumerates the fourteen basic precepts by sorting them out according to the so-called 'five families' (*pañcakula*):[91] (1) four limbs for the Tathāgata family, namely, holding fast to three kinds of *śīla*, which are counted as three, and holding fast to the Three Jewels, counted as one, (2) two limbs for the Vajra family, namely, holding fast to *bodhicitta* and adhering to a *vajrācārya*, (3) four limbs for the Ratna family, namely, making gifts of material things (*āmiṣa*), benevolence (*maitrī*), security or protection (*abhaya*), and doctrine (*dharma*),[92] (4) two limbs for the Padma family, namely, holding fast to the *saddharma* of three outer and three inner vehicles,[93] and (5) two limbs for the Karma family, namely, paying homage to noble beings (e.g. a *bodhisattva* of the first *bhūmi* and higher) and acting for the benefit of sentient beings.

Rong-zom-pa notes that the generation of *bodhicitta* is common to all fourteen limbs. According to him, the Kriyā tantric system mainly follows the pattern of four basic *mūlāpatti*s, whereas the Yoga tantric system follows the model of fourteen *mūlāpatti*s. He adds that the four *mūlāpatti*s found in the non-tantric and conservative Mahāyāna and in the Kriyā system of the Vajrayāna can be accommodated within the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s of the Yoga system.[94] This is done by employing the positive term 'pledge' (*samaya*) and not the

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las kyi rigs mchog chen po yi ||
sdom pa thams cad ldan par ni ||
sems can kun don bya ba dang ||
mchod pa'i las rnams ci nus bya ||
phas pham zhes bya de dag ni ||
bcu bzhi dag tu 'dod pa gzhan ||
dor ba mi bya smad mi bya ||
rtsa ba'i ltung ba zhes byar bshad ||
nyin dang mtshan [tshan B] *mo lan gsum du* ||
nyin re bzhin ni bzlas par bya ||
gal te rnal 'byor nyams gyur na ||
rtsa ba'i ltung ba gyur pa yin ||.

See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 210b6; B, p. 316.18–19): *de yang 'di ltar dpal rdo rje rtse mo'i rgyud las | lha khyad par gyi sdom pa'i dbang du byas nas rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi gsungs te* |. Cf., however, the set of pledges in the *Vajraśikharatantra* (T, fols. 58a2–59a7; D, fols. 183a7–184a7). The translation of the *Vajraśikharatantra* used by Rong-zom-pa seems to have differed considerably from the one found in the bKa'-'gyur. [a] The Sanskrit text of this rather popular verse is extant (see, for example, *TSD*, s.v. *gsang ba*) and the reading *nang* is certainly a mistake. The orthographic similarity between *dang* and *nang*, and the perfect sense *phyi nang gsang ba'i theg pa* makes to a Tibetan scholar (*phyi nang gsang gsum* being a quite common expression), can explain this rather inevitable mistake. That Rong-zom-pa himself read *dang* can be deduced from the fact that, based on this verse, he counted one outer vehicle and three secret vehicles. See the passage dealing with four vehicles in chapter five.

[91] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 211b2–5; B, p. 317.13–20): *'dir yan lag bcu bzhir bgrang ba ni byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa spyir btang ste | de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs la tshul khrims rnam pa gsum gzung ba dang | dkon mchog gsum bzung ba ste yan lag bzhi rdo rje'i rigs la byang chub kyi sems gzung ba dang rdo rje slob dpon gzung ba ste yan lag gnyis | rin po che'i rigs la sbyin pa rnam* [rnams B] *pa bzhi gzung ba ste yan lag bzhi | pad ma'i rigs la phyi'i theg pa gsum gzung ba dang | gsang ba'i theg pa gsum gzung ba ste yan lag gnyis | las kyi rigs la 'phags pa mchod pa dang sems can gyi don bya ba ste yan lag gnyis te | de ltar bcu bzhi ni phas pham pa zhes bya ste rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi zhes grags so* ||.

[92] Three kinds of *dāna* are commonly known (DAYAL 1932: 173; *TSD*, s.v. *zang zing gi sbyin pa*), namely, making gifts of material things (*āmiṣa*), security or protection (*abhaya*), and doctrine (*dharma*). The conferring of benevolence (*maitrī*) is, hence, somewhat unusual.

[93] For the three outer vehicles (*phyi'i theg pa gsum*) and three secret vehicles (*gsang ba'i theg pa gsum*), see Rong-zom-pa's explanation of the four-vehicle model in chapter five.

[94] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 210b5–6; B, p. 316.15–18): *gzhan yang bya ba'i rgyud las ni rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi gtsor gzhag la | rnal 'byor gyi rgyud du ni rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi zhes bstan te | des ni snga ma'i rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi'ang 'dus la de bas lhag pa'ang rtsa ba'i ltung bar bstan to* ||.

negative term 'transgression' (*āpatti*). That is to say, the non-abandonment of the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*) is included in the pledge pertaining to the Padma family, the non-abandonment of *bodhicitta* is included in the pledge pertaining to the Vajra family, not nourishing greediness (*mātsarya*) is included in the pledge pertaining to the Ratna family, not inflicting injury to sentient beings is included in the pledge pertaining to the Tathāgata family, and all activities associated with the precepts (*saṃvara*) are included in the pledge pertaining to the Karma family.[95]

Let us now consider the relevance of the maintenance of *bodhicitta* within the framework of these fourteen basic precepts. Rong-zom-pa states:[96]

> As for how *bodhicitta* can be maintained on the basis of these explanations of the *śikṣāpada*s, basic [precepts], and *mūlāpatti*s, this should be known as explained above in the context of the Kriyā tantric [system]. Here, too, in the context of the [fourteen] basic precepts, [it is] therefore [explained as follows:] Holding fast to the three *śīla*s is the foundation of *bodhicitta*. Likewise, holding fast to the Three Jewels is the cause of *bodhicitta*. Holding fast to *bodhicitta* is its actual essence. The *vajrācārya* is the conferrer of *bodhicitta*. The four kinds of giving (*dāna*) are the antidotes for the factors opposing it (i.e. *bodhicitta*). Upholding the *saddharma* is to hold fast to the efficient strategies [necessary for salvific activities]. Paying homage to the noble ones and acting for the benefit of sentient beings is to accomplish the activities natural to it. In this way, [refraining from committing] all these fourteen *mūlāpatti*s (i.e. keeping the fourteen basic precepts) is seen to be ancillary to the maintenance of *bodhicitta*.

(c) The *Śrīparamādyatantra*

The *Śrīparamādyatantra*, also belonging to the Yoga class, mentions seven pledges, all of which, according to Rong-zom-pa, serve to maintain *bodhicitta*.[97] Interestingly, forty-two original Sanskrit verses of the *Śrīparamādyatantra* containing the seven pledges have been a subject of several publications among specialists in Old Javanese literature, beginning from as early as 1910. These Sanskrit verses became known to the specialists when the Old Javanese was translated and commented. Several scholars—principally J. Kats, J. S. Speyer, K. Wulff, H. von Glasenapp, Unrai Wogihara, Sakai Shirō, and J. W. de Jong—have contributed in different ways to the study of these verses.[98] Rong-zom-pa cites nine and a half verses (roughly corresponding to the verses numbered 28–36 in de Jong's edition).[99] According to

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[95] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 211a6–b2; B, p. 317.9–13): *de ltar na gong gi rtsa ba'i ltung ba bzhi'ang | 'dus te | dam pa'i chos mi spang ba ni pad ma'i rigs | byang chub kyi sems mi gtang ba ni rdo rje'i rigs | ser sna mi bya ba ni rin po che'i rigs | sems can la gnod pa mi bya ba ni de bzhin gshegs pa'i rigs | sdom pa thams cad kyi las ni las kyi rigs so ||*.

[96] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 211b5–212a3; B, pp. 317.20–318.6): *de ltar bslab pa'i gzhi dang rtsa ba dang rtsa ba'i ltung ba bshad pa de dag gis kyang byang chub kyi sems yongs su 'dzin pa ji ltar 'gyur ba ni | gong du bya ba'i rgyud kyi skabs su ji ltar bstan pa bzhin du 'dir yang shes par bya'o || de bas na rtsa ba'i skabs 'dir* ['dar A] *yang | tshul khrims gsum gzung ba ni byang chub kyi sems kyi gzhi'o || de bzhin du dkon mchog gsum gzung ba ni de'i rgyu mtshan no || byang chub kyi* [kyis B] *sems gzung ba ni rang gi ngo bo'o || rdo rje slob dpon ni de sbyin par byed pa'o || sbyin pa rnam pa bzhi ni | de'i mi mthun pa'i phyogs kyi gnyen po'o || dam pa'i chos yongs su bzung ba ni de'i thabs la mkhas pa 'dzin par byed pa'o || 'phags pa mchod pa dang sems can gyi don bya ba ni | de'i 'phrin las yongs su sgrub pa ste | de ltar na rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi po 'di dag gis kyang byang chub kyi sems yongs su gzung ba'i yan lag tu gyur pa'o ||*.

[97] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 212a3–4; B, p. 318.6–8): *gzhan yang dpal mchog dang po las | lha thun mong gi sdom pa'i dbang du gsungs pa | rtsa ba'i ltung bar gyur pa | byang chub kyi sems yongs su gzung ba'i yan lag tu gyur pa | dam tshig bdun gsungs te |*.

[98] For an account of these scholars' study of the Sanskrit verses of the *Śrīparamādyatantra*, see DE JONG 1979: 619–622.

him, the *Śrīparamādyatantra* in general teaches how to abide by the directives (*ājñā*) of the *buddhas*. In particular, it has laid down seven pledges, which can be grouped into 'six kinds of things that should not be done' (*bya ba ma yin pa rnam pa drug*), and 'three which should always be done' (*rtag tu bya ba gsum*), the latter being counted as one:[100] (1) not abandoning *bodhicitta*,[101] (2) not abandoning the *mudrā* of *bodhicitta*,[102] (3) not abandoning the *saddharma*,[103] which is the efficient strategy necessary for salvific activities motivated by *bodhicitta*, (4) not revealing 'great methods' out of ignorance or confusion, so that *bodhicitta* is not destroyed in the mental continuum of others,[104] (5) not tormenting oneself (embodying as one does *bodhicitta* and a future *buddha*) with austerities (*tapas*),[105] so that *bodhicitta* is not destroyed in one's mental continuum, (6) not disparaging the *ācārya*,[106] the giver of

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[99] For the Sanskrit and Tibetan texts of the *Śrīparamādyatantra* dealing with the seven pledges, see DE JONG 1979: 627–629 (verse nos. 28–36). The verses found there, however, do not correspond exactly with those cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 212a4–b5; B, p. 318.9–24). For instance, verse 32ab in DE JONG 1979: 628 has no parallel in the *mDo rgyas*.

[100] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 212b5–213a3; B, pp. 318.24–319.8): *de yang 'di ltar bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' bzhin bsrung ba dang | rtag tu dam tshig bsrung bar gsungs pa ni spyir bstan pa ste | bye brag tu gsungs pa ni |* [1] *byang chub kyi sems mi gtang ba dang |* [2] *de'i phyag rgya mi spang ba dang |* [3] *de'i thabs la mkhas pa 'dzin pa dam pa'i chos mi spang ba dang |* [4] *de gzhan gyi rgyud la chud mi gsan pa'i mtshan nyid mi shes pa dang | rmongs pas tshul chen mi bstan pa dang |* [5] *de bdag gi rgyud la chud mi gsan pa'i mtshan nyid | byang chub kyi sems kyi rang bzhin | rang gi lha'i bdag nyid du gnas par bya ba spangs te | dka' thub kyis gdung bar mi bya ba dang |* [6] *de sbyin par byed pa rdo rje slob dpon la brnyas par mi bya ba ste | de ltar bya ba ma yin pa rnam pa drug spang ba dang |* [7] *rtag tu bya ba gsum bstan pa ste de ltar rnam pa bdun du grags so ||*.

[101] *Śrīparamādyatantra* (according to the edition in DE JONG 1979: 627–628, verse no. 29):

bodhicittaṃ tavātyājyaṃ[a] *yad vajram iti mudrayā |*
yasyotpādaikamātreṇa[b] *buddha eva na saṃśayaḥ ||*.

The Tibetan translation:

gang zhig skyed pa tsam gyis ni ||
sangs rgyas nyid du dogs med pa'i ||
byang chub sems ni gtang mi bya ||
phyag rgya rdo rje gang yin pa ||.

The Tibetan text cited by Rong-zom-pa (*mDo rgyas*, A, fol. 212a5–6; B, p. 318.10–11) varies slightly:

byang chub sems ni gtang mi bya ||
phyag rgya rdo rje gang yin pa'o ||
gang ni bskyed pa tsam gyis su ||
sangs rgyas nyid du dogs pa med ||.

[a] According to de Jong, Wulff changes *tavā°* to *tvayā°* without indicating the MS reading, but his emendation is unnecessary. [b] De Jong notes that the Tibetan does not translate *eka* and that one perhaps should read *yasyotpādanamātreṇa*.

[102] Probably by *mudrā* Rong-zom-pa means the sceptre (*vajra*) and bell (*ghaṇṭā*). See the *Śrīparamādyatantra* (DE JONG 1979: 628, verse no. 32ab): *vajraṃ ghaṇṭāñ ca mudrāñ ca na samtyajya kadācana |*. Tibetan translation:

rdo rje dril bu phyag rgyas [= rgya] *rnams ||*
nam yang yongs su spang mi bya ||.

This *pāda*, however, is missing from the group of verses cited in the *mDo rgyas*.

[103] *Śrīparamādyatantra* (DE JONG 1979: 628, verse no. 30ab): *saddharmo na pratikṣepyaḥ na tyājyaś ca kadācana |*. Tibetan translation:

dam pa'i chos ni mi smod cing ||
nam yang btang bar mi bya'o ||.

[104] Cf. *ibid.*, verse no. 30cd.

[105] See *ibid.*, verse no. 31.

[106] See *ibid.*, verse nos. 32cd–34.

bodhicitta, and (7) doing the 'three things which should always be done.' The 'three things which should always be done' are:[107] (1) always keeping the pledges, (2) always paying homage to the *tathāgata*s, and (3) always making offering to one's *guru*. It is also stated that meditating on Vajrasattva, who is characterised by *bodhicitta*, is supposed to automatically entail the observance of all pledges.[108]

(d) The *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra*

The *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra*, yet another *yogatantra*, is said to emphasise the practice of *bodhicitta* and, in addition, to propose a set of five pledges.[109] The five pledges, corresponding to the five kinds of deities (*lha rnam pa lnga*) associated with the four families (*rigs bzhi*), are: (1) the pledge pertaining to the *tathāgata*s, (2) the pledge pertaining to the Tathāgata family, (3) the pledge pertaining to the Vajra family, (4) the pledge pertaining to the Padma family, and (5) the pledge pertaining to the Ratna family.[110] The essence of the five pledges may be summarised as follows: (1) uniting with desire (*rāga*), explained as uniting with the practice of *bodhicitta*, is the pledge pertaining to the *tathāgata*s; (2) not becoming tired of desire, explained as the consolidation of *bodhicitta*, is the pledge pertaining to the Tathāgata family; (3) threatening malevolent people and those engaged in harming others and being benevolent to sentient beings constitute the pledge pertaining to the Vajra family; (4) not being attached to any activity, in virtue of knowing

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[107] *Śrīparamādyatantra* (DE JONG 1979: 629, verse no. 35):

nityaṃ svasamayaḥ sādhyo nityaṃ pūjyas tathāgataḥ[a] |
nityañ ca guruvedeyaṃ[b] *sarvabuddhasamo hy asau* ||.

Tibetan translation:

rtag tu rang gi dam tshig bsrung ||
rtag tu de bzhin gshegs pa mchod ||
rtag tu bla ma la yang dbul ['bul P] ||
'di ni sangs rgyas kun dang 'dra ||.

Cf. the verses cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 212b3–4; B, p. 318.20–22):

rtag tu bdag gis dam tshig bsrung ||
rtag tu de bzhin gshegs pa mchod ||
rtag tu bla ma la yang dbul ||
'di ni sangs rgyas kun dang 'dra ||.

[a] De Jong notes the reading in Speyer (*pūjyās tathāgatāḥ*) and adds that the Tibetan translation has no plural particle but that this is often omitted. [b] De Jong notes the reading in Speyer (*guruvaidheyyaṃ*) and adds that the Tibetan has *gurave deyaṃ*, which is undoubtedly the correct reading.

[108] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 213a3–4; B, p. 319.9–13): *gzhan yang mdor bsdus na byang chub sems kyi rang bzhin bcom ldan 'das rdo rje sems dpa' 'ba' zhig bsgoms pas kyang dam tshig thams cad 'dus par gsungs ste rgyud de nyid* (i.e. *Śrīparamādyatantra*) *las 'di ltar* | «*bcom ldan 'das dpal rdo rje sems dpa' srid pa rnam par dag pa'i thabs kyi mchog rtog pa thams cad kyi gsang ba chen po dam tshig tu bsgom par bya'o* ||» *zhes gsungs so* ||.

[109] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 213a4–6; B, p. 319.13–18): *dpal ta twa sang gra ha las ni* | *bsrung ba'i dam tshig mang du ma gsungs te* | *der yang byang chub kyi sems sgrub pa gtso bor bstan nas lha khyad par gyi dam tshig gi dbang du byas te dam tshig rnam pa lnga zhig gsungs so* || *gang gi phyir rgyud der ni lha rnam pa lnga gsungs pa'i phyir te* | *'di ltar de bzhin gshegs pa rnams dang* | *de dag gi rigs dang* | *rdo rje dang* | *pad ma dang* | *rin po che las byung ba'i rigs te* | *de ltar rnam pa lngar grags te* |; cf. the *Tantrārthāvatāra* (P, fol. 13a5–7; D, fol. 11a6–7; S, vol. 27, p. 1007.14–19).

[110] Rong-zom-pa explains why the Karma family is not mentioned separately in the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra* (*mDo rgyas*, A, fol. 213a6–b1; B, p. 319.18–20): "It is well known that in that *tantra*, in consideration of the trainees, the Karma family is not taught separately, since agent and action are not thought of as being different" (*rgyud der ni 'dul ba'i dbang gis las kyi rigs gud du ma bstan te* | *byed pa po dang las tha mi dad par dgongs pa'i phyir ro zhes grags so* ||). His expression 'it is known' evidently means 'as known in the *Tantrārthāvatāra*' (P, fol. 13b5–7; D, fols. 11b6–12a1; S, vol. 27, pp. 1008.18–1009.3).

the pure nature of all phenomena, and being attached to the activities that benefit sentient beings constitute the pledge pertaining to the Padma family; and (5) practising generosity is the pledge pertaining to the Ratna family. Rong-zom-pa explicitly refers to Buddhaguhya's *Tantrārthāvatāra* only while explaining the first of these five pledges, but it is evident that the remaining explanations are also virtually verbatim extracts from that work.[111]

5. Pledges and the Maintenance of *Bodhicitta* in the *Mahāyoga* System

Rong-zom-pa considered, either explicitly or implicitly, *tantra*s such as the *Guhyendutilakatantra*,[112] *Guhyasamājatantra*, *Buddhasamāyogatantra*, and *Vairocanamāyājāla* as belonging to the *mahāyoga* class.[113] Much confusion can be avoided if the terms '*mahāyoga*' and 'Mahāyoga' are distinguished from the very outset, particularly when dealing with both 'old' and 'new' *tantra*s. The word '*mahāyoga*' is used as a generic term to designate all that is known as the inner or higher *yoga*s (*niruttarayoga*). In the rNying-ma tradition, however, there are also the so-called 'three classes of inner *tantras*' (*nang rgyud sde gsum*), namely, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga, all of which are considered *mahāyoga*s. For Rong-zom-pa, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga are distinguished on the basis of the mental capacity of the yogins (*rnal 'byor pa rnams kyi blo rtsal*) to assume *bodhicittavajra*, which is the *bodhicitta par excellence* (*samantabhadraṃ bodhicittam*):[114]

> On account of the difference in the mental capacity of yogins to realise the equality of phenomena in order to acquire *bodhicittavajra*, [which is the *bodhicitta*] *par excellence*, the [greater] *yoga* ([*mahā*]*yoga*) is divided into three, namely, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga, and Atiyoga. These are also known as the *yoga*s of Generation (*bskyed pa*), Perfection (*rdzogs pa*), and Great Perfection (*rdzogs pa chen po*); all, it should be known, are merely particularisations of the greater *yoga* (*mahāyoga*).

In later rNying-ma sources, we can find subclassifications of the three classes into nine classes, beginning with the Mahāyoga of the Mahāyoga (*ma hā'i ma hā*), the Mahāyoga of the Anuyoga (*ma hā'i a nu*), and the like, and ending with the Atiyoga of the Atiyoga (*a ti'i a ti*).[115] When this classification was introduced for the first time is yet to be determined. In any

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[111] Cf. the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 213b4–215a2; B, pp. 320.2–321.17) and the *Tantrārthāvatāra* (P, fols. 14a2–16a3; D, fols. 12b4–14a4; S, vol. 27, pp. 1010.14–1014.2).

[112] In the introductory passage on *mahāyoga* pledges, the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 222b1–2; B, p. 330.3–5) states: *la la las ni sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya bsgom pa la sogs pa sgrub pa'i dam tshig gi phyogs nas bstan to* ||. An annotation correctly identifies 'some [*tantras*]' (*la la*) as the *Guhyendutilakatantra*. Later on the *Guhyendutilakatantra* is explicitly mentioned by name. See *ibid.* (A, fol. 236b5–6; B, p. 347.6–7): *sgrub pa'i dam tshig ni* | *dpal zla gsang thig le las* | *byang chub snying por bgrod pa'i yan lag drug gsungs te* |.

[113] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 227b4–6; B, p. 336.13–17): *de bzhin du rnal 'byor chen po'i tshul du'ang dpal rnam par snang mdzad sgyu 'phrul drwa ba dang* | *dpal sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor lta bu ni thabs dang shes rab spyi'i tshul bstan pa* | *dpal gsang ba 'dus pa lta bu ni thabs dang shes rab zab mo'i tshul bstan pa'o zhes grags so* || *de nyid kyi dbang gis sgyu 'phrul drwa ba dang sangs rgyas mnyam sbyor ni rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud ma yin no zhes kyang zer ro* ||.

[114] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 252a5–b1; B, p. 365.3–8): *kun tu bzang po rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin par byed pa la* | *chos mnyam pa nyid du rtogs pa'i rnal 'byor pa rnams kyi blo rtsal gyi khyad par las* | *rnal 'byor rnam pa gsum du phye ste* | *rnal 'byor chen po dang* | *rjes su mthun pa'i rnal 'byor dang* | *shin tu rnal 'byor ro* || *de nyid la bskyed pa dang* | *rdzogs pa dang* | *rdzogs pa chen po'i rnal 'byor zhes kyang grags te* | *de dag thams cad kyang rnal 'byor chen po nyid kyi bye brag tsam du shes par bya'o* ||.

[115] Interestingly, the three bodies (*kāya*) of the Buddha have been subclassified in a similar way, that is, into the Dharmakāya of Dharmakāya (*chos sku'i chos sku*) and so forth. Perhaps such a subclassification was inspired by

case, what should be made clear is that the tantric system we are concerned with here is the general *mahāyoga* class and not the more specific Mahāyoga.

Before Rong-zom-pa goes on to discuss the actual pledges within these *tantra*s, he makes some general introductory remarks about the different types of pledges taught in them. These introductory remarks are clearly meant to serve as a kind of outline for his presentation of the pledges according to the *mahāyoga* class, which clearly fall into the following five categories: (1) pledges pertaining to refrainment (*srung ba'i / bsrung bar bya'i dam tshig*),[116] (2) pledges pertaining to practices (*sgrub pa'i / bsgrub par bya ba'i dam tshig*),[117] (3) pledges pertaining to indulgence (*spyod pa'i / spyad par bya ba'i dam tshig*), (4) primary and ancillary pledges (*rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig*),[118] and (5) general, specific, and additional pledges (*spyi dang khyad par lhag pa'i dam tshig*).[119] The contents and the scriptural or personal authority of the five categories of pledges may be presented as follows:

1.	Pledges Pertaining to Refrainment (*srung ba'i dam tshig*)	Scriptural or Personal Authority
(i)	precepts (*śikṣāpada*)	*Buddhasamāyogatantra*, *Māyājālatantra*, etc.[120]
(ii)	cardinal transgressions (*mūlāpatti*) & gross (but venial) transgressions (*sthūlāpatti*)	*Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*, *Guhyasamājābhiṣekavidhi*, etc.[121]

the common practice of subdividing mild (*mṛdu*), middling (*madhya*), and excessive (*adhimātra*) into the mild of mild (*mṛdumṛdu*), etc.

[116] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 222a6–b1; B, p. 330.1–3): *de yang rgyud la la las ni srog mi bcad pa dang | sems can la gnod pa mi bya ba la sogs pa bslab pa'i gzhi dang | ltung ba'i rtsa ba lta bu bsrung bar bya ba'i phyogs nas bstan to* ||. That the *bsrung bar bya'i dam tshig* are understood in the sense of 'pledges pertaining to refrainment' is evident from a passage in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 228a2; B, p. 336.22–23): … *rtsa ba'i ltung ba lta bu bya ba ma yin pa las ldog pa'i mtshan nyid bsrung bar bya ba'i dam tshig gi phyogs nas bstan pa'ang* |. Such 'pledges pertaining to refrainment' can be found, for example, in the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*.

[117] See above, n. 112.

[118] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 222b3–4; B, p. 330.7–10): *la la las ni | rtsa ba dang yan lag tu phye nas sgrub cing bsrung ba'i dam tshig dang | mi spang ba dang | dang du blang ba dang | spyad par bya ba dang | shes par bya ba dang | grub par bya ba rnams kyi phyogs nas bstan to* ||. The annotation mentions here the **Guhyagarbhatantra*.

[119] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 222b4; B, p. 330.10–11): *la la las ni spyi dang khyad par dang lhag pa'i dam tshig gi sgo nas rgya che bar bstan te* |. The *locus classicus* for the expression seems to be the *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 62a8; D, fol. 63b3) belonging to the Anuyoga class. The pertinent lines are cited also in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 247b6–248a4; B, p. 360.4–11).

[120] It should be noted that the *śikṣāpada*s found in the *Māyājālatantra* have been designated as 'pledges pertaining to the adamantine body' (*sku rdo rje'i dam tshig*), 'pledges pertaining to adamantine speech' (*ngag rdo rje'i dam tshig*) and 'pledges pertaining to adamantine mind' (*sems rdo rje'i dam tshig*). See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 228b5–229a6; B, pp. 337.21–338.12).

[121] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 229a6–236b5; B, pp. 338.12–347.6).

2.	Pledges Pertaining to Practices (*sgrub pa'i dam tshig*)	Scriptural or Personal Authority
(i)	practices endowed with six limbs (*yan lag drug dang ldan pa*)	*Guhyendutilakatantra*[122]
(ii)	practices of the seals of body, speech, and mind (*sku gsung thugs kyi phyag rgya*)	*Guhyendutilakatantra* & **Mahāyānābhisamaya*[123]

3.	Pledges Pertaining to Indulgence (*spyod pa'i dam tshig*)	Scriptural or Personal Authority
	killing, stealing, etc.	*Guhyasamājatantra*, etc.[124]

4.		Primary and Ancillary Pledges (*rtsa ba dang yan lag gi dam tshig*)	Scriptural or Personal Authority
(i)	a.	5 primary pledges (*tsa ba'i dam tshig*)	**Guhyagarbhatantra* (or *Vajrasattvamāyājāla*)[125]
	b.	10 ancillary pledges (*yan lag gi dam tshig*): five pledges pertaining to non-abandonment (*mi spang ba'i dam tshig*) + 5 pledges pertaining to adoption (*dang du blang ba'i dam tshig*)	
(ii)	a.	3 primary pledges (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*): pledges pertaining to body (*sku'i dam tshig*) + pledges pertaining to speech (*gsung gi dam tshig*) + pledges pertaining to mind (*thugs kyi dam tshig*)	Ācārya Padmasambhava[126]
	b.	25 ancillary pledges (*yan lag gi dam tshig*): 5 pledges pertaining to non-abandonment (*mi spang ba'i dam tshig*) + 5 pledges pertaining to adoption (*dang du blang ba'i dam tshig*) + 5 pledges pertaining to indulgence (*spyod pa'i dam tshig*) + 5 pledges pertaining to what should be cognised (*shes par bya ba'i dam tshig*) + 5 pledges pertaining to practices (*sgrub pa'i dam tshig*)	
(iii)		pledges pertaining to refrainment (*bsrung ba'i dam tshig*) common to all; i.e., not letting the four *mūlāpattis* occur	Rong-zom-pa[127]

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[122] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 236b5–237a6; B, p. 347.6–22).

[123] Both the *Guhyendutilakatantra* and the **Mahāyānābhisamaya* are said to teach, in a similar way, the attainment of the 'seals of body, speech and mind' discussed in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 237a6–b5; B, pp. 347.22–348.8). The **Mahāyānābhisamaya* mentioned by Rong-zom-pa seems to be identical with the *Tattvasaṃgrahasūtra*, but I have not been able to locate the verses cited by him.

[124] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 237b5–238b2; B, pp. 348.9–349.6).

[125] For the fifteen pledges according to the **Guhyagarbhatantra*, see the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 238b2–240a4; B, pp. 349.6–351.3). Note that the **Guhyagarbhatantra* is often cited under the title *Vajrasattvamāyājāla*.

[126] For the twenty-eight pledges, see the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 240a4–247b5; B, pp. 351.2–360.1). Rong-zom-pa, however, does not specify any text but merely states (*ibid.*, A, fol. 240a4–5; B, p. 351.3–5): *slob dpon padma 'byung gnas kyi zhal snga nas dam tshig nyi shu rtsa brgyad kyi dbye ba mdzad pa dag dang mthun par tshoms gcig tu dril te bstan par bya'o* ||.

[127] This seems to be Rong-zom-pa's own attempt to condense the preceding twenty-five or twenty-eight pledges into four main pledges (*mDo rgyas*, A, fol. 247b5–6; B, p. 360.1–4). For details, see n. 23.

5.	General, Specific, and Additional Pledges (*spyi dang khyad par lhag pa'i dam tshig*)[128]	Scriptural or Personal Authority
(i)	general pledges (*spyi'i dam tshig*): 23 pledges pertaining to austerities (*brtul zhugs kyi dam tshig*)[129] + 28 pledges pertaining to indulgence (*spyad pa'i dam tshig*) + pledges binding at all times (*rgyun gyi dam tshig*)	
(ii)	additional pledges (*lhag pa'i dam tshig*)	**Vajravyūhatantra*[130]
(iii)	25 specific pledges (*khyad par gyi dam tshig*)[131] or 10 pledges [corresponding to] the aptitudinal niveau (*rtsal 'phang gi dam tshig*)[132]	

In particular, each tantric system, whether Yoga, Mahāyoga, Anuyoga or Atiyoga, is said to have its own ten specific pledges (*khyad par gyi dam tshig*) or pledges [corresponding to] the aptitudinal niveau (*rtsal 'phang gi dam tshig*). They may be presented as follows:[133]

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[128] The general, specific, and additional pledges (*spyi dang khyad par lhag pa'i dam tshig*) are explained in great detail in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 247b6–257b4; B, pp. 361.17–371.11).

[129] Cf. the *Theg pa'i bye brag* (A, fol. 174b4–5; B, p. 43.1–4; without the gloss): *nyams nga ba med pas brtul zhugs kyi dam tshig nyi shu rtsa gsum yang rdzogs pa yin no* ||.

[130] The *rDo rje bkod pa'i rgyud* (**Vajravyūhatantra*) referred to here by Rong-zom-pa is clearly the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* of the Anuyoga class.

[131] The total number twenty-five is according to the *Theg pa'i bye brag*, which states (A, fol. 174b4; B, pp. 42.24–43.1): *gnyis su mi 'byed pas khyad par gyi dam tshig nyi shu rtsa lnga yang rdzogs pa yin no* ||. We do not know whether Rong-zom-pa explicitly equated the so-called 'pledges [corresponding to] aptitudinal level' (*rtsal 'phang gi dam tshig*) with the 'specific pledges' (*khyad par gyi dam tshig*), given that the introductory text dealing with these pledges is missing in the *mDo rgyas* (see n. 138), but we do know from the given context that he at least virtually equated them. This means that the pledges taught in these three tantric classes bear distinctive or specific features that reflect differences in the mental calibre of the yogins (*rnal 'byor rnams kyi blo rtsal gyi khyad par*). See, for example, the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 252a3–4; B, pp. 364.24–365.1). Cf. the use of the term *rtsal 'phang* in the *dGongs pa 'dus pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 233b1–2; D, fol. 245b3):
rtsal [btsal P] *'phang mtho dman rnal 'byor pas* ||
mtho dman go 'phang sa bgrod bya ||.

[132] Cf. the *Theg pa'i bye brag* (A, fols. 174b6–175a1; B, p. 43.5–7): *lam thams cad dbang du 'dus pas rtsal 'phags kyi dam tshig bcu yang rdzogs pa yin no* ||.

[133] Pledges explicitly associated with *bodhicitta* are marked with 'x.'

	Ten Specific Pledges (*khyad par gyi dam tshig bcu*)	Kriyā	Yoga	Mahā-yoga	Anu-yoga	Ati-yoga
1.	pledges pertaining to refrainment (*bsrung ba'i dam tshig*)		x[134]		x[135]	
2.	pledges pertaining to indulgence (*spyod pa'i dam tshig*)					
3.	pledges pertaining to view (*lta ba'i dam tshig*)			x[136]	x[137]	
4.	pledges pertaining to gnosis (*ye shes kyi dam tshig*)	x[138]				
5.	pledges pertaining to accumulations (*tshogs kyi dam tshig*)					x[139]
6.	pledges pertaining to a *buddha*'s stage (*sangs rgyas sa'i dam tshig*)	x[140]	x[141]	x[142]		
7.	pledges pertaining to activities (*phrin las kyi dam tshig*)					
8.	obscuration of pledges (*dam tshig gi sgrib pa*)					
9.	pledges pertaining to a *vidyādhara*'s stage (*rig 'dzin sa'i dam tshig*)					
10.	the point at which a pledge is broken (*dam tshig gi chad pa'i gnas*)					

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[134] The maintenance of *bodhicitta* in connection with the pledges pertaining to refrainment in the context of the Yoga system is mentioned in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 250b6; B, p. 363.14).

[135] The connection between the pledges pertaining to refrainment and *bodhicitta* in the context of Anuyoga is made in the *mDo rgyas* as follows (A, fol. 254b4; B, p. 368.1–2): *gnyis su med pa'i rig pa byang chub kyi sems nyid bsrung ba'i dam tshig tu 'dod do ||*.

[136] The term *kun tu bzang po byang chub kyi sems* is mentioned in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 253a2; B, p. 366.2–3) in connection with the pledges pertaining to the view in the Mahāyoga system.

[137] The connection between the pledges pertaining to view and *bodhicitta* in the context of Anuyoga is made in the *mDo rgyas* as follows (A, fol. 255a1; B, p. 368.7–8): *snod bcud 'du byed dang bcas pa yab yum gnyis su med pa'i byang chub kyi sems su blta'o ||*.

[138] Regrettably, the passage dealing with the first five pledges of the Kriyā class, i.e., from *bsrung ba'i dam tshig* to *ye shes kyi dam tshig* (probably one folio), is missing in the *mDo rgyas*. The last few lines of the passage dealing with *ye shes kyi dam tshig* have, however, survived. See *ibid.* (A, fol. 250a3–5; B, p. 362.19–21). Several folios seem to be missing also at the end of the *mDo rgyas* (just before the concluding verses), for an anonymous annotation states (*ibid.*, B, p. 387.23): "[I] am convinced that much is missing from here onwards. [The missing text] should be inserted if a better copy arrives" (*'di nas mang po zhig chad song nges bsam dpe khungs dag lon na 'dzud dgos |*). This annotation is not found in the xylograph edition (cf. A, fol. 271b5–6).

[139] The connection between *bodhicitta* and the pledges pertaining to accumulations in the context of Atiyoga is made in the *mDo rgyas* as follows (A, fol. 257a1; B, p. 370.15–16): *byang chub kyi sems yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che yin pas |* [add. | B] *tshogs rang bzhin gyis rdzogs so ||*.

[140] The connection with *bodhicitta* and the pledges pertaining to the stage of a *buddha* are made by Rong-zom-pa in his *mDo rgyas* as follows (A, fol. 250b1; B, p. 363.2–3): *'dir byang chub kyi sems rnam par dag pa sangs rgyas kyi sar lta ste | grub pa'i sang rgyas kyi sa ni ma yin no || 'og ma rnams la yang de bzhin du sbyar ro ||*.

[141] The connection between *bodhicitta* and the pledges pertaining to the stage of a *buddha* in the context of the Yoga system is made by Rong-zom-pa in his *mDo rgyas* as follows (A, fol. 251b3–4; B, p. 364.9–11): *rang bzhin rnam par dag pa dang | kun tu bzang po byang chub sems kyi byin gyi brlabs* [brlab B] *kyis | g.yo ba dang mi g.yo ba'i dngos po thams cad la khyab ste | chos thams cad rang bzhin gyi dkyil 'khor ro zhes grags so ||*.

[142] The connection between *bodhicitta* and the pledges pertaining to the stage of a *buddha* in the context of the Mahāyoga is found in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 253b1–6; B, pp. 366.13–367.2).

Rong-zom-pa is well aware of the dangerous implications of the 'pledges of indulgence.' He states that the common yogins (*rnal 'byor pa spyi*) should observe all pledges appropriately (*'tsham par*) by imbuing them with efficient strategies. If I understand him correctly, he argues that if a person who engages in ordinary conduct (*tha mal pa'i spyod pa*) and who has not obtained the strength of great *prajñā*, *samādhi*, and *karuṇā* is not blemished as a result of reckless attitudes and actions such as passion (*rāga*) and killing, this would imply that even wicked (*ma rabs*) sentient beings have already been released from *saṃsāra*, and hence there would be no need for the *buddha*s to show the path of salvation. But this is obviously not the case. On the other hand, he argues, if such daring practices or conduct (*spyod pa rlabs po che*) encompassed by the pledges pertaining to indulgence were meant only for those who possess the strength of great *prajñā*, *samādhi*, and *karuṇā*, or if they were to be interpreted as being of provisional meaning (*neyārtha*), it makes no sense for the *tantra*s to address the risks of false tantric practices (*gsang sngags log par spyod pa*) and their consequences, and the risks of the so-called 'nine doors of transgression' (*ltung ba'i sgo dgu*). According to him, even a person who has not obtained the strength of great *prajñā*, *samādhi*, and *karuṇā* can in principle engage in daring tantric practices out of mere faith (*mos pa tsam*), by relying on the great instructions of the Three Jewels, and without being tarnished with karmic obscurations (*las kyi sgrib pa*). Thus, for Rong-zom-pa, daring tantric practices are meant to be neither practised recklessly by anybody nor indiscriminately prohibited.[143] This point, in my view, is representative of the rNying-ma stance on the issue of tantric practices of the so-called 'union' (*sbyor ba*) and 'liberation' (*sgrol ba*) in general. Rong-zom-pa also goes into the extremely problematic question of pledges involving such things as killing and stealing, as dealt with, for example, in the *Guhyasamājatantra*.[144] Why is it that tantric practices such as killing are proclaimed as pledges in the *Guhyasamājatantra* and other *tantra*s in the first place? Rong-zom-pa's detailed answer to this question contains some of the most stimulating reflections upon what we might call 'tantric ethical philosophy,' which he places within a wider Buddhist context.[145]

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[143] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 222b5–223a5; B, pp. 330.12–331.4): *spyir rnal 'byor pa* [ba B] *rnams kyis bsrung zhing nyams su blang bar bya ba na | gcig la gcig 'du dgos par snang ste | gang gi phyir bsrung ba'i dam tshig la gnas pa rnams kyis kyang sgrub pa'i dam tshig kyang bsrung dgos la | spyod pa'ang bkag pa ma yin no || spyod pa brlabs po che bstan pa rnams kyang bsrung ba'i dam tshig dang ldan pa bya dgos te gang gi phyir shes rab dang ting nge 'dzin dang snying rje chen po'i stobs ma rnyed bzhin du 'dod chags la sogs pa'i dbang gi* [= gis] *tha mal pa'i spyod par gnas bzhin du | srog bcad pa la sogs pa yang nyes par mi 'gyur ba zhig na | de lta na ni 'gro ba ma rab* [= rabs] *rnams la thar pa'i lam rang chas su yod pas sngon nyid du grol zin te | rgyal ba rnams kyis thar pa'i lam bsten* [= bstan] *mi dgos par 'gyur ba zhig na | de lta yang ma yin la | gal te gsang sngags kyi tshul zab mo'i sgor zhugs te | dkon mchog gi bka' che ba la brten nas mos pa tsam gyis spyod pa brlab po che spyad na | shes rab dang ting nge 'dzin dang snying rje chen po'i stobs dang mi ldan yang las kyi sgrib pas gos par mi 'gyur ba zhig na ni | rgyud rnams las sngon gsang sngags log par spyad pa las ltung ba chen po byung ste | mthar yang ru tra* [= dra] *chen por gyur pa dang | gzhan yang rnal 'byor chen po'i rgyud las | spyad nyes pa'i mtshan nyid ltung ba'i sgo dgu gsungs pa lta bu'ang mi 'byung ba zhig na | de lta yang ma yin pas de bas na rnal 'byor pa spyi rnams kyis thabs kyis zin par bya ste thams cad 'tsham par bsrung dgos so ||*.

[144] Note, however, that while the *Guhyasamājatantra* itself mentions the pledges of killing, stealing, and the like, the *Guhyasamājatantra* ritual texts of empowerment, such as the one composed by Ācārya Nas-gling-pa, do not mention such daring practices or conduct (*spyod pa rlabs po che*), only fourteen *mūlāpatti*s and eight gross (but venial) transgressions (*sthūlāpatti*). The explanatory *tantra* (*bshad pa'i rgyud*) of the *Guhyasamājatantra* considers pledges relating to killing and stealing as words (denoting) intention (*dgongs pa'i tshig*), that is, as containing a provisional sense (*neyārtha*), which is not to be taken literally. In Rong-zom-pa's opinion, such pledges are not mentioned in the explanatory *tantra* and in the empowerment rites of the *Guhyasamājatantra* out of consideration for general yogins and ordinary individuals. Similarly, he refers to a certain *gSang ba'i dmigs pa bstan pa*, which teaches that profound views (*lta ba zab mo*) and daring conduct are to be kept secret, and hence are not meant for common practice. See the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 223a5–b5; B, p. 331.4–17).

[145] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 223b5–228a1; B, pp. 331.17–336.21).

(a) The *Buddhasamāyogatantra*

We shall now discuss the actual pledges of the *mahāyoga* tantric system. The *śikṣāpada*s and *mūlāpatti*s found in the *Buddhasamāyogatantra* are presented in the form of ethical-moral don'ts. The four don'ts mentioned there are:[146] (1) do not kill, (2) do not abandon the Three Jewels, (3) do not abandon *bodhicitta*, and (4) do not abandon the [tantric] teacher (*ācārya*) of one's fortune. Of the four, Rong-zom-pa considers the first to be a *śikṣāpada*, and the remaining three to be the major root pledges (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*).[147] In his commentary to the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*, these four are explained in the following manner:[148]

> These four vows consisting in pledges are the gist of the general and specific basic vows of the Secret Vehicle. Furthermore, those who abide in the Secret Vehicle should observe the *prātimokṣa* vows and the *bodhisattva* vows in general, and their own [tantric] vows should be observed specifically. And in the context of the *prātimokṣa* vows, the *mūlāpatti*s are the four *pārājika*s. Amongst them, killing is an extremely severe [offence]. Therefore, it is the quintessence of the *śikṣāpada*s common to [all Buddhist] vehicles. This being the case, it (i.e. abandonment of killing) is taught [here in the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*]. Two [precepts, namely], non-abandonment of the Three Jewels and non-desertion of *bodhicitta*, are the quintessence of what has been taught as the *mūlāpatti*s common to all Mahāyāna systems. For this reason, they are taught [here in the *Buddhasamāyogatantra*]. Among what has been taught as the *mūlāpatti*s of specific pledges of the Mantra[yāna or tantric systems], the non-abandonment of the [tantric] teacher (*ācārya*) of one's fortune is the quintessence. Therefore, [the four precepts] are taught as the quintessence of the roots of the general and the specific pledges.

To recapitulate, Rong-zom-pa sees the abandonment of killing as the quintessence of Buddhist ethical-spiritual morality, the non-abandonment of the Three Jewels and of *bodhicitta* as the quintessence of Mahāyāna ethical-spiritual morality, and the non-abandonment of one's tantric master as the quintessence of tantric ethical-spiritual morality.

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[146] *Buddhasamāyogatantra*-1 (T, fol. 258a6–7; D, fol. 164b3):

> *srog chags gsad par mi bya zhing* ||
> *dkon mchog gsum ni yong* [= yongs] *mi spang* ||
> *byang chub sems ni mi gtang ste* ||
> *slob dpon skal bzang yong* [= yongs] *mi gtang* ||.

See the citation in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 228a2–3; B, pp. 336.24–337.1). See also the *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 87a5–6; B, p. 555.9–10) and the *Buddhasamāyogaṭīkā* (P, fol. 385a1–7; D, fols. 340b6–341a3; S, vol. 13, pp. 1726.9–1727.3).

[147] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 228a3–4; B, p. 337.1–3): *de yang 'di ltar srog mi gcod pa ni bslab pa'i gzhi | lhag ma gsum ni rtsa ba'i dam tshig gi gtsor* [= gtso] *bo mdor bsdus pa ste* |.

[148] *mNyam sbyor 'grel pa* (A, fol. 87a6–b5; B, p. 555.10–21): *dam tshig gi sdom pa 'di bzhi ni gsang ba'i theg* [thig A] *pa spyi dang khyad par gyi rtsa ba'i sdom pa mdor bsdus pa ste | de yang gsang ba'i theg pa la gnas pa rnams kyis so sor thar pa'i sdom pa dang byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa spyir byas nas rang gi sdom pa khyad par du bsrung bar bya ba yin pa las so sor thar pa'i sdom pa'i skabs rtsa ba'i ltung ba phas pham pa bzhi yin pa las | de las shin tu lci ba ni srog gcod pa yin te | de bas na 'di theg pa thun mong gi bslabs pa'i gzhi rnams kyi snying po yin pas de bstan to || dkon mchog gsum mi spang ba dang byang chub kyi sems mi btang ba gnyis ni theg pa chen po thams cad kyi thun mong du rtsa ba'i ltung bar gsungs pa thams cad kyi snying po yin pas de bstan to || slob dpon skal bzang mi btang ba ni gsang sngags kyi khyad par gyi dam tshig tu rtsa ba'i ltung ba gsungs pa rnams kyi nang na'ang snying po yin te | de bas na spyi dang khyad par gyi dam tshig rnams kyi rtsa ba rnams kyi snying por gsungs pa'o* ||.

(b) The *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra* and *Guhyasamājābhiṣekavidhi*

There seem to be several sources for the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s (or, if expressed positively, fourteen basic precepts), among which are the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantra*,[149] the *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi*,[150] the *Guhyasamājābhiṣekavidhi* by Ācārya Nas-gling-pa (*Yavadvīpa?),[151] the *Vajrayānamūlāpatti* and *Vajrayānamūlāpattisaṃgraha* (both ascribed to one Aśvaghoṣa),[152] and the *Kriyāsaṃgraha*.[153] The fourteen *mūlāpatti*s are: (1) disparaging one's tantric master (*ācārya*), (2) violating the directives (*ājñā*) of the Well-gone Ones (*sugata*), (3) venting anger on 'Vajra brothers' (*vajrabhrātṛ*), (4) abandoning great benevolence (*mahāmaitrī*), (5) abandoning *bodhicitta*, (6) disparaging the Dharma (of the three vehicles), (7) disclosing secret teachings to immature individuals, (8) disparaging the five *skandha*s, which are of the nature of a *tathāgata*, (9) having doubt about the purity of phenomena, (10) being affectionate to the hostile or wicked (*duṣṭa*), (11) holding phenomena to fall under the two extremes, (12) offending the faithful, (13) not consuming pledge-related substances when one obtains them, and (14) disparaging women, who are the embodiment of discriminating insight (*prajñā*). Rong-zom-pa compares these fourteen *mūlāpatti*s with the fourteen occurring in the *Kālacakratantra*. He notes that the *Kālacakratantra* has as the second *mūlāpatti* 'ignoring the instructions of the *guru*' instead of 'ignoring the instructions of the *sugata*.' Moreover, the sixth *mūlāpatti* in the *Kālacakratantra* is 'not disparaging extraordinary individuals' instead of 'not disparaging the three vehicles.' Rong-zom-pa also remarks that he observed slight differences in the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s as found in various other sources, but does not regard these differences as contradictions, for these *mūlāpatti*s are,

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[149] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 230a4–6; B, p. 339.11–17). See also the *Kṛṣṇayamāritantrapañjikā* (P, fols. 192b5–196a8; D, fols. 160b2–163b4; S, vol. 23, pp. 1125.10–1132.18).

[150] *Guhyasamājamaṇḍalavidhi* (P, fol. 34a4–b1; D, fols. 30b5–31a2; S, vol. 18, p. 80.1–14).

[151] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 223a6–b2; B, p. 331.7–11): *rgyud de nyid kyi dbang bskur ba'i cho ga slob dpon nas gling pa la sogs pa'i zhal snga nas mdzad pa dag las | … rtsa ba'i ltung ba bcu bzhi dang sbom* [spom B] *po'i ltung ba brgyad lta bu la brten nas rdo rje slob dpon du dbang bskur ba rdo rje 'chang chen po'i go 'phang gi mtshan nyid sbyin pa gsungs te |*. See also *ibid.* (A, fol. 229a6–b6; B, pp. 338.12–339.3).

[152] *Vajrayānamūlāpatti* (P, fol. 221b8–222b3; S, vol. 27, pp. 694.1–695.14); *Vajrayānamūlāpattisaṃgraha* (P, fols. 219b7–220b3; D, fol. 179a6–b5; S, vol. 27, pp. 682.1–683.16). The Sanskrit text of the latter (with the title *Mūlāpattisaṃgraha*) with a few lacunae can be found in LÉVI 1929: 266. See also LESSING & WAYMAN 1968: 328–329, n. 14; DAVIDSON 2002: 322–325.

[153] *Kriyāsaṃgraha* (Alexis Sanderson's unpublished edition, as cited by Harunaga Isaacson in his "Meditation and Ritual in Late Indian Buddhism: Texts of the Hevajra-cycle, Handout 4.1 (5 May 2006). Notes on the *Hevajrasekaprakriyā*" (p. 1)):

mūlāpattiḥ prathamoktā sadguror apamānataḥ |
dvitīyā kathitāpattiḥ sugatājñāvilaṅghanāt ||
tṛtīyā vajrabhrātṝṇāṃ kopād doṣaprakāśane |
maitrītyāgāc ca sattveṣu caturthī gaditā jinaiḥ ||
bodhicittaṃ dharmamūlaṃ tasya tyāgāc ca pañcamī |
ṣaṣṭhī sve parakīye vā siddhānte dharmanindanāt ||
aparipācitasattveṣu guhyākhyānāc ca saptamī |
pañcabuddhātmakāḥ skandhās teṣām avajñayāṣṭamī ||
svabhāvaśuddhadharmeṣu navamī vicikitsayā |
duṣṭamaitrī sadā tyājyā daśamī tatkṛtau matā ||
ādyantarahite dharme ekādaśī tatkalpanāt |
dvādaśī śrāddhasattveṣu proktā cittapradūṣaṇam ||
samayānāṃ yathālābham asevanāt trayodaśī |
strīṇāṃ prajñāsvabhāvānāṃ jugupsayā caturdaśī ||
iti mūlāpattiḥ ||.

according to him, not taught as 'specific' or 'additional' pledges, but rather as 'general' pledges.[154]

Rong-zom-pa explains that these fourteen *mūlāpatti*s are also applicable to the Kriyā and Yoga systems and, to a great extent, even to the general Mahāyāna. Thus the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s are discussed in the *mDo rgyas* on two occasions: once when they are treated as 'those that may be common [to other systems]' (*thun mong du 'gyur du rung ba*), and once, in the *mahāyoga* context, as uncommon (*thun mong ma yin pa*), that is, not applicable to other systems. In discussing the fourteen common *mūlāpatti*s, Rong-zom-pa alludes to the various types of *bodhicitta*, and explains some of them with the aid of citations from the *sūtra*s and *tantra*s. What is of particular interest, though, is his treatment of the fourteen uncommon *mūlāpatti*s, for it is in this connection that the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra* is discussed in detail.[155]

Let us first of all look at how Rong-zom-pa describes the link between the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra* and the first of the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, namely, disparaging one's tantric master (*ācārya*):[156]

> In this context of presenting [the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s] in the form of special vows, all of them should be treated as ancillary to the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra*.[157] As for not disparaging one's *vajrācārya*, this [should be viewed] the way it is taught in [scriptures] such as the *Śrīguhyasamāja*[*tantra*] and the *Māyājāla*[*tantra*].[158] The way it is taught [first in the

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[154] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 230b1–4; B, pp. 339.17–340.1): *dpal dus kyi 'khor lo las ni «dpal ldan ri bong 'dzin pa yi || bla ma'i thugs ni 'khrug pa dang || de yi bka' 'da' de las gzhan ||» zhes gsungs te | gnyis pa bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' las 'da' bar ma bshad de | bla ma'i thugs dkrugs pa ni dang po | bla ma'i bka' las 'das pa ni gnyis par bshad do || gzhan yang | «drug pa grub pa dag la smod || [| B]»*[a] *ces pas gang zag khyad par can la mi smad par gsungs te | dam pa'i chos la smad par ma gsungs so || de bzhin du ngo bo cung zad mi 'dra ba bshad pa dag snang ste | 'on kyang spyir bsrung ba'i dam tshig tu gsungs kyi khyad par gyi dam tshig dang lhag pa'i dam tshig lta bur gsungs pa ni ma yin pas | gang la yang nyes skyon ma mthong ngo ||*. [a] The Sanskrit text and the canonical version of the Tibetan translation read: *ṣaṣṭhī siddhāntanindā / drug pa grub pa'i mtha' la smod pa.* Rong-zom-pa's understanding of the sixth *mūlāpatti* of the *Kālacakratantra* was obviously based on a different reading, probably something like **ṣaṣṭhī siddhanindā*. For the explanations of the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s according to the system of the *Kālacakratantra*, see the *Vimalaprabhā* ad 2.102–103 (vol. 2, pp. 97.1–98.10).

[155] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 230b4–233b1; B, pp. 340.1–343.9).

[156] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 233b1–234a3; B, pp. 343.9–344.2): *'on kyang thun mong ma yin pa'i sdom par bstan pa'i skabs 'dir ni thams cad kyang rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pa'i yan lag tu sbyar te | 'di ltar rdo rje slob dpon brnyas par mi bya ba yang | ji ltar dpal gsang ba 'dus pa dang sgyu 'phrul drwa ba lta bu las | «sku gsung thugs rdo rje gsang bas bsdus pas mngon par dbang bskur ba'i slob dpon la de bzhin gshegs pa thams cad dang byang chub sems dpa' thams cad kyis rdo rje byang chub kyi sems bzhin du blta bar bya'o || de ci'i phyir zhe na | slob dpon de ni byang chub kyi sems dang mi gnyis shing rnam pa gnyis su dbyer med do» zhes gsungs pa dang | yang de nyid las | «phyogs bcu'i sangs rgyas thams cad kyi rdo rje bsod nams kyi phung po bas kyang slob dpon gyi ba spu'i bu ga 'phags so || ci'i phyir zhe na | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni | sangs rgyas kyi ye shes kyi snying por gyur pa'o || skye ba'i gnas su gyur pa nas thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi 'byung gnas yin pa'i bar du'o ||» zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems sbyin par byed cing byin gyis rlob par byed pa de ni | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems nyid du blta ba yin la | de la ni mngon par rdzogs par sangs rgyas pa rnams kyi* [= kyis] *dus gsum du byon nas mchod pa byed par gsungs na brnyas par bya ba'i gnas lta ga la yin te | de la brnyas par gyur na rdo rje byang chub kyi sems nyid gtan spangs par 'gyur ro || de bas na 'di ni rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pa'i mtshan nyid du thun mong ma yin par bshad pa ste 'og ma kun la yang de bzhin du sbyar ro ||*.

[157] Note that Rong-zom-pa fluctuates between positive and negative formulations, i.e., between the *mūlāpatti*s and their respective vows—for example, between 'disparaging one's *vajrācārya*,' which is a cardinal transgression (*mūlāpatti*), and not disparaging one's *vajrācārya*, which is the corresponding basic vow (*rtsa ba'i sdom pa*) or basic pledge (*rtsa ba'i dam tshig*).

> *Guhyasamājatantra*]: "The *ācārya* who has been empowered for or initiated into the [*maṇḍala*] of the [deity] Guhyasamāja, comprising the adamantine body, speech and mind, should be regarded by all *tathāgata*s and all *bodhisattva*s in the same way [they perceive] *bodhicittavajra*. Why is this so? [It is because] the *ācārya* and *bodhicitta* are not dual and not separable into two."[159] And as stated [in the *Māyājālatantra*]: "A pore of the *ācārya*'s body hair surpasses the adamantine mass of beneficial resources of all *buddha*s of the ten directions. Why is this so? O son of a noble family, [it is because] *bodhicitta* is the quintessence of a *buddha*'s gnosis, [its] place of origin, and so forth, up to being the source of a *buddha*'s gnosis of omniscience."[160] One who bestows and empowers *bodhicittavajra* should thus be considered *bodhicittavajra* itself. And if [the *vajrācārya*] is said to be visited and honoured by the perfectly awakened ones in the three times, how can [he] be an object of disparagement (or ridicule)! And indeed, disparaging him would cause one to lose one's *bodhicittavajra* once and for all. Therefore, this [first *mūlāpatti*] is explained in the form of a special [vow] whose characteristic feature is the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra*. This should similarly be applied to all [the rest of the *mūlāpatti*s that] follow.

The argument given in the passage cited by Rong-zom-pa as to why one should not disparage one's *vajrācārya* is not exactly identical with his own argument. The citations virtually represent the *vajrācārya* as the embodiment of *bodhicittavajra*; to disparage him would be to disparage *bodhicittavajra*, and so amount to abandoning it. Rong-zom-pa simply asserts that the *vajrācārya* is the bestower of *bodhicittavajra*, though the consequences of disparaging him are, to be sure, the same.

In regard to the second of the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, namely, violating the directives (*ājñā*) of the *sugata*s, and its relation to the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra*, Rong-zom-pa states:[161]

> The second [of the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, namely,] violating the directives (*ājñā*) [of the *sugata*s]: The directives may be those of the *sugata*s or those explained by [one's] *guru*. If the directives of a great teacher—a *vajradhāra*, [who is] the lord of pledges—are violated, *bodhicittavajra* would be undermined since it would have been empowered [in the form of directives].

Similarly, while commenting on the third *mūlāpatti*, namely, nourishing ill will against Vajra brothers, he states that one would undermine *bodhicittavajra* as a result of this bias and malevolence shown to them:[162]

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[158] The passages of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and the *Māyājālatantra* quoted by Rong-zom-pa deviate from those transmitted in the bKa'-'gyur. Compare the citations in n. 156 with those in nn. 159 & 160. Perhaps Rong-zom-pa used the not yet revised translations of the *Guhyasamājatantra* and *Māyājālatantra*.

[159] Cf. the *Guhyasamājatantra* (p. 104.15–19): *atha khalu maitreya bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ sarvatathāgatān praṇipatyaivam āha | sarvatathāgatakāyavākcittavajraguhyasamājābhiṣikto bhagavān vajrācāryaḥ sarvatathāgataiḥ sarvabodhisattvaiś ca katham draṣṭavyaḥ | sarvatathāgatāḥ prāhuḥ | bodhicitto vajra iva kulaputra sarvatathāgataiḥ sarvabodhisattvaiś ca draṣṭavyaḥ | tat kasmād dhetoḥ | bodhicittaś cācāryaś cādvyam etad advaidhīkāram |*.

[160] Cf. the *Māyājālatantra* (T, fol. 70a3–5; D, fol. 133a5–6): ... *phyogs bcu na bzhugs pa'i bar de dag gis sangs rgyas bcom ldan 'das rnams kyi rdo rje'i sku dang gsung dang thugs kyi bsod nams kyi phung po bas ni rdo rje slob dpon de'i spu'i khung bu gcig gi bsod nams kyi phung po ches khyad par du 'phags so || de ci'i phyir zhe na | rigs kyi bu byang chub kyi sems ni sangs rgyas thams cad kyi ye shes kyi snying por gyur pa'i bar nas thams cad mkhyen pa'i ye shes kyi 'byung gnas yin no ||*.

[161] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 234a3–4; B, p. 344.2–5): *gnyis pa bka' las mi 'da' ba ni bde bar gshegs pa'i bka' yang rung | bla ma'i bkar bshad kyang rung ste | ston pa rdo rje 'chang chen po dam tshig gi bdag po de'i bka' ni 'das par gyur na rdo rje byang chub kyi sems nyid bshig par gyur pa ste | gang gi phyir de nyid du byin gyis brlabs pa yin pa de'i phyir ro ||*.

[162] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 234a4–6; B, p. 344.5–10): *gsum pa rdo rje spun la ngan sems mi bya ba ni | gang gi phyir rnam pa gsum gyis mi phyed pas rdo rje spun te | yul chos nyid du mthun pa dang | sdom pa rdo rje byang chub kyi sems su gcig pa dang | smon lam mthun pas lha dang slob dpon dang lta spyod gcig par bsdus pa ste | 'di la gang zhig ris su phye nas ngan sems byed pa ni | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems nyid bshig pa yin no ||*.

> The third [basic pledge pertaining to the third *mūlāpatti*, namely,] not nourishing ill will against Vajra brothers: [Persons 'x' and 'y'] are Vajra brothers because [they] cannot be differentiated, [and this] in a three-fold sense: [They] are bound by one and the same object, namely, reality (*dharmatā*); by one and the same vow (*saṃvara*), namely, the [maintenance of] *bodhicittavajra*; and because [they have] the same aspirational wish (*praṇidhāna*)—and thus [are bound by] one and the same deity, *ācārya*, view, and conduct. One who is biased and malevolent to this [Vajra brother] undermines *bodhicittavajra*.[163]

Elsewhere, nourishing ill will towards Vajra brothers is described by Rong-zom-pa as not speaking of their good qualities but rather of their faults, out of ill will.[164]

Likewise, Rong-zom-pa explains how abandoning great benevolence (*mahāmaitrī*) would cause the abandonment of *bodhicittavajra*, as follows:[165]

> The fourth [*mūlāpatti*], the abandoning of great benevolence: It is true that benevolence that has sentient beings as its object, and likewise benevolence that has phenomena as its object and [benevolence that has] no object, are all common [types of] benevolence. But the special benevolence here [in this system] is as taught: "Enjoy the comfort of being one in nature, since you yourself and others [desire or are characterised by] the same awakening (*bodhi*)." Just as those who [possess] the view of self do not have to make an effort to benefit themselves, so too those who uphold *bodhicittavajra* do not have to make an effort to benefit [other] sentient beings. If one were to have no concern (*dayā*) for others, one would have abandoned *bodhicittavajra*.

The abandonment of *bodhicitta* itself occurs here as the fifth *mūlāpatti*, concerning which Rong-zom-pa states:[166]

> As for the fifth [*mūlāpatti*, namely,] the abandonment of *bodhicitta*, [it is] as follows: The non-abandonment of vigour (*bala*) in generating the resolve [to strive] for the highest awakening in order to attain salvation (*mokṣa*) [for] oneself and to cause [other] sentient beings [to attain] salvation is common [to all Mahāyāna vows]. However, it (i.e. *bodhicitta* in the common system) is considered to be of a different nature at three [different stages], namely, the [*bodhi*]*citta* [during the unexplored phase] of spiritual disposition (*gotra*), the [*bodhi*]*citta* during the phase of causal [process], and the [*bodhicitta* in its] resultant form are respectively comparable to seed, seedling, and fruit. However, *bodhicitta par excellence* (*samantabhadraṃ bodhicittam*) is not considered to be of a different nature at the three [stages]—the phases of

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[163] Syntactically, the passage seems to admit of more than one way of being translated.

[164] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 232a3; B, p. 341.17–18): *spun la ngan sems kyis yon tan mi brjod cing skyon brjod pa dang |*.

[165] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 234a6–b3; B, p. 344.10–16): *bzhi pa byams pa chen po spong ba ni 'di ltar sems can la dmigs pa'i byams pa dang | de bzhin du chos la dmigs pa dang | mi dmigs pa dag kyang thun mong gi byams pa yin mod kyi | 'dir thun mong ma yin pa ni bdag dang gzhan byang chub mtshungs pa'i phyir rang bzhin gcig pa'i sgo nas nyam bag tu rol zhes gsungs pa lta bu ste | ji ltar bdag tu lta ba rnams rang la phan pa'i bsam pa rtsal mi dgos pa bzhin | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pa rnams sems can la phan 'dogs pa rtsal mi dgos so || gal te gzhan la brtse ba med na rdo rje byang chub kyi sems spangs par 'gyur ro ||*.

[166] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 234b3–235a3; B, pp. 344.16–345.6): *lnga pa byang chub kyi sems spong ba ni | 'di ltar bdag nyid thar pa* [ba B] *sgrub pa'i sems dang | sems can thar bar bya ba'i phyir bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa'i stobs mi gtang ba'ang thun mong du gyur pa yin te | 'on kyang de ni rigs kyi sems dang | rgyu'i gnas skabs kyi sems dang | 'bras bu'i ngo bo gsum rang bzhin tha dad par 'dod de | ji ltar sa bon dang | myu gu dang | 'bras bu lta bu'o || kun tu bzang po'i byang chub kyi sems ni | rigs dang | rgyu'i gnas skabs dang | 'bras bu gsum rang bzhin tha mi dad par 'dod de | ji ltar sa khong na yod pa'i gser khams kyi rang bzhin du grags pa dang | mes reg na cung zad ser bar snang bar gyur pa dang | dri ma thams cad dang yongs su bral ba'i gser rnams rang bzhin bye brag med pa lta bu'o || de'i tshe dri ma dang bral ma bral ni bye brag tu 'dod do || rdo rje byang chub kyi sems ni | chol bzang las gzhong par* [bar B] *byas te de las sku gzugs su byas na | 'di la ni dri ma dag pa dang ma dag pa'i bye brag kyang med de | 'on kyang dbyibs nang* [dang B] *yon tan dmigs pa ni khyad par du snang ngo zhes pa lta bu'o || de bas na 'dir rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pas byang chub kyi sems thams cad gtang bar mi bya'o ||*.

spiritual disposition, causal [process], and result—just as, for instance, there is no distinction in the nature of gold as known in the elementary form [of it] which exists in ore, [the one in which it has] turned somewhat golden upon coming into contact with fire, and [the one in which it has become] completely free from all stains. However, a distinction is still made as to whether it is free from stains or not. As for *bodhicittavajra*, [it is] comparable to the following: If a container for spit or urine (*chol zangs*)[167] is made into a bowl or basin (*gzhong pa*) [used for less filthy purposes], and then turned into a [sacred] statue (e.g. of a *buddha*), there is no distinction between being free and not being free from stains. Yet one would say that as far as the perception of the shape and quality is concerned, these appear to be different. Therefore, here [in this system] one who upholds *bodhicittavajra* should not abandon any kind of *bodhicitta*.

The abandonment of *bodhicittavajra* is not mentioned explicitly in his explanation of the sixth *mūlāpatti*, namely, the disparagement of the three vehicles. He merely states:[168]

The non-disparagement of the three vehicles: One who abides in [the view of] the *dharma* of equality is said not to deride even the *dharma* of the sentient beings in hell, let alone refute or abandon the *dharma* of the *śrāvaka*s. One should view all [*dharma*s] as equal in that they all alike have been taught by the Buddha as benefiting sentient beings according to the [different] calibre of recipients.

Concerning the seventh *mūlāpatti*, the disclosure of secret teachings to immature individuals, he states:[169]

As for not disclosing secret teachings to unworthy [individuals], it is as taught in the following: [Only] if one carries out activities for the benefit of sentient beings by means of the lower vehicles, until a mind that cognises such [a tantric view] arises [in them], will the sentient beings to be tamed not be ruined. Thus Vajrayāna is to be kept extremely secret, and hence it is taught as being a Secret Vehicle.

What is noteworthy is that the issue of secrecy does not really concern the misuse of tantric teachings per se, but rather the harm that sentient beings might incur as a result of misunderstanding and misusing these teachings. The abandonment of *bodhicitta* is not spoken of here, but Rong-zom-pa had explained elsewhere that not disclosing secret *mantra*s and *mudrā*s to those without pledges is meant to prevent the misuse of *bodhicitta*.[170] Similarly, one can understand why not disclosing secret teachings to unworthy individuals would also prevent misuse.

The non-abandonment of *bodhicitta* is again not explicitly mentioned in connection with the eighth *mūlāpatti*, disparaging the five *skandha*s, which are of the nature of the *tathāgata*. Rong-zom-pa states:[171]

[The eighth basic pledge], not abusing [one's] personal constituents (*skandha*s), which are of the nature of the Victorious Ones (*jina*): The *skandha*s are primordially awakened. Having been

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[167] The *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.) records *chol zangs* as an archaic word and provides three meanings: (1) container for spit (*mchil snod*), (2) container for urine (*gcin snod*), and (3) basin for washing hands and feet (*rkang lag 'khru snod*). See also *ibid.* (s.v. *bzed zhal*).

[168] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235a3–4; B, p. 345.6–10): *theg pa gsum la mi smad pa ni | mnyam pa nyid kyi chos la gnas pas sems can dmyal ba'i chos kyang mi bkol bar gsungs na | nyan thos kyi chos la sun dbyung zhing spang ba lta ci smos te | sangs rgyas kyis snod kyi rim pa dang sbyar nas sems can gyi don du 'gyur bar gsungs par 'dra bas thams cad mnyam par blta'o || zhes gsungs pa lta bu'o ||*.

[169] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235a4–6; B, p. 345.10–13): *skal pa med pa la gsang ba mi bstan pa ni | yang 'di lta bur rtogs pa'i blo ma skyes kyi bar du theg pa 'og ma nas 'gro ba'i don byas na gdul bya chud mi za bas rab tu gsang ba'i phyir gsang ba'i theg pa zhes bka' stsal to zhes gsungs pa lta bu'o ||*.

[170] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 155b3–4; B, p. 252.2–3).

[171] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235a6–b1; B, p. 345.13–15): *rgyal ba'i bdag nyid phung po mi smad pa ni | phung po ye nas sangs rgyas pa yin pa la yin pa nyid du rtogs shing bsgoms* [bsgom B] *nas rang las mi gzhan pa'i longs spyod kyis* [kyi B] *rtag tu mnyes par bya ba yin na | lus sun dbyung zhing smad par bya ba lta ci smos ||*.

cognised [and accordingly] meditated upon as such, they are always to be cherished as objects of enjoyment, which are not separate from oneself, and thus [one's] body is under no circumstances to be abused and maltreated.

This idea, Rong-zom-pa states, is found in *sūtra*s of definitive meaning (*nītārtha*), such as the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, as well as in *tantra*s.[172]

Doubting the purity of phenomena—the ninth *mūlāpatti*—is expressly said to cause the abandonment of *bodhicittavajra*:[173]

[The ninth basic pledge], not having doubts about the purity of phenomena: If having doubts about karma and karmic consequences hinders [the attainment of] higher destinations [in *saṃsāra*] and freedom [from *saṃsāra*] (*mokṣa*), then it is, of course, clear that having doubts about the pure nature of phenomena will cause the abandonment of *bodhicittavajra*.

The tenth *mūlāpatti*, being affectionate to hostile persons (*duṣṭa*), is one of the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s where *bodhicittavajra* is not referred to explicitly. But Rong-zom-pa's statement that not paying homage to non-Buddhist teachers is one means of avoiding all those things that are not causes of *bodhicitta*,[174] may be applicable here, as he states:[175]

[The tenth *mūlāpatti*], expressed as 'being benevolent to hostile persons and being free from desire': 'Being benevolent to hostile persons' [means being affectionate to] enemies of the [Buddhist] doctrine (*dharma*), such as non-Buddhists who are opposed to the pledges. By being benevolent to them, one becomes a *māra* (i.e. an opponent of the *saddharma*) oneself. And 'being free from desire' [means] arriving at the state of *nirvāṇa*, and thus being tired of [one's] *skandha*s and not being interested in constantly working for the benefit of sentient beings. [Attitudes or actions] such as these, which are not compatible with the great objective [of a *bodhisattva*], are not permissible even [according to the ethical principles of] general Mahāyāna. [They] are very reproachable in the system of the *mahāyoga* in particular, and [they] undermine the activities of a *buddha*.[176]

What is involved here are emotions of hostility and attachment, and the difficulties ensuing from a total denial of such emotions, from the perspective of *mahāyoga* ethical-spiritual principles. The benevolence directed to those opposed to the Buddhist doctrine is also called 'illusory (or deceptive) benevolence' (*sgyu ma'i byams pa*).[177]

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[172] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 232a6–b2; B, p. 342.1–7).

[173] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235b1–2; B, p. 345.15–18): *dag pa'i chos la the tshom mi bya ba ni | gang las dang las kyi 'bras bu la sogs pa la the tshom za ba'ang* [ba dang B] *bde 'gro dang thar pa'i bar du gcod pa yin 'no ||'* [= na |] *ngo bo nyid kyis dag pa'i chos la the tshom du gyur na | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems spong ba lta ci smos |*. Cf. the syntax of the sentence in n. 171.

[174] See n. 41 for Rong-zom-pa's explanation (*mDo rgyas*, A, fol. 155b4–5; B, p. 252.3–4) of the ninth basic pledge according to the *Guhyatantra*.

[175] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235b2–5; B, pp. 345.18–346.1): «*sdang la byams dang chags bral dang*» *zhes bya ba la | sdang la byams pa ni dam tshig la sdang ba'i phyi* [phyir B] *rol pa la sogs chos dgrar gyur pa ste | de la byams par byed pa ni bdag nyid bdud du gyur pa yin la | chags pa dang bral ba ni mya ngan las 'das pa la gzhol bas | phung po la skyo bar byed cing rtag tu sems can gyi don bya ba la spro bar ma gyur pa ste | 'di lta bu dag gis don chen po dang mi mthun pa ni theg pa chen po spyir yang ma gnang ba yin na | khyad par du rnal 'byor chen po'i gzhung las shin tu smad pa ste sangs rgyas kyi mdzad pa las nyams par byed pa'o ||*.

[176] The idea that such deeds undermine the activities of a *buddha* may be based on the notion that a Vajrayāna practitioner does not act like a *bodhisattva* but rather like a *buddha*.

[177] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 232a5; B, p. 341.22): *kha cig nas sgyu ma'i byams par bshad….*

Holding phenomena to be defined by (either of) the two extremes (i.e. of eternalism and annihilationism), which is the eleventh *mūlāpatti*, is again regarded by Rong-zom-pa as being incompatible with the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra*, for he states: [178]

> [The eleventh basic pledge, namely,] not viewing phenomena in terms of the two extremes: [This pledge] is common to all Buddhist vehicles. Nonetheless, [in this system, viewing phenomena in terms of the two extremes] would in particular contradict the pledge pertaining to great equality and would consequently cause the abandonment of *bodhicittavajra*.

Concerning the twelfth *mūlāpatti*, offending the faithful, Rong-zom-pa first defines as faithful those who have consolidated their *bodhicitta*, and then argues that offending them would lead to the abandonment of *bodhicittavajra*:[179]

> [The twelfth *mūlāpatti*, namely,] offending the faithful: The faithful are those whose thought of *bodhicitta* is firm. By offending them, one would show hostility towards *bodhicitta* and jealous bias [against it]. Thus [such attitudes and actions] would be incompatible with *bodhicittavajra*.

According to Rong-zom-pa, this *mūlāpatti* is shared by general Mahāyāna as well as by the Kriyā and the Yoga systems.[180]

The thirteenth basic pledge, namely, consuming pledge-related substances when obtained, is considered by him as a means of consolidating *bodhicittavajra*:[181]

> [The thirteenth *mūlāpatti*, namely,] not accepting pledge-related substances when one obtains [them]: As stated above, substances pertaining to attainments (*siddhi*), substances pertaining to offerings (*pūja*), and substances pertaining to ascetic practices (*vrata*) [involving tantric] deities and to empowerments (*abhiṣeka*) are [substances] common to the general tantric systems. What is special here [in this system] is the reliance on substances pertaining to practices carried out [while maintaining a view] of the equality [of phenomena], with a mind that is free from concepts [of revulsion and the like]. This will consolidate *bodhicittavajra*.

It is known that the consumption of substances that are normally held in revulsion is mentioned in the *mahāyogatantra*s. What is perhaps less known is, as Rong-zom-pa has showed, that this practice can also be found in the relatively conservative *kriyātantra*s.[182] In the same context, he identifies the four kinds of so-called pledge-related substances (*dam tshig gi rdzas*) as: (1) substances pertaining to attainments (*dngos sgrub kyi rzdas*), (2) substances used for empowerments (*dbang bskur ba'i rdzas*), (3) substances used for offering (*mchod pa'i rdzas*), and (4) substances for consumption (*bza' ba'i rdzas*). Some of the substances named by him are meat (*sha*), blood (*khrag*), alcohol (*chang*), and extremely repulsive substances such as human corpses (*mi'i ro*), said to be used for the 'zombie attainment' (*ro langs kyi sgrub pa*). The rationale behind such practices seems to be that they allow one to test one's view concerning the equality of *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*.

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[178] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 235b5–6; B, p. 346.1–3): *chos rnams la mtha' gnyis su mi lta ba ni | sangs rgyas kyi theg pa thams cad kyi thun mong yin mod kyi khyad par du mnyam pa chen po'i dam tshig dang 'gal bas rdo rje byang chub kyi sems gtong* [gtang A] *bar byed pa'o* ||.

[179] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 235b6–236a1; B, p. 346.3–6): *dad sems can la ngan du brjod pa ni | byang chub kyi sems kyi bsam pa brtan pa ni dad pa can te | de dag la ngan sems skyes pa ni | byang chub kyi sems nyid la sdang bar gyur pa'i phyir dang | phrag dog gis ris su phye ba'i* [bas B] *phyir | rdo rje byang chub kyi sems dang 'gal bar 'gyur ro* ||.

[180] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 232a5–6; B, pp. 341.24–342.1).

[181] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 236a1–3; B, p. 346.6–11): *dam rdzas rnyed pa mi len pa ni | gong du bstan pa bzhin dngos grub kyi rdzas dang mchod pa'i rdzas dang lha'i brtul zhugs dang dbang bskur ba'i rdzas lta bu ni gsang sngags spyi'i yang thun mong du gyur pa yin na | 'dir thun mong ma yin pa ni chos mnyam pa nyid kyi brtul zhugs su spyad pa'i dam rdzas rnams rtog pa dang bral ba'i sems kyis bsten pa ste 'dis rdo rje byang chub kyi sems brtan* [brten B] *par byed par 'gyur ro* ||.

[182] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 232b1–233a3; B, p. 342.7–22).

Regarding the fourteenth and last *mūlāpatti*, namely, disparagement of women,[183] Rong-zom-pa states that not disparaging women is a means of consolidating *bodhicittavajra*. In the context of explaining the uncommon fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, he states:[184]

> [The fourteenth basic pledge, namely,] not disparaging women, who are the embodiment of discriminating insight: It is true, as [already] explained above,[185] that not disparaging [female] deities of knowledge (*vidyā*), symbolic representations (*mudrā*) [of those deities], semblances [of those deities] as represented in [physical] forms, or [any animate or inanimate objects] generically similar [to deities] is common to all tantric [systems]. However, the special explanation given here is [as follows]: In order to confer the status of a teacher, a great *vajradhāra*, [on someone,] one must rely upon his domain of activity, that is, the *mahāmudrā*, which is characterised by the *prajñāpāramitā*. Thus relying on a 'female of insight' (*shes rab ma*) by empowering her as [one's] *karmamudrā* (i.e. as one's female partner in the tantric praxis of union) is extraordinary [tantric] conduct. Hence it can be maintained that [all women] are generically females of insight, and [they] should therefore not be disparaged. This [is a way] to consolidate *bodhicittavajra*.

It must be admitted that Rong-zom-pa's explanations as to why women should not be disparaged, given here as well as in the context of the common fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, are not easy to understand. The gist of his argument, however, seems to be that, according to the *tantra*s, deities abide in the form of tantric formulas (*mantra*) and knowledge (*vidyā*), and one is not supposed to disparage either deities or the 'forms' (*rnam pa*) of deities. Women should not be disparaged because they generically resemble such deities and their forms. Rong-zom-pa understands 'forms' in the sense of 'semblances' (*'dra ba*) and seems to subclassify the 'forms' of deities (*lha'i rnam pa*) as follows:

semblances (*'dra ba*)			
pictorial representations (*gzugs su byas pa*)		generic semblances (*rigs 'dra ba*): animate or inanimate	
ones empowered through meditative visualisation (*dmigs pas byin gyis brlabs pa*)	ones represented in the form of symbols (*phyag rgya'i dbyibs su byas pa*)	ones generically similar to the [actual] deity (*lha dang rigs 'dra ba*)	ones generically similar to a symbolical representation of the deity (*lha'i phyag rgya dang rigs 'dra ba*)

According to Rong-zom-pa, (a) a symbolical representation of a woman that has been empowered through meditative visualisation (*dmigs pas byin gyis brlabs pa'i phyag rgya*), that is, an 'imaginary woman,' (b) the pictorial representation of a woman (*de'i gzugs su byas pa*), and (c) a real woman (*bud med dngos*) are all generic semblances (*rigs 'dra ba*) of the female tantric deities of knowledge (*rig sngags kyi lha*). Hence from the generic point of view (*rigs kyi sgo nas*), no woman should be disparaged.[186] Rong-zom-pa adds that not disparaging

[183] According to some sources, 'disparagement of women' seems to include all forms of physical, verbal, and mental abuse. See, for example, the *Abhisamayamañjarī* (p. 30.5–6): *yoṣito na tāḍitavyāḥ, na kroddhavyāḥ, na cāvamantavyāḥ*. For the Tibetan translation, see *ibid.* (p. 93.31–32).

[184] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 236a3–b1; B, p. 346.11–19): *shes rab rang bzhin bud med mi smad pa ni | 'di la gong du bstan pa bzhin du phyag rgya dang | rig sngags kyi lha dang | de'i rnam par gyur pa gzugs su byas pa dang | rigs 'dra ba dag mi smad pa ni gsang sngags spyi'i thun mong yin mod kyi 'dir thun mong ma yin par bstan pa ni | ston pa rdo rje 'chang chen po'i go 'phang du byin gyis brlabs pa la | de'i spyod yul shes rab kyi pha rol tu phyin pa'i bdag nyid phyag rgya chen por bstan* [= bsten] *pa'i phyir | las kyi phyag rgya shes rab mar byin gyis brlabs te bsten par bya ba 'di ni thun mong ma yin pa'i spyod pa ste | de bas na rigs kyi sgo nas shes rab mar 'dod pas smad par mi bya ste rdo rje byang chub kyi sems brtan par byed pa'o ||*.

[185] See the following note.

[186] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 233a3–b1; B, pp. 342.22–343.8): *bud med mi smad pa yang gsang sngags kyi rgyud las lha rnams ni gsang sngags dang gsang sngags kyi gzugs su bzhugs par bshad la | lha dang lha'i rnam pa'ang mi smad par gsungs so || de la rnam pa zhes bya ba ni 'dra ba'i don te 'di ltar gzugs su byas pa dang | gzhan yang*

women, however, does not mean that one should regard them as objects of desire.[187] It should be noted here that, besides the fourteen *mūlāpatti*s, the texts also speak of eight gross (but venial) transgressions (*sthūlāpatti*), which are of lesser gravity. These, though, will not be discussed here.[188]

(c) The *Guhyendutilakatantra*

The pledges in the *Guhyendutilakatantra* are said to be taught as 'pledges pertaining to practice' (*sgrub pa'i dam tshig*), which are described as 'six limbs for journeying to the seat of awakening' (*byang chub kyi snying por bgrod pa'i yan lag drug*).[189] It is, however, not easy to understand the verses of the *tantra*, and hence, I resort to Rong-zom-pa's commentary. According to him, the six limbs are:[190] (1) realising vast and profound doctrines which have not arisen in the past, (2) releasing through various means sentient beings that are tormented by pain and passion, (3) indulging in objects of supreme desire (e.g. *bodhicitta*) in accordance with one's devotion, (4) enjoying bliss without being attached to objects of desire to the extreme, (5) observing the pledges, and (6) being endowed with resolve. He contends that the first two are meant to free one's views from the two extremes, the third to prevent sentient beings being undone or ruined, the fourth to free one's conduct from the two extremes, and the fifth to prevent the abandonment of the precepts. The sixth is said to be the power that generates *bodhicitta*.

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rigs 'dra ba dag go || de la gzugs su byas pa ni dmigs pas byin gyis brlabs pa yin pa | zas dang gos dang gnas dag la mdzes par bya ba'i phyir phyag rgya'i dbyibs [= dbyibs su] *byas pa dag go || rigs 'dra ba ni | srog chags sam gzhan yang rung ste lha'am lha'i phyag rgya dang rigs 'dra ba dag go || de bas na bud med mi smad pa'ang dmigs pas byin gyis brlabs pa'i phyag rgya dang | de'i gzugs su byas pa dang | bud med dngos rnams kyang rig* [= rigs A] *sngags kyi lha rnams kyi rigs 'dra ba yin te | de'i phyir rigs kyi sgo nas smad du mi rung ngo ||*.

[187] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 233b1; B, p. 343.8): *chags pa'i gzhi spang ba ni ma gtogs so ||*.

[188] For Nas-gling-pa's verse text on the eight *sthūlāpatti*s, see the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 229b6–230a4; B, p. 339.4–10). For Rong-zom-pa's own presentation of them, see *ibid.* (A, fol. 236b1–5; B, pp. 346.20–347.6).

[189] *Guhyendutilakatantra*, as cited in the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 236b6–237a2; B, p. 347.8–13):
'das pa'i dus na ma byung ba ||
mtha' yas chos ni yangs par bstan ||
'dod chags rnams kyis dkris pa yi ||
sdug bsngal gzir ba mtha' nas dgrol ||
'dod pa mchog gi longs spyod rnams ||
mos pas rjes su zhugs shing spyad ||
kun tu chags par mi 'gyur zhing ||
bde bas longs pa'i yid dang ldan ||
byang chub snying por bgrod pa ni ||
dam bcas rnams dang sems kyis so ||.

[190] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 237a2–6; B, p. 347.12–22): *'di ltar |* [1] *sngon chad 'jig rten las 'das pa'i chos lugs las ma byung ba'i zab cing rgya che ba'i chos lugs rtogs pa dang |* [2] *sems can 'dod chags kyis kun nas dkris pa'i sdug bsngal gyis gzir ba rnams la thabs sna tshogs kyis dgrol ba dang | 'di gnyis ni lta ba mtha' gnyis las grol ba'o ||* [3] *'dod pa mchog gi longs spyod rnams la mos pa'i rjes su spyad pa ni | 'di ltar gzugs dang | sgra la sogs pa'i 'dod pa rnams byang chub sems kyi longs spyod du spyad pa ste | 'dis ni sems can chud mi gsan par gsungs so ||* [4] *kun tu chags par mi 'gyur zhing bde ba la longs spyod pa ni | spyod pa mtha' gnyis las grol ba'o ||* [5] *dam bcas rnams ni | sdom pa ji ltar nos pa mi gtang ba'o* [ba'a A] *||* [6] *sems kyis so zhes bya ba ni | byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa'i sems stobs te | 'di ltar yan lag drug dang ldan pas byang chub kyi snying po sgrub pa'o zhes bya ba yin no ||*.

(d) The **Guhyagarbhatantra*

As noted by Rong-zom-pa, the **Guhyagarbhatantra* proposes five primary and ten secondary pledges.[191] The five primary pledges are:[192] (1) not abandoning the unsurpassable, (2) respecting one's tantric master, (3) not interrupting *mantra*s and *mudrā*s, (4) being kind to those who have entered the correct path, and (5) not disclosing 'secrets.' The ten secondary pledges are the non-abandonment of five *kleśa*s and the intake of five 'nectars.'[193] The non-abandonment of *bodhicitta* is not explicitly mentioned in the **Guhyagarbhatantra* itself, but the expression 'unsurpassable' is interpreted in Vilāsavajra's *Dam tshig gsal bkra* as referring to the two kinds of *bodhicitta*, namely, conventional and absolute.[194] Rong-zom-pa, however, seems to understand 'unsurpassable' as qualifying the Three Jewels, whose nature, to be sure, is held to be *bodhicitta*.[195] Each of the five primary pledges are multiplied by thirty-two, resulting in one hundred sixty, and each of the ten secondary pledges are multiplied by twenty, resulting in two hundred, which yields a total of three-hundred sixty pledges. There are, however, numerous other categories of pledges, which cannot be discussed here.[196]

(e) Padmasambhava's Categories of Pledges

Rong-zom-pa states that Ācārya Padmasambhava devised twenty-eight pledges, namely, three basic and twenty-five secondary pledges, a scheme also found in some *mahāyogatantra*s.[197] The three basic pledges are:[198] (1) the pledge pertaining to body (*sku'i dam tshig*), (2) the pledge pertaining to speech (*gsung gi dam tshig*), (3) and the pledge pertaining to mind (*thugs kyi dam tshig*).

The twenty-five secondary pledges are: (1) five pledges pertaining to non-abandonment, (2) five pledges pertaining to adoption, (3) five pledges pertaining to engagement, (4) five pledges pertaining to cognition, and (5) five pledges pertaining to practice. The five pledges pertaining to non-abandonment involve the non-abandonment of the five *kleśa*s. The five pledges pertaining to adoption involve ingesting the five nectars. The

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[191] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 238b2–239b6; B, pp. 349.6–350.19); *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 37a3–4, 186b4–186a6; B, pp. 65.20–21, 223.9–233.8).

[192] **Guhyagarbhatantra* (P, fol. 128a3; D, fol. 130a1–2):
bla med [ma P] *mi spong* [spang P] *bla ma bkur* ||
sngags dang phyag rgya rgyun mi gcad ||
yang dag lam du zhugs la byams ||
gsang ba'i don nyid [phyir P] *smra mi bya* ||
'di ni rtsa ba lnga rnams te ||.

[193] For a detailed explanation of the ten ancillary pledges of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* tradition, see the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 192a4–196a4; B, pp. 228.23–233.4).

[194] *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (P, fol. 574b2; S, vol. 43, p. 1191.5): *byang sems rnam gnyis slob dpon drug* ||. The expressions *byang sems rnam gnyis* and *slob dpon drug* are circumlocutions, respectively, for the words *bla med* and *bla ma* in the verse of the **Guhyagarbhatantra* dealing with the primary pledges.

[195] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 238b2–239a3; B, p. 349.6–21); *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 186b4–187b4; B, pp. 223.9–224.12); cf. the *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (pp. 604.2–605.5).

[196] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fols. 198a1–199a2; B, pp. 234.20–235.23).

[197] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 240a4–247b5; B, pp. 351.2–360.1). Cf. the *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 337.7): *dam tshig nyi shu rtsa brgyad....*

[198] Cf. the *Theg pa'i bye brag* (A, fol. 174a3–b1; B, p. 42.9–17).

five pledges pertaining to engagement involve the practices of 'union' (*sbyor ba*), 'liberation' (*sgrol ba*), stealing, lying, and rude speech. The five pledges pertaining to cognition entail cognising the five *skandhas* as having the nature of the five *tathāgatas*. And the five pledges pertaining to practice involve putting the preceding five pledges pertaining to cognition into practice and perfecting them.[199]

6. All Mahāyāna Precepts Relating to the Maintenance of *Bodhicitta*

The tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna vows or pledges are seemingly limitless in number. Some rNying-ma sources speak of one hundred milliard (*sa ya 'bum*) pledges.[200] Nonetheless, according to Rong-zom-pa, all pledges, which embrace also non-tantric and non-Mahāyāna precepts, are said to be included in the maintenance of *bodhicitta*. He states:[201]

> The vows (*saṃvara*)—pledges (*samaya*) involving engaging in and avoiding things that are [respectively] wholesome and unwholesome, [and thus respectively] permissible and impermissible, and that arise in connection with the [Three] Jewels, individuals, the range of conduct, and the attributes of these, [such pledges being] taught in the *kriyā* and *yogatantras* by the Victorious Ones with the aid of various terms—are as follows: pledges (*samaya*), vows (*saṃvara*), ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*), austerities (*tapas*), ascetic discipline (*vrata*), monastic rules (*vinaya*), [codes of] conduct (*caryā*), range of conduct (*gocara*), and so forth. All [of these vows, which are] taught with the aid of various terms, should be known in short as being subsumed under [the categories of] general, specific, and additional pledges, depending on the treatises, deities, and individuals. To be even shorter, they involve maintaining *bodhicitta*. [This] is summarised here as follows:
>
> Whatever existing vows—pledges

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[199] Note that Rong-zom-pa discusses these twenty-eight pledges also in his *gNang bkag yi ge* (pp. 409.1–412.13). For the expression *dam tshig nyi shu rtsa lnga*, see n. 131.

[200] See, for example, the *sDom gsum rnam nges* (p. 31.5–6):
mdor na rang lus rdo rje gsum shes na ||
sngags kyi dam tshig sa ya 'bum sde 'dus ||.
See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 205.6–11); *Nyang ral chos 'byung* (p. 337.8). Cf. the *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (P, fol. 574a8–b1; S, vol. 43, p. 1191.2–4), also cited in the *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (p. 619.5–6).

[201] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 150a1–b1; B, p. 245.9–24): *rgyal ba rnams kyis bya ba dang rnal 'byor gyi rgyud rnams su | dkon mchog dang gang zag rnams dang spyod yul dang de dag gi chos la brten pa las byung ba'i dge ba dang mi dge ba'i dngos po bya ba dang bya ba ma yin pa la 'jug pa dang ldog pa'i mtshan nyid | dam tshig gi sdom pa rnams brda sna tshogs kyi sgo nas gsungs pa ni | 'di ltar | dam tshig dang | sdom pa dang | tshul krims dang | dka' thub dang | brtul zhugs dang | dka' spyod dang | 'dul ba dang | spyod pa dang | spyod yul la sogs pa'i brda sna tshogs kyis gsungs pa thams cad kyang mdor bsdu na | gzhung dang lha dang gang zag rnams kyi dbang las | spyi dang | khyad par dang | lhag pa'i dam tshig rnams* [rnam B] *su 'dus par shes par bya ste | de las kyang kun nas bsdu na ni | byang chub kyi sems yongs su gzung ba'i mtshan nyid do || 'dir sdom tshig ni |*
dkon mchog dang ni gang zag dang ||
spyod yul dang ni de chos la ||
dmigs shing brten pa las byung ba'i ||
dge dang mi dge gang yin pa ||
bya dang bya min shes nas ni ||
'jug dang ldog par bya ba la ||
tshul chen gsang ba'i theg pa las ||
dam tshig sdom pa ji snyed cig ||
sna tshogs brda yis gsungs pa yang ||
gzhung dang lha dang gang zag rnams ||
spyi dang khyad par lhag pa yi ||
dam tshig rnams su 'dus par 'dod ||
kun nas bsdu na byang chub sems ||
yongs su gzung ba'i mtshan nyid do [de A] ||.

Taught in the great system of the Mantrayāna
With the aid of various terms—
Are, [depending on] the treatises, deities, and individuals,
Considered as general, specific,
And additional pledges
With respect to engaging in and avoiding [things]
After learning what is permissible and impermissible, [namely,]
The wholesome and unwholesome [things]
That arise in view of and in connection with
The Three Jewels, individuals,
The range of conduct, and the attributes of these.
[They], if summarised further,
Involve maintaining *bodhicitta*.

7. Concluding Remarks

This chapter has dealt with the maintenance of *bodhicitta* both in the wider context of the Mahāyāna and in the more restricted one of Vajrayāna ethical-moral codes. As we have seen, the maintenance of *bodhicitta* is considered to be the quintessence of all vows, both non-tantric and tantric—which are compared to the life force (*srog gi dbang po*), the breakdown of which would cause the failure of all other forces[202]—and as such is of profound existential significance.

[202] *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 178b1–3; B, p. 215.1–5): *bslab pa thams cad kyi gzhi ni dam tshig yin te | dper na skyes bu'i srog gi dbang po 'gags na dbang po thams cad 'gag par 'gyur ba bzhin | rnal 'byor dam pa rnams kyis* [= kyi] *dam tshig gi bslab pa med par 'gyur na dbang po la sogs pa'i bslab pa thams cad kyang don med par 'gyur bas | de'i phyir de skad bya'o ||*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 192a3–4; B, p. 228.21–23): *spyir rtsa ba'i dam tshig 'di dag ni | dbang po thams cad kyi rtsa ba srog gi dbang po yin pa bzhin | dam tshig 'di dag ma nyams na yan lag nyams pa rnams rim gyis sor chud par 'gyur ro ||*; *ibid.* (A, fol. 37a4–5; B, p. 65.22–24): *'di ni yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che ltar dgos pa thams cad kyi 'byung gnas su gyur pa | bslab pa thams cad kyi gzhi 'dzin pa'i sa gzhi lta bu | dge ba'i dbang po thams cad kyi srog lta bur bshad do ||*. Cf. the *rGyud spyi'i dngos po* (A, fol. 224a6; B, p. 88.22–23): *'di ni legs pa thams cad 'dzin pa'i las can te | yid bzhin gyi nor bu rin po che lta bu'o ||*.

Chapter Eleven

The Relapse and Restoration of *Bodhicitta*

May the excellent precious *bodhicitta* arise
[In whom] it has not [yet] arisen!
May [it] grow evermore, without dwindling,
[In whom] it has [already] arisen!

– Anonymous[1]

1. Introductory Remarks

Just as the maintenance of *bodhicitta* has been considered the crux of all tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna vows, so too is the abandonment of *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittaparityāga*)[2] considered one of the severest transgressions.[3] Retaining *bodhicitta* is approached as a daunting task full of hurdles. Multiple forces are conceived of as acting against the success of this endeavour. Ironically, the desire for *nirvāṇa* (in a conservative Buddhist sense) seems to be one of the most tempting motives for giving up *bodhicitta*. A *bodhisattva* thus always runs the risk of undermining or losing his *bodhicitta*. At the same time, it is commonly thought that

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[1] Cited by dPal-sprul in his *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 171a3–4):
byang chub sems mchog rin po che ||
ma skyes pa rnams skye gyur cig ||
skyes pa nyams pa med par yang ||
gong nas gong du 'phel bar shog ||.
I have not been able to determine the authorship of this verse. mKhan-po Kun-dpal (*sPyod 'jug tshig 'grel*, p. 172.6) writes that the verse is 'composed as a synopsis in the Indian treatise' (*rgya gzhung du sdom du bkod pa*), or perhaps 'a synopsis of the Indian treatise [*Bodhicaryāvatāra*]' (in which case one should read *rgya gzhung du sdom du bkod pa*). mKhan-po Ngag-dga' in his *Zhal lung zin bris* (fol. 94b1–2) attributes this verse to Śāntideva. This is, however, obviously an error, if an understandable one. The Tibetan commentators of Śāntideva's *Bodhicaryāvatāra* have often used this verse as an outline for commenting it. See, for example, Thub-bstan Chos-kyi-grags-pa's *sPyod 'grel bum bzang* (p. 20.15–16).

[2] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.7c; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 25; *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 67.15; VAIDYA, p. 41.20).

[3] For references, see nn. 66 and 67.

one can, if one wants, always make amends if this occurs. Given the crucial role *bodhicitta* plays in tantric and non-tantric vows, we can well understand why there is no real substitute for the generation of *bodhicitta* in the process of restoring broken vows.

A few points that are not always made clear in primary sources require some comments here. Firstly, the abandonment or non-abandonment of *bodhicitta* is expressed in numerous ways: not forgetting *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittāsaṃpramoṣa*),[4] not becoming separated from *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittāvirahita*),[5] not destroying or losing *bodhicitta* (*bodhicittāvipraṇāśa*), and so forth. We shall see that in the *Samayasaṃgraha* and the *mDo rgyas*, the term 'impairment' (*vipraṇāśa: nyams pa*) has been used in a broad sense for both reparable and irreparable damage. Secondly, although it is not always clear whether it is *bodhicitta* itself or the *bodhisattva* vow that is spoken of as being impaired or nullified, we can perhaps take for granted that it is both of them together. Thirdly, we may ask what kind of *bodhicitta* is prone to damage or loss. Primarily, it is the *bodhicitta* of a *bodhisattva* who has not yet attained the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*). Fourthly, it is said that even in the case of complete loss, one can always regenerate *bodhicitta* or renew the *bodhisattva* vow. In the case of damage, one can always restore it.

2. Impairment to or Loss of *Bodhicitta*

The acquisition of *bodhicitta* bears no soteriological fruits unless it is maintained and nourished continually.[6] It is described as never to be let go of or slackened (*vimocyam*)[7] and is to be held firmly.[8] The abandonment of *bodhicitta* is indeed condemned, whereas the stabilisation or maintenance of *bodhicitta* is highly praised as one of the rarest of things.[9] Some of the earliest Mahāyāna scriptures already talk about the maintenance of *bodhicitta* in various contexts. The *Bhadrapālasūtra* states:[10]

> In order to benefit the world, [a *bodhisattva*], having generated compassion (*karuṇā*),
> Teaches the precious [*dharma*], the best [of all *dharma*s].
> Although [he] abandons all conditioned [phenomena] (*saṃskṛta*),

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[4] *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 2351. Cf. n. 39.

[5] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 10.32a; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 141.

[6] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.1:
evaṃ gṛhītvā sudṛḍhaṃ bodhicittaṃ jinātmaḥ |
śikṣānatikrame yatnaṃ kuryān nityam ata indrataḥ ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 25.

[7] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.8:
bhavaduḥkhaśatāni tartukāmair api sattvavyasanāni hartukāmaiḥ |
bahusaukhyaśatāni bhoktukāmair na vimocyaṃ hi sadaiva bodhicittaṃ ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 5.

[8] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.10d: *sudṛḍhaṃ gṛhṇata bodhicittasaṃjñaṃ* |; *ibid.* 1.11d: *sudṛḍhaṃ gṛhṇata bodhicittaratnaṃ* |; CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 6.

[9] *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra*, as cited in the *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 5.13–14):
bodhau cittaṃ dṛḍhaṃ sarvasattvānām anukampayā |
sarvaduḥkhapraśāntyarthaṃ durlabhānāṃ paraṃparā ||.

[10] *Bhadrapālasūtra* (p. 164.5–8):
snying rje bskyed nas 'jig rten kun phan phyir ||
chos kyi gtso bo rin chen ston par byed ||
'dus byas ma lus thams cad spong byed kyang ||
byang chub sems ni yongs su gtong mi byed ||.

[He] never gives up [his] *bodhicitta*.[11]

The *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* mentions four qualities which can prevent a *bodhisattva* from becoming tired of *saṃsāra*. One of them is not giving up *bodhicitta* even during extremely trying situations:[12]

> O Drumakinnararāja, it should furthermore be known that a *bodhisattva* does not grow weary of [*saṃsāra*] if [he is] endowed with four attributes. What are the four? They are: [1] Not giving up *bodhicitta* even in extremely trying cases, [2] not desiring [to attain] the [spiritual] level of a *śrāvaka* or a *pratyekabuddha*, [3] protecting the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*) even [if it means] giving up life and limb, and [4] travelling a thousand *yojana*s in order to induce others to properly assume [the *bodhisattva*'s career of] awakening (*bodhi*). O Drumakinnararāja, it should be known that a *bodhisattva* does not grow weary of [*saṃsāra*] if [he is] endowed with these four attributes.

Again in the *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra*, the musical instruments which the Buddha manifested through his magical power sound with the following questions:[13]

> How does one generate
> The resolve [to strive] for the highest awakening, and
> [How would] one not forget the resolve for as long as
> One is not on the seat of awakening (*bodhimaṇḍa*) (i.e. the spot under the Bodhi tree)?

Thereupon the *bodhisattva*s (who are allegorically called Rūpa) answer:[14]

> [*Bodhicitta* is generated] by 'all that constitutes altruistic inclination' (**adhyāśayasampad*)[15]
> For the sake of all sentient beings.
> One who is endowed with great compassion
> Will not forget *bodhicitta*.

Not forgetting *bodhicitta* is a topic also addressed in the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra*, where it is counted as one of the four powers that increase the accumulation of gnosis

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[11] Cf. HARRISON 1990: 151. 'Conditioned' (*saṃskṛta*) and 'non-conditioned' (*asaṃskṛta*) have often been equated with *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, respectively. See, for example, Ratnākaraśānti's *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 377b7; D, fol. 324b4; S, vol. 64, pp. 888.5–6): *'dus byas ni kun rdzob ste* [te P] *'khor ba'o || 'dus ma byas pa ni don dam pa ste mya ngan las 'das pa'o ||*. From an Abhidharma point of view, however, there are certain conditioned phenomena which are associated with *nirvāṇa*. What the last two *pāda*s of the verse seek to convey is that although *bodhisattva*s have given up the factors responsible for ordinary existence in *saṃsāra*, and hence have already secured their own salvation, for the sake of others they do not give up *bodhicitta*. *Bodhicitta* thus strikes a balance between *saṃsāra* and *nirvāṇa*, making the so-called 'non-stalemated *nirvāṇa*' (*apratiṣṭhitanirvāṇa*) possible.

[12] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (pp. 259.8–261.2): *mi 'am ci'i bdag po gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na | yongs su mi skyo bar rig par bya'o || bzhi gang zhe na | 'di lta ste | rab tu nyen kyang byang chub kyi sems mi gtong ba dang | nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas kyi sa mi 'dod pa dang | lus dang srog kyang 'dor zhing dam pa'i chos srung ba dang | dpag tshad stong du 'gro zhing gzhan dag byang chub yang dag par 'dzin du 'jug pa ste | mi 'am ci'i bdag po byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po 'di dag dang ldan na | yongs su mi skyo bar rig par bya'o ||*. See also *ibid.* (pp. 4.7, 45.7, 77.11, 126.2, 134.11, 152.7–10, 153.2–5, 161.15–16, 284.4).

[13] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 152.7–10):
bla na med pa'i byang chub sems ||
ji lta bu ni bskyed pa dang ||
byang chub snying po 'dug bar du ||
sems ni brjed pa med par 'gyur ||.

[14] *Drumakinnararājaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 153.2–6):
sems can kun gyi ched kyi phyir ||
lhag pa'i bsam pa phun sum tshogs ||
snying rje che dang ldan pa ni ||
byang chub sems brjed mi 'gyur ro ||.

[15] See WEZLER 2000: 449–450 for a more precise understanding of *sampad* or °*sampad*. *Sampad* here might have well stood *in fine compositi*, that is, as **adhyāśayasampad*.

(*jñānasaṃbhāra*).[16] One who studies and expounds the *Bodhisattvapiṭakasūtra* is said to be never separated from *bodhicitta*.[17] According to the *Ugraparipṛcchāsūtra*, a *bodhisattva* who is a householder can be said to have taken refuge in the Buddha if he is endowed with four qualities, one of which is the non-abandonment of *bodhicitta*:[18]

> Besides, O householder, a *bodhisattva* who is a householder has taken refuge in the Buddha if he is endowed with four qualities. What are the four? [They are:] not abandoning *bodhicitta*, not breaking [one's] commitment, not giving up great compassion (*mahākaruṇā*), and not aspiring to other ways (or vehicles). O householder, a *bodhisattva* who is a householder has taken refuge in the Buddha if he is endowed with these four qualities.

Bodhibhadra, in his *Samādhisaṃbhāra*, cites the *Gaṇḍavyūhasūtra* according to which even endeavours that are rooted in basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) but still cause the loss of *bodhicitta* are the work of Māra.[19] The *Sāgaranāgarājaparipṛcchāsūtra* as quoted in the *Sūtrasamuccaya* states that a *bodhisattva* is endowed with faith (*śraddhā*) if he has the power not to renounce *bodhicitta*.[20] The safeguarding of *bodhicitta* is also a theme in the *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra*, where it is counted as one of the six *śikṣāpada*s of a *bodhisattva*.[21] In the *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra*, the state of being separated from *bodhicitta* is listed as one of the several disadvantages of being in the company of a bad friend (*pāpamitra*).[22] The act of stabilising *bodhicitta* is also said to be mentioned in the *Śrīmālādevīsūtra*.[23] As I have already mentioned, the term *bodhicitta* seldom occurs in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and hence we cannot expect the latter to explicitly allude to the maintenance of *bodhicitta* or stabilisation of *bodhicitta* and so forth in an exhortative sense. Nevertheless, in mentioning four advantages

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[16] PAGEL 1995: 378.

[17] PAGEL 1995: 411.

[18] *Ugraparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 6b1–3; D, fol. 259b5–6): *khyim bdag gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' khyim pa chos bzhi dang ldan na sangs rgyas la skyabs su song ba yin te | bzhi gang zhe na |* [1] *byang chub kyi sems mi 'dor ba dang |* [2] *dam bcas pa mi 'jig pa dang |* [3] *snying rje chen po yongs su mi gtong ba dang |* [4] *theg pa gzhan la mi dmigs pa ste | khyim bdag byang chub sems dpa' khyim pa chos bzhi po de dag dang ldan na sangs rgyas la skyabs su song ba yin no ||*.

[19] *Samādhisaṃbhāra* 2 (P, fol. 97b5–6; D, fol. 89a2–3; S, vol. 64, p. 256.11–12): *ji skad du 'phags pa sdong po bkod pa las | «byang chub kyi sems nyams par byed pa'i dge ba'i rtsa ba rtsom pa thams cad ni bdud kyi las so» zhes gsungs la |*.

[20] *Sūtrasamuccaya* (p. 14.3–10): *klu'i rgyal po rgya mtshos zhus pa las kyang | «klu'i bdag po byang chub sems dpa' chos lnga dang ldan pa dag ni dad pa can yin te | lnga gang zhe na | mos pa'i stobs dang | las kyi rnam par smin pa la 'jug pa'i stobs dang | byang chub kyi sems mi 'dor ba'i stobs dang | yi dam la brtan pa'i stobs dang | mi dge ba'i chos thams cad spangs te | nyes par byas pa thams cad bzod pa'i stobs dang ldan pa'o» zhes gsungs so ||*.

[21] *Saṃdhinirmocanasūtra* (pp. 131.29–132.6): *bcom ldan 'das bslab pa'i gzhi drug po de dag la byang chub sems dpa' ji ltar bslab par bgyi lags | spyan ras gzigs dbang phyug rnam pa lngas te | pha rol tu phyin pa dang ldan pa'i dam pa'i chos bstan pa | byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod la thog ma kho nar shin tu mos pa dang | de'i 'og tu chos spyad pa bcu po dag gis thos pa dang | bsams pa dang | bsgoms pa las byung ba'i shes rab bsgrub pa dang | byang chub kyi sems rjes su bsrung ba dang | dge ba'i bshes gnyen la bsten pa dang | rgyun mi 'chad par dge ba'i phyogs la sbyor bas bslab par bya'o ||*.

[22] *Rāṣṭrapālaparipṛcchāsūtra* (p. 58.10).

[23] See the *dKon mchog 'grel* (A, fol. 190a5–6; B, p. 227.2–4): *dpal gyi phreng* ['phreng A] *ba'i mdo las | byang chub sems brtan theg chen zhugs la byams ||*; *Phyogs bcu'i mun sel* (p. 609.2). Whether the line can indeed be found in the *Śrīmālādevīsūtra* needs to be confirmed. I have been not able to trace it in the translation of the *sūtra* in WAYMAN & WAYMAN 1974.

of being dedicated to the cultivation of the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*), it does allude to the firmness of the solemn wish (*āśaya*) to strive for the highest awakening.[24]

3. Causes of the Partial or Total Breach of Vows

In general, four causes of (or 'gates' to) the overstepping or breaching of vows are mentioned in the Vinaya context:[25] (a) lack of knowledge (*mi shes pa*), (b) carelessness (*pramāda*), (c) abundance of intellectual-emotional defilements (*nyon mongs mang ba*), and (d) faithlessness (*aśraddhya*). These can be applied in particular to the *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows. The *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* refers to four causes of the breach of the *bodhisattva* vows, which may be summarised as:[26] (a) generating a resolve contrary to the one initially assumed (?), (b) formally giving up the vow in the presence of a person who is capable of understanding, (c) committing one or more of the four *pārājika*-like offences, and (d) committing one or more of the four *pārājika*-like offences coupled with excessive (*adhimātra*) fetters (*paryavasthāna*).

The *Ḍākinīsaṃvaratantra* increases the above four causes to make six causes relating to the breach of tantric vows:[27] (a) lack of knowledge, (b) carelessness, (c) possessing (many) intellectual-emotional defilements, (d) faithlessness, (e) forgetfulness (*muṣitasmṛtitā*), and (f) lacking mindfulness (or clarity of mind). The *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* mentions 'nine doors of transgression (or fall)' (*ltung ba'i sgo dgu*), an expression also employed by Rong-zom-pa, but one that does not seem to mean what it appears to, referring rather to nine transgressions that cause one to suffer nine undesirable destinations.[28] The *Dam tshig gsal bkra* lists twenty causes of *samaya* impairment,[29] but the reading is very uncertain, and prone to more than one interpretation.

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[24] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.16 (WOGIHARA, p. 249.4–6; DUTT, p. 170.13–14): *anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhāv āśayadṛḍhatvāya bhavati* |; see also MAITHRIMURTHI 1999: 316, 327.

[25] *Vastusaṃgrahaṇī* (P, fols. 2b8–3a1; D, fol. 2b3; S, vol. 75, p. 5.2–3):
de yi rgyu yang rnam bzhi ste ||
mi shes pa dang bag med dang ||
nyon mongs mang dang ma gus pa'o ||.
For an explanation of each of the four causes, see *ibid.* (P, fol. 9a5–b6; D, fols. 7b5–8a4; S, vol. 75, pp. 17.16–18.16). See also the *mTsho ṭīk* (p. 230.9–11).

[26] *Viniścayasaṃgrahaṇī* (P, vol. *'i*, fol. 42a3–4; D, vol. *zi*, fols. 38b6–39a1; S, vol. 74, pp. 836.17–837.2): *de gtong ba ni mdor bsdu na rgyu bzhis 'gyur te* | [1] *yang dag par len pa'i sems kyis mi 'dra bar nges pa'i sems skyed* [bskyed PN] *par byed pa dang* | [2] *mi brda phrad pa'i drung du 'bul ba dang ldan pa'i tshig rjod* [brjod PN] *par byed pa dang* | [3] *pham pa'i gnas lta bu'i chos bzhi po 'de dag las thams cad dam* | *re re'i nyes pa 'byin pa dang* | [4] *pham pa'i gnas lta bu'i chos bzhi po'* [om. PN] *thams cad dam re re la kun nas dkris pa chen pos nyes pa 'byin par byed na byang chub sems dpa' sdom pa btang bar brjod par bya'o* ||. One discussion of the four causes of the loss of the *prātimokṣa* vows may be found in the *Shes bya mdzod* (p. 344.6–25).

[27] *Ḍākinīsaṃvaratantra* (T, fol. 35a4–5; D, fol. 243b4):
dang por nyams pa'i rgyu nyid kyang ||
mi shes pa dang bag med dang ||
nyon mongs ldan dang ma gus dang ||
brjed ngas dran pa mi gsal ba ||
'di drug dam tshig nyams pa'i rgyu ||.

[28] *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fols. 21b8–22a2; D, fol. 22b2–4): *'dus pa chen po'i tshogs gzhan yang 'di lta ste* | *ltung ba'i sgo dgu shes pas kyang lam 'di la bslab* [slab P] *par bya ste* | *de yang gang zhe na* | [1] *bdud chen po'i ris su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [2] *mu stegs kyi* [ske P] *khams su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [3] *srin po'i khams su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [4] *gnod sbyin gyi ris su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [5] *ru dra chen por* [po ri P] *ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [6] *bgegs chen por ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [7] *lha chen po'i ris su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [8] *'shog ma'* [sho gam P] *gcan chen gyi ris su ltung ba'i sgo dang* | [9] *dmyal ba chen por ltung ba'i sgo'o* ||.

[29] See the *Dam tshig gsal bkra* (P, fol. 578a1–3; S, vol. 43, pp. 1197.20–1198.6):

4. Causes of Impairment to or Loss of *Bodhicitta*

There may be many other lists of the causes of *bodhicitta* being impaired or lost. In the following paragraphs I shall present those of which I am aware. In the *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra*, the Buddha tells the *bodhisattva* Nārāyaṇa that there are four sets of four qualities that can cause one to forget *bodhicitta*. The first set of four is stated to be as follows:[30]

> O Nārāyaṇa, a *bodhisattva* will forget [his] *bodhicitta* if [he is] possessed of four qualities. What are the four? They are: [1] great haughtiness (*atimāna*), [2] lack of respect for the Doctrine (*dharma*), [3] disrespectfulness or contemptuousness (*adhikṣepa*) for [one's] spiritual companion (*kalyāṇamitra*),[31] and [4] mendacity (*mithyāvāc*). O Nārāyaṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is possessed of these four qualities, [he] will forget [his] *bodhicitta*.

The *sūtra* does not explain why or how these qualities would cause one to forget one's *bodhicitta*. The second set of qualities are then listed:[32]

> O Nārāyaṇa, a *bodhisattva* will forget [his] *bodhicitta* if [he is] possessed of four qualities. What are the four? They are: [1] acquainting himself with practitioners (*yogācārin*) who are the followers of the Śrāvakayāna and Pratyekabuddhayāna,[33] [2] [acquainting himself with] those who are [intellectually and emotionally] disposed (*adhimukta*) to Hīnayāna, [3] being hostile to *bodhisattvas* and disparaging [them], and [4] being a teacher who is unforthcoming with the Doctrine.[34] O Nārāyaṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is possessed of these four qualities, [he] will forget [his] *bodhicitta*.

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nyams par gyur pa'i rgyud dag ni ||
mi chos blun po'i las byed dang ||
bdag bstod [stod P] *gzhan smod zur 'dzin mkhas* ||
khe drags nyid kyis 'du ste brnab ||
rdzas la chags sems rang phyogs che ||
chang dang rang mthong lta spyod bsnyems [bsnyams S] ||
chos la phyogs ris ngoms rkyen dang ||
gsang chung le lo gtsang ngam che ||
sgro bskur [= skur] *grogs kyi nyams len dang* ||
'khor ba'i rigs rgyud spel 'dod cing ||
gcig pur [bur P] *mi gnas 'du la dga'* ||
nyi shu nyams pa'i rgyud 'gyur ro ||.

[30] *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (T, fol. 129b5–7; D, fol. 101a4–6): *sred med kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur te* | *bzhi gang zhe na* | *'di lta ste* | [1] *lhag pa'i nga rgyal dang* | [2] *chos la ma gus pa dang* | [3] *dge ba'i bshes gnyen la khyad du gsod pa dang* | [add. gsol ba mi 'debs pa dang T] [4] *log pa'i tshig smra ba ste* | *sred med kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po de dag dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur ro* ||.

[31] Note that T adds here 'not paying homage [to them]' (*gsol ba mi 'debs pa*).

[32] *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (T, fols. 129b7–130a3; D, fol. 101a6–7): *sred med kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur te* | *bzhi gang zhe na* | *'di lta ste* | [1] *nyan thos dang* | *rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa pa'i rnal ''byor spyod*[a] *pa dag dang 'dris par byed pa dang* | [2] *theg pa dman pa la mos pa rnams dang* | [3] *byang chub sems dpa' sdang zhing skur pa 'debs pa dang* | [4] *chos rnams la slob dpon dpe mkhyud byed pa ste* | *sred med kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po de dag dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur ro* ||. [a] The sign for the vowel *o* is not visible in either syllable in T.

[33] The compound *śrāvakapratyekabuddhayānika* is attested. See, for example, KEIRA & UEDA 1998, s.v.

[34] According to the *Tshig mdzod chen mo* (s.v.), *mkhyud pa* means to 'keep secret' (*gsang ba*) or 'conceal' (*sbed pa*) so that *dpe mkhyud* means 'keeping an instruction secret and not teaching it, out of a sense of parsimony' (*man ngag shes kyang ser snas gsang ste mi ston pa*), and in particular, *slob dpon gyi dpe mkhyud*.

In this set of four, it is evident why the first three qualities can cause degradation of *bodhicitta*. As for the third set of four, the *sūtra* states:[35]

> O Nārāyaṇa, a *bodhisattva* would further forget [his] *bodhicitta* if [he is] possessed of four qualities. What are the four? They are: [1] being deceitful, [2] associating with (lit. 'relying upon') sentient beings for perfidious purposes, [3] being double-tongued to [one's] spiritual companions, and [4] being greatly attached to material gain and a good reputation. O Nārāyaṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is possessed of these four qualities, [he] will forget [his] *bodhicitta*.

The fourth set of four qualities is as follows:[36]

> O Nārāyaṇa, a *bodhisattva* will forget [his] *bodhicitta* if [he is] possessed of four qualities. What are the four? They are: [1] not recognising the deeds of Māra, [2] being obscured by karmic obscurations, [3] having weak altruistic inclinations (*adhyāśaya*), and [4] lack of discriminating insight (*prajñā*) and [efficiency in applying] strategic means (*upāya*). O Nārāyaṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is possessed of these four qualities, [he] will forget [his] *bodhicitta*.

The *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* then goes on to narrate the story of how Sudhana, out of pride, neglected *bodhicitta* during the time of the Buddha Krakucchanda, and was thus dispossessed of five things, namely, seeing *buddha*s, hearing the Doctrine, discussing with great *bodhisattva*s matters of the Doctrine, dedicatory transfer (*pariṇāmanā*) of basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*), and the stabilisation of *bodhicitta*. And yet, in virtue of his previous *bodhicitta*, he was not reborn in hell.[37]

In the chapter on the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions, we have seen that manifesting the so-called 'four black practices' (*nag po'i chos bzhi*) or not manifesting the 'four white practices' (*dkar po'i chos bzhi*) has been considered to be the four cardinal transgressions (*mūlāpatti*) according to the Maitreya-Asaṅga tradition. According to the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*, these four negative practices cause one to forget one's *bodhicitta*:[38]

> Forgetting *bodhicitta* is also detrimental, and its causes have been taught in the *Ratnakūṭa*[*sūtra*]: "O Kāśyapa, the *bodhicitta* of a *bodhisattva* will go astray (or be forgotten)[39] [if he is] possessed of four qualities. Which four? The following:[40] [1] betraying of [one's] preceptor, master, and [others] worthy of respect (or offerings), [2] causing regrets (or misgivings) in others who are without regrets (or misgivings), [3] uttering depreciation, slurs, disapprobation, or malicious verse against sentient beings who are properly established in the

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[35] *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (T, fol. 130a3–5; D, fol. 101a7–b2): *sred med kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur te | bzhi gang zhe na | 'di lta ste |* [1] *sgyu byed pa dang |* [2] *sems can rnams la g.yos sten par byed pa dang |* [3] *dge ba'i bshes gnyen rnams la lce gnyis byed pa dang |* [4] *rnyed pa dang | bkur sti la lhag par zhen pa ste | sred med kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po de dag dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur ro ||*.

[36] *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (T, fol. 130a5–b1; D, fol. 101b2–4): *sred med kyi bu gzhan yang byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur te | bzhi gang zhe na 'di lta ste |* [1] *bdud kyi las ma rtogs pa dang |* [2] *las kyi sgrib pas bsgribs pa dang |* [3] *lhag pa'i bsam pa stobs chung ba dang |* [4] *shes rab dang thabs med pa ste | sred med kyi bu byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi po de dag dang ldan na byang chub kyi sems brjed par 'gyur ro ||*.

[37] *Puṇyasamuccayasamādhisūtra* (T, fols. 130b1–131b1; D, fols. 101b4–102a6).

[38] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 52.12–15; VAIDYA, p. 33.13–17): *bodhicittasaṃpramoṣo 'py anarthaḥ | tasya ca hetur ukto ratnakūṭe | caturbhiḥ kāśyapa dharmaiḥ samanvāgatasya bodhisattvasya bodhicittaṃ muhyati | katamaiś caturbhiḥ?* [1] *ācāryagurudakṣiṇīyavisaṃvādatayā |* [2] *pareṣām akaukṛtye kaukṛtyopasaṃharaṇatayā |* [3] *mahāyānasaṃprasthitānāṃ ca sattvānām avarṇāyaśo 'kīrty alokaniścāraṇatayā*[a] *|* [4] *māyāśāṭhyena ca param upacarati nādhyāśayeneti ||*. [a] According to the Tibetan translation (*tshigs su bcad pa ma yin pa 'byin pa*), this should read *aśloka°*, which I have followed in my translation.

[39] Note that *muhyati* has been translated into Tibetan as *brjed par 'gyur* ('will be forgotten') and *bodhicittasaṃpramoṣa* as 'forgetting *bodhicitta*.' Cf. n. 4.

[40] The Tibetan translation has *'di lta ste* (*tadyathā*), which is not reflected in either Sanskrit edition.

Mahāyāna, and [4] approaching others with deceitfulness and dishonesty rather than with altruistic inclinations."[41]

Ratnākaraśānti, in his *Ratnālokālaṃkāra*, has summarised these four causes of forgetting *bodhicitta* as follows:[42] (1) deceiving one's teachers and those worthy of offerings, (2) inappropriately causing regrets in others,[43] (3) speaking ill of other *bodhisattva*s out of malevolence, and (4) treating sentient beings with deception and dishonesty. The four positive practices meant to keep *bodhicitta* thriving are given as follows:[44]

The avoiding of this [set of four negative practices] is [also] taught there (i.e. in the *Ratnakūṭasūtra*): "O Kāśyapa, the *bodhicitta* of a *bodhisattva* who is possessed of four qualities will exhibit itself immediately after [his] birth in all lifetimes, and will not go astray (or be forgotten) in between up to the act of sitting down on the seat of awakening. Which are the four [qualities]? [They are] as follows: [1] [He] does not deliberately utter false speech, not even for the sake of [his] life or with an eye to amusement.[45] [2] [He] remains close to all sentient beings thanks to his altruistic inclinations, being free of hypocrisy and dishonesty. [3] [He] generates a notion of the Teachers (i.e. the *buddha*s) within all *bodhisattva*s and proclaims their praise in the four directions. And [4] [he] causes all those sentient beings whom he brings to maturation to generate [the resolve to strive for] the highest perfect awakening without the desire [to place them in] the 'Vehicle of Limited Scope' (i.e. Hīnayāna). These, O Kāśyapa, are the four."[46]

These four antidotes are summarised by Ratnākaraśānti as follows:[47] (1) not telling lies deliberately, not even in jest, (2) establishing others in the state of perfect awakening, (3) regarding other *bodhisattva*s as if they were the Buddha himself, and (4) harbouring pure altruistic inclinations towards others.

In the *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra*, Pūrṇa asks the Buddha what kind of unwholesome deeds he must have committed that caused the deterioration of his *bodhicitta* for one aeon. The Buddha tells him that he had in the past relied upon bad companions and that he did not

[41] For the Tibetan translation of this passage, see the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (P, fol. 42b2–5; D, fols. 34b6–35a1; S, vol. 64, pp. 1085.14–1086.1). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1971: 53. See also the *Rig 'dzin 'jug ngogs* (p. 138.1–6), where the pertinent passage is cited. Cf. SOBISCH 2002: 54, nn. 168–169.

[42] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 277b3–5; D, fol. 236b5–6; S, vol. 64, pp. 667.20–668.3): *de la byang chub kyi sems brjed pa ni rgyu rnam pa bzhi ste | bla ma dang sbyin gnas la* [om. PN] *log par slu* [bslu PN] *ba dang | gzhan gnas ma yin pa la 'gyod pa bskyed pa dang | byang chub sems dpa' la zhe sdang bas ngan du brjod pa dang | sems can la g.yo dang* [om. N] *sgyus spyod pa'o || rgyu de bzhi bstan pa ni | rdo rje rin po che chag pa lta bu'o ||*.

[43] The fact that the corresponding antidote is given as 'placing others in the [state] of perfect awakening' (*gzhan dag rdzogs pa'i byang chub la 'god pa*) suggests that 'inappropriately causing regrets in others' should be understood particularly as causing misgivings in others about Mahāyāna, and thus causing them to abandon *bodhisattva* practices.

[44] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 52.15–53.4; VAIDYA, p. 33.17–22): *asya vivarjanam atroktam | caturbhiḥ kāśyapa dharmaiḥ samanvāgatasya bodhisattvasya sarvāsu jātiṣu jātamātrasya bodhicittam āmukhībhavati | na cāntarā muhyati yāvad bodhimaṇḍaniṣadanāt | katamaiś caturbhiḥ? yad uta* [1] *jīvitahetor api saṃprajānan mṛṣāvādaṃ na prabhāṣate, antaśo hāsyaprekṣikayāpi |* [2] *adhyāśayena ca sarvasattvānām antike tiṣṭhaty apagatamāyāśāṭhyatayā |* [3] *sarvabodhisattveṣu ca śāstṛsaṃjñām utpādayati | caturdiśaṃ ca teṣāṃ varṇaṃ niścārayati |* [4] *yāṃś ca sattvān paripācayati, tān sarvān anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau samādāpayati prādeśikayānāspṛhaṇatayā | ebhiḥ kāśyapa caturbhir iti ||*.

[45] Cf. *BHSD*, s.v. *prekṣikā*, where *sukhaprekṣikayā* is translated as 'with regard to pleasure.'

[46] For the Tibetan translation of this passage, see the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (P, fols. 42b5–43a1; D, fol. 35a2–4; S, vol. 64, p. 1086.1–13). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1971: 53.

[47] *Ratnālokālaṃkāra* (P, fol. 277b5–6; D, fol. 236b6–7; S, vol. 64, p. 668.3–6): *de'i gnyen po ni rnam pa bzhi ste | shes bzhin bzhad gad kyi phyir yang brdzun mi brjod pa dang | gzhan dag rdzogs pa'i byang chub la 'god pa dang | byang chub sems dpa' la ston pa ltar sems pa* [dpa' N] *dang | gzhan la bsam pa rnam par dag pa'o ||*.

widely propagate the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*).[48] The Buddha then goes on to explain four qualities that cause a *bodhisattva*'s *bodhicitta* to deteriorate, relegating him to the status of a *śrāvaka*.[49] The first such factor is explained thus:[50]

> Because a *bodhisattva* has relied upon a bad, unwholesome companion, he utterly abandons all the basic wholesome virtues, and afterwards [his companion] proclaims thus: "Why do you have to generate the resolve [to strive] for unsurpassable awakening? The extent of *saṃsāra* is extremely great. You would experience infinite pain (or suffering) while going through the five destinations [of *saṃsāra*]. In other words, encountering a suitable opportunity is extremely rare. Encountering the appearance of a *buddha* is also extremely rare. Obtaining an intense pristine faith is also extremely rare. Even if you happen to encounter a *buddha* who has appeared [in the world], going forth from a home to homelessness is exceedingly difficult. Do not waste the opportunity you have now. You have not obtained a prophecy from the *tathāgata*s that you will become awakened unto the unsurpassable, correct perfect awakening, nor will you attain *nirvāṇa*, since [your] basic wholesome virtues have not taken firm shape. And you would wander around in the five destinations (*gati*)." The person, on hearing what has been said, would become mentally depressed and turn back from the path of awakening, and in his torpor lose confidence [in it]. O Pūrṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is endowed with this first quality, he will revert from the unsurpassable awakening (i.e. from Mahāyāna) and resort to Śrāvakayāna.

The second quality causing a *bodhisattva*'s *bodhicitta* to deteriorate is explained thus:[51]

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[48] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 345a1–4; D, fol. 185a5–6): *bcom ldan 'das la tshe dang ldan pa gang pos gsol pa | bcom ldan 'das bdag gis sngon mi dge ba'i las ci zhig bgyis na bskal pa gcig gi bar du bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu sems bskyed pa las slar ldog* [log D] *cing nyams par gyur lags | bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa | gang po khyod kyis mi dge ba'i grogs po la brten* [bsten D] *pa'i phyir dang | gzhan yang khyod kyis dam pa'i chos rgya cher ma spel ba'i phyir khyod bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub las slar ldog cing nyams par gyur pa yin no ||*.

[49] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 345a4; D, fol. 185a6–7): *gang po chos bzhi dang ldan na bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub las ldog cing nyams nas nyan thos kyi theg par 'gyur ro || bzhi gang zhe na |*.

[50] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 345a5–b4; D, fol. 185a7–b4): *byang chub sems dpa' sdig pa mi dge ba'i grogs* [add. po T] *la brten* [bsten D] *pa'i phyir dge ba'i rtsa ba yongs su spangs nas 'di skad du 'di ltar bla na med* [add. pa yang dag par rdzogs T] *pa'i byang chub tu sems bskyed ci dgos | 'khor ba'i mtha' ni shin tu thag ring ste 'gro ba lnga po rnams su kha brgyud cing sdug bsngal tshad med pa* [om. D] *myong bas khom pa dang phrad 'pa yang'*[a] *shin tu dkon | sangs rgyas 'byung ba dang phrad 'pa yang'*[a] *shin tu dkon | shin tu dang ba'i dad pa thob 'pa yang'*[a] *shin tu dkon | sangs rgyas 'byung ba dang phrad par gyur 'na yang'* [na'ang T] *khyim nas khyim med par rab tu 'byung ba ches shin tu dka' bas deng khyod* [khyed D] *khom pa dang ldan pa chud ma gzan cig | khyod de bzhin gshegs pa rnams las bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par 'tshang rgya bar 'gyur bar lung bstan pa thob 'pa yang'*[a] *ma yin la | dge ba'i rtsa ba nges par gyur 'pa yang'*[a] *ma yin pas yongs su mya ngan las 'da' 'ba yang'*[a] [ba'ang T] *mi thob cing 'gro ba lnga po rnams su 'khor bar 'gyur ro zhes smras pas gang zag des de skad smras pa thos pa'i dbang gis sems bying nas byang chub kyi lam las ldog cing le los mos par* [unclear D] *mi 'gyur te | gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos dang po 'di dang ldan par gyur na bla na med pa'i byang chub las slar ldog* [log D] *nas nyan thos kyi theg pa bar* [par T] *'gyur ro ||*. [a] pa'ang T.

[51] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fols. 345b4–346a6; D, fols. 185b4–186a2): [2] *gzhan yang gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang byang chub sems dpa'i rjes su mthun*[a] *pa'i mdo sde 'di lta ste | byang chub sems dpa'i sde snod kyi mdo dang | byang chub tu sems bskyed pa'i mdo dang | byang chub sems dpa'i bya ba yang dag par sdud pa'i mdo dang | pha rol tu phyin pa drug dang rjes su mthun*[a] *pa'i mdo thos par ma gyur na | 'di ltar thos par ma gyur pa'i phyir ji skad bstan pa bzhin du spyod par mi 'gyur | ji skad bstan pa bzhin du yang dag par slob par mi 'gyur bas des byang chub sems dpas chos gang ni bsten par bya | chos gang ni yongs su spang bar bya | chos gang ni yang dag par blang bar bya ba'i rigs | chos gang ni yang dag par blang bar bya ba'i mi rigs | chos gang ni byang chub sems dpa'i chos yin | chos gang ni nyan thos kyi chos yin pa dag rab tu mi shes so || 'di ltar mi shes shing rab tu 'byed par mi nus pa'i phyir bsten par bya ba'i*[b] *rigs pa'i chos ni sten* [bsten D] *par mi byed la | bsten par bya ba'i*[b] *mi rigs pa'i chos la ni rab tu bsten* [sten T] *par 'gyur ro || des bsten par bya ba'i*[b] *rigs pa'i chos ni sten par mi byed la | bsten par bya ba'i*[b] *mi rigs pa'i chos la ni rab tu sten par byed pa'i phyir sangs rgyas rnams kyi byang chub kyi sems las rab tu nyams shing log par gyur pas sems kyang zhum ste | le lo can du*

Moreover, O Pūrṇa, if a *bodhisattva* does not happen to hear those *sūtra*s that are consistent with [the conduct of] a *bodhisattva*, namely, the *Bodhisattvasūtrapiṭaka*, *Bodhicittotpādasūtra*, *Bodhisattvakriyāsaṃgrahasūtra*, and **Ṣaṭpāramitānuvarttisūtra*, [he] will not conduct himself as instructed, because [he] will not have heard them. Because [he] does not properly train himself as instructed, he will not know clearly what kind of *dharma* a *bodhisattva* should rely upon; what kind of *dharma* should be abandoned; what kind of *dharma* is worth adopting; what kind of *dharma* is not worth adopting; what kind of *dharma* the *bodhisattva*'s *dharma* is; [and] what kind of *dharma* the *śrāvaka*'s *dharma* is. Failing to understand and differentiate in this way, [he] will not rely upon [those] *dharma*s that are worth relying upon and will rely upon [those] *dharma*s that are not worth relying upon. Because he does not rely upon [those] *dharma*s that are worth relying upon and relies upon [those] *dharma*s that are not worth relying upon, [he will suffer] a complete setback and relapse from the *bodhicitta* of the *buddha*s, and will become disheartened and apathetic, and thus completely renege on the aspirations [he had] before. O Pūrṇa, a *bodhisattva* who is endowed with this second quality will relapse from [the path] of the highest awakening and become a *śrāvakayānika*.

The third quality causing a *bodhisattva* to allow his *bodhicitta* to deteriorate and fall back to the status of a *śrāvaka* is explained thus:[52]

Furthermore, O Pūrṇa, suppose that a *bodhisattva* holds to all phenomena to be existent and firmly clings to a self (*ātman*), practises false views, and [even] descends into extreme views. [And] suppose that] having become incorrigible as a result of being submerged in false [views and] misdeeds, he opposes profound *sūtra*s [whose content is] in harmony with absolute reality—without the slightest sign of trust despite listening to [them]—and having failed to realise [their purport] clearly, commits blameworthy [deeds] that cause the destruction of the right *dharma*. Given such causes and conditions, he would be born in an unfavourable place, and thus would not encounter the *buddha*s [and] would not hear the Sublime Doctrine (*saddharma*); would not encounter the instructions of the *buddha*s; and would not find [spiritually] favourable companions (i.e. good teachers and friends). Not [being able to] encounter *buddha*s, he would not hear the right *dharma*. Not hearing the right *dharma*, [he] would not encounter instructions taught by the *buddha*s. Not encountering instructions taught by the *buddha*s, [he] would not find [spiritually] favourable companions. Not finding [spiritually] favourable companions, [he] would be cut off from favourable places and be born in an unfavourable place. Being born in an unfavourable place, [he] would be separated from [spiritually] favourable companions and encounter [spiritually] unfavourable companions. Following [spiritually] unfavourable companions, [he] would forget and lose the resolve [he had] before. Forgetting and losing the

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gyur nas sngon gyi smon lam rnams kyang yongs su gtong bar 'gyur te | gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos gnyis pa 'di dang ldan par gyur na bla na med pa'i byang chub las slar log nas nyan thos kyi theg pa bar 'gyur ro ||. [a] 'thun D; [b] bar T.

[52] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fols. 346a6–347a3; D, fol. 186a2–b2): [3] *gzhan yang gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos rnams yod pa nyid du 'dzin cing bdag tu mngon par zhen pa dang | log par lta ba rnams spyod cing mthar 'dzin pa'i lta bar ltung ba dang | log pa'i sdig pa rnams su bying ste drang dka' bar gyur nas mdo sde zab mo don dam pa'i rjes su mthun* ['thun D] *pa dag thos par gyur 'na yang'* [na'ang T] *mngon par yid ches pa'i rtags cung zad tsam yang med cing 'gal bar byed pa dang | mngon par ma rtogs nas yang dag pa'i chos 'jig pa'i kha na ma tho ba dag slong bar byed na rgyu dang rkyen des mi khom pa'i gnas su skyes nas sangs rgyas rnams dang yang phrad par mi 'gyur | dam pa'i chos kyang thos par mi 'gyur | sangs rgyas rnams kyis rjes su bstan pa dag dang yang phrad par mi 'gyur | dge ba'i bshes gnyen yang rnyed par mi 'gyur ro || des sangs rgyas rnams mi mthong ba'i phyir yang dag pa'i chos kyang thos par mi 'gyur ro || yang dag pa'i chos ma thos pa'i phyir sangs rgyas rnams kyis rjes su bstan pa dag dang yang phrad par mi 'gyur ro || sangs rgyas rnams kyis rjes su bstan pa'i chos dang phrad par ma gyur pa'i phyir dge ba'i bshes gnyen rnyed par mi 'gyur ro || dge ba'i bshes gnyen ma rnyed pa'i phyir khom pa'i gnas dang bral nas mi khom pa'i gnas su skye bar 'gyur ro || mi khom pa'i gnas su skyes pa'i phyir dge ba'i bshes gnyen dang bral nas mi dge ba'i grogs po dang phrad par 'gyur ro || mi dge ba'i grogs po'i rjes su 'brangs pa'i phyir sngon gyi yi dam brjed cing stor bar 'gyur ro || des sngon gyi yi dam brjed cing stor bar gyur pa'i phyir byang chub kyi sems kyang spong bar byed | byang chub sems dpa'i theg 'pa yang'*[a] *spong bar byed pas slar ldog par 'gyur zhing byang chub kyi bsam 'pa yang'*[a] *gtan du stor nas 'khor ba'i chos 'ba' shig spyod cing theg pa chen po'i spyod pa'i chos mngon par bsgrub* [sgrub D] *par mi 'gyur te | gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos gsum po* [pa T] *'di dang ldan par gyur na bla na med pa'i byang chub las slar log nas nyan thos kyi theg pa bar* [par T] *'gyur ro* ||. [a] pa'ang T.

> resolve [he had] before, he would also abandon *bodhicitta*; would also abandon the Bodhisattvayāna; would consequently relapse [from it]; would lose for good the resolve [to strive for] awakening; would become engaged exclusively in the deeds of *saṃsāra*; and would not be engaged in practising Mahāyāna. O Pūrṇa, a *bodhisattva* who happens to be endowed with this third quality would relapse from [the path] of the highest awakening and would become a *śrāvakayānika*.

The fourth quality causing a *bodhisattva*'s *bodhicitta* to deteriorate is explained thus:[53]

> Furthermore, O Pūrṇa, suppose that a *bodhisattva* who has heard such *sūtra*s does not properly teach others out of an altruistic inclination (*adhyāśaya*); in his torpor takes delight in visiting [and teaching] only one [kind of person]; has no will to teach others, being unforthcoming with the Doctrine; and does not gather masses of other [people] by [teaching] the Doctrine. Given these unwholesome causes and conditions, [he] would seriously damage [his] discriminating insight (*prajñā*) and awareness (*smṛti*). A person who, having damaged [his] discriminating insight and awareness, does not read and recite *sūtra* scriptures together with other [persons] and does not conduct himself in harmony with others on the basis of the Doctrine would lose his *bodhicitta* immediately after the exchange of [his present] body (i.e. after his death), and would also forget the *bodhisattva*'s altruistic inclination (*āśaya*). O Pūrṇa, a *bodhisattva* who happens to be endowed with these four qualities will relapse from the resolve to strive for the highest awakening and will become a *śrāvakayānika*.

The four qualities that cause the relapse of *bodhicitta* have been summarised once again in verse.[54] The *sūtra* also explains four qualities that can prevent the deterioration of *bodhicitta*:[55]

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[53] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 347a3–b1; D, fol. 186b2–5): [4] *gzhan yang gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang 'di lta bu'i mdo sde thos par gyur kyang* [yang D] *lhag pa'i bsam pas gzhan dag la yang dag par ston par mi byed cing | sems zhum par gyur nas gcig tu 'gro ba la dga' zhing chos kyi ser sna byas nas gzhan dag la bstan pa'i 'dun pa med pa dang | chos kyis gzhan dag rgya cher yongs su sdud par mi byed na mi dge ba'i rtsa ba de'i rgyu dang rkyen gyis shes rab dang dran pa rab tu nyams par 'gyur ro || shes rab dang dran pa nyams par gyur pa'i dbang gis gzhan* [zhen pa T] *dag dang lhan cig mdo sde'i chos klog cing 'don par mi byed la | chos kyis gzhan dag dang mthun* ['thun D] *par mi byed pas gang zag de lus brjes* [rjes D] *ma thag tu byang chub kyi sems kyang stor bar 'gyur* [gyur T] *la byang chub sems dpa'i bsam 'pa yang'* [pa'ang T] *brjed par* [pa T] *gyur te | gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos bzhi po de dag* [om. T] *dang ldan par gyur na bla na med pa'i byang chub kyi sems las slar log nas nyan thos kyi theg pa bar par* [T] *'gyur ro* ||.

[54] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fols. 347b1–348a1; D, fols. 186b6–187a3):
mi dge'i grogs po sten byed cing ||
byang chub la ni mi brtson na ||
rgyu dang rkyen ni de yi phyir ||
bla med byang chub sems stor 'gyur ||
sdig pa'i bdag lta rab bskyed nas ||
mtha' dang log ltar gang lhung ba ||
chos 'jig sdig ni bslang [blang T] *bas na* ||
mi khom gnas su skye bar 'gyur ||
mi khom gnas su skyes nas kyang ||
byang chub sems ni gcod byed cing ||
sngon gyi yi dam stor 'gyur bas ||
de phyir byang chub sems kyang nyams ||
de yis byang chub sems skye ba'i ||
chos ni thos par yang [yong T] *mi 'gyur* ||
de yi sems ni 'phel gyur na ||
byang chub sems ni sgrub [bsgrubs T] *par 'gyur* ||
dam chos rgya chen thos gyur kyang ||
ser snas gzhan la ston mi mos ||
rgyu dang rkyen ni de yi phyir ||
byang chub lam ni ldog par 'gyur ||
byang chub sems dpa' theg chen gnyer ||
chos 'di bzhi ni shes par bya ||
chos 'di bzhi ni shes gyur na ||

> O Pūrṇa, a *bodhisattva* who is endowed with four qualities will not revert from [his] *bodhicitta*, in keeping with his dedicatory aspiration (*pariṇāmanā*), nor will his basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) deteriorate, [again] in keeping with his dedicatory aspiration. What are the four? [They are:] if *bodhisattva*s adhere to the immaculate ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*) and bring [their] altruistic zeal (*āśaya*) to fruition; [if they are] endowed with awareness (*smṛti*) and properly abide in discriminating insight (*prajñā*); [if they] make efforts in a diligent [state of] mind and are free from laziness; [and if they possess] the excellence of vast learning and enhanced discriminating insight. O Pūrṇa, if a *bodhisattva* is endowed with these four qualities, [he] will not revert from [his] *bodhicitta*, in keeping with his dedicatory aspiration (*pariṇāmanā*), nor will his basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) deteriorate either, [again] in keeping with his dedicatory aspiration.

The *Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra* mentions four qualities that prevent a *bodhisattva* laying waste to his *bodhicitta*:[56]

> O Brahma, *bodhisattva-mahāsattva*s will not lay waste to [their] *bodhicitta* if [they] are endowed with four qualities. What are the four? [They are:] [1] '[focusing their] attention on recollecting the Buddha' (*buddhānusmṛti*), [2] [making sure that the practices of] all the basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) are headed by [the practice of] *bodhicitta*, [3] relying upon [spiritually] favourable companions (*kalyāṇamitra*), and [4] properly praising (or appreciating) Mahāyāna. These are the four.

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* mentions four causes (*kāraṇa*) of the relapse (*vyāvṛtti*) of *cittotpāda*:[57]

> There are four causes of the relapse of the resolve [to strive for awakening] within a *bodhisattva*. What [are] the four? [1] Not being endowed with the spiritual disposition (*gotrasampanna*) [of a *bodhisattva*], [2] being in the grip (or influence) of a bad companion (*pāpamitraparigṛhīta*), [3] being apathetic (*mandakaruṇa*) towards sentient beings, and [4] being afraid (*bhīru*) of the long-term, manifold, excruciating, and unceasing suffering of *saṃsāra*—extremely frightened [of it], terrified and stricken with terror. These four causes of the relapse of the resolve [to strive for awakening] should be known in detail as being in opposition to the four [pre]requisites for the arising of the resolve [to strive for awakening, which should be understood] analogously to what [was explained] before.

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byang chub sems ni skye bar 'gyur ||
de phyir sdig pa'i chos 'di bzhi ||
nan tan gyis ni rab spangs nas ||
stong nyid chos ni sgom byed na ||
dge ba'i bshes gnyen sten par 'gyur ||
'di lta'i mdo sde thos gyur na ||
ser sna dag ni mi bskyed [skyed T] *par* ||
nan tan gzhan la bsten par bya ||
de las byang chub rab tu skye ||.

[55] *Pūrṇaparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 348a2–6; D, fol. 187a3–6): *gang po byang chub sems dpa' chos bzhi dang ldan na ji ltar yongs su bsngos pa bzhin du byang chub kyi sems las* [add. slar T] *ldog par mi 'gyur zhing | ji ltar yongs su bsngos pa bzhin du dge ba'i rtsa ba rnams yongs su nyams par mi 'gyur ro || bzhi gang zhe na | byang chub sems dpa' rnams tshul khrims rnam par dag pa yongs su bsrungs nas bsam pa rnams mngon par grub par byed pa dang | dran pa dang ldan zhing shes rab la yang dag par gnas pa dang | rab tu brtson pa'i sems kyis brtson zhing le lo med pa dang | mang du thos pa phun sum tshogs shing shes rab 'phel bar gyur pa dag yin te | gang po byang chub sems dpa' gang chos bzhi po 'di dag dang ldan par gyur na ji ltar yongs su bsngos pa bzhin du byang chub kyi sems las yongs su ldog par mi 'gyur zhing | ji ltar yongs su bsngos pa bzhin du dge ba'i rtsa ba rnams yongs su nyams par mi 'gyur ro* ||.

[56] *Brahmaviśeṣacintiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 165b2–4; D, fol. 30a5–6): *tshangs pa chos bzhi dang ldan na byang chub sems dpa' sems dpa' chen po rnams byang chub kyi sems chud mi gzon te bzhi gang zhe na | sangs rgyas rjes su dran pa yid la byed pa dang | dge ba'i rtsa ba thams cad la byang chub kyi sems sngon du 'gro ba dang | dge ba'i bshes gnyen la bsten* [sten T] *pa dang | theg pa chen po la yang dag par bsngags pa ste | bzhi po 'di dag go* ||.

[57] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.2.0).

The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in general presupposes the existence of some sentient beings without any kind of spiritual disposition (*gotra*). Here, however, it is the lack of the spiritual disposition of a *bodhisattva* that is referred to, if not explicitly, as being one of the causes of the relapse of *cittotpāda*—and not the lack of *gotra* as such. The fact that the *gotra* of a *bodhisattva* is in question here has been made explicit elsewhere in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[58] The relapse of *cittotpāda* caused by the absence of a spiritual disposition is viewed by Sāgaramegha almost in a fatalistic fashion. He states that relapses brought on by three other causes are not permanent relapses, whereas the lack of an excellent spiritual disposition would cause permanent relapse.[59] It should be, however, stated here that the *agotra* theory appears fatalistic only from a soteriological point of view, not from a worldly perspective. The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* makes it clear that the welfare of an *agotraka* is included among the 'ripening' agenda of a *bodhisattva*. That is to say, even a person without the requisite spiritual disposition can be ripened in order to attain a good existence.[60] Sāgaramegha explains the expression 'a bad companion' as follows:[61]

> A bad companion is [one] who causes [a *bodhisattva* or a potential *bodhisattva*] to give up [his] inclination towards the Greater Vehicle and makes [him] aspire to other vehicles; or else [he] is [one who] instigates [an aspirant] to give up [his] practice on the path of liberation [from *saṃsāra*], provoking [him] to give up the endeavour. Under such [circumstances] (i.e. under the influence of a bad companion), his resolve [to become a *buddha*] will relapse.[62]

As to the third cause of the relapse of *cittotpāda*, Sāgaramegha explains that the very existence of Bodhisattvahood is dependent on compassion towards sentient beings, and thus by losing this compassion, a *bodhisattva* automatically forfeits his status as a *bodhisattva*:[63]

> Because of his apathy, [a *bodhisattva*] is no longer regardful of sentient beings. In such a case, given that [he] is no longer regardful of sentient beings, [his *bodhi*]*citta*, [which in the first place

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[58] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.4 (WOGIHARA, p. 319.1–3; DUTT, p. 218.15–17): "And that procedure for abiding in the spiritual disposition which has been explained in the chapter on spiritual disposition (i.e. *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.1) should be known in detail [accordingly], to be that of the *bodhisattva*'s abiding in [his] spiritual disposition. This is called the *bodhisattva*'s abiding in [his] spiritual disposition" (*yaś ca vidhir gotrasthasya gotrapaṭale nirdiṣṭaḥ | sa gotravihariṇo bodhisattvasya vistareṇa veditavyaḥ | ity ayam ucyate bodhisattvasya gotravihāraḥ |*).

[59] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 31b7–8; D, fols. 27b7–28a1; S, vol. 75, p. 672.12–13): *rgyu gsum po 'di dag gis ldog pa ni gtan ldog pa ma yin no || rigs phun sum tshogs pa ma yin pa ni gtan ldog par 'gyur ro ||*.

[60] See, for example, *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.6 (WOGIHARA, p. 78.23–25; DUTT, p. 55.16): "Even a person with no spiritual disposition has to be ripened in order that [he] may go to a good existence" (*agotrastho 'pi pudgalaḥ sugatigamanāya paripācayitavyo bhavati |*). See also *ibid.* 1.6. (WOGIHARA, p. 85.4–6; DUTT, p. 60.5–6): "The ripening towards a good existence on the part of persons with no spiritual disposition is liable to relapse again and again, and has to be done repeatedly" (*tatrāgotrasthānāṃ pudgalānāṃ sugatigamanāya paripākaḥ 'punaḥ punaḥ'*[a] *pratyāvartyo bhavati 'punaḥ punaḥ'*[a] *karaṇīyaḥ |*).[a] [°naḥpu° WOGIHARA].

[61] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 31b5–6; D, fol. 27b5–6; S, vol. 75, p. 672.2–6): *de la mi dge ba'i bshes gnyen ni theg pa chen po la mos pa 'dor du 'jug cing | theg pa gzhan la smon pa byed du 'dzud pa'am | thar pa'i lam la sbyor bar byed pa 'dor bar byed cing brtson pa 'dor bar sbyor ba ste | de ltar na de'i sems ldog par 'gyur ro ||*.

[62] The *Ugradattaparipṛcchāsūtra*, as quoted in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 198.1ff.; VAIDYA, pp. 109.31ff.), states that a *bodhisattva* who abides in a solitary place should ponder upon reasons (i.e. the reasons for the fears he has). One of the many fears referred to is his fear of a bad companion (*pāpamitrabhayabhīta*). Cf. the *Mahāvyutpatti*, no. 2508, where *pāpamitratā* is counted as one of the six conditions leading to the diminishing of wealth.

[63] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 31b6–7; D, fol. 27b6–7; S, vol. 75, p. 672.6–8): *snying rje chung bas sems can 'la ltos'* [bltos P] *pa med par 'gyur ro || de ltar na sems can gyi don gtso bor byas nas byang chub la dmigs pa yin na | sems can rnams 'la ltos'* [bltos P] *pa med pas byang chub las sems ldog par 'gyur ro ||*.

> is an aspiration] aimed at awakening, with the benefit of the sentient beings as [its] priority, will relapse.

On this third cause Sāgaramegha comments:[64]

> When he sees the threat posed by the four kinds of suffering (*duḥkha*) associated with conditioned [phenomena], a sense of extreme agony will arise. Thus [he] will desire to quickly pass into *parinirvāṇa*, and [his] *cittotpāda* will relapse.

In addition, Sāgaramegha rightly points out that the opposites of the four causes of the arising of *cittotpāda* are the causes of the relapse of *cittotpāda*:[65]

> The opposites of the causes of the arising of the resolve [to strive for awakening] should be known to be the causes of the relapses [of the resolve to strive for awakening]. And [this] should also be known on the basis of the positive (lit. 'white') components and the negative (lit. 'black') components, and on the basis of the complete presence or incomplete presence [of the necessary causes]. The positive components and the complete presence of [causes] are the causes of the arising-and-continuing [of *cittotpāda*], [whereas] the negative and incomplete presence [of causes] are the causes of [its] relapse.

5. The Abandonment of *Bodhicitta* as the Severest Transgression

The abandonment or loss of *bodhicitta* is considered to be the worst of all transgressions. For example, the *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* states that a *bodhisattva* would impair his ethical-moral discipline (*śīla*) should he resolve to become a *pratyekabuddha* or an *arhat* (i.e. a *śrāvaka* saint), and would thereby commit an offence more serious than one of the *pārājika*s.[66] Śāntideva, too, considers the abandonment of *bodhicitta* to be the most serious offence that a *bodhisattva* can commit.[67] Vibhūticandra's commentary on the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* states that the abandonment of *bodhicitta* is an (outwardly) small but nevertheless serious offence.[68]

Why the abandonment or impairment of *bodhicitta* should be considered such a serious transgression will become comprehensible if we look at the 'extent of impairment' (*nyams pa'i tshad*) discussed in the tantric context. The following five types of impairment to a tantric pledge are mentioned in the *Samayasaṃgraha* and the *mDo rgyas*, both of which were perhaps based on the *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo*:[69] (1) massive impairment (*kun tu nyams pa*

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[64] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fols. 31b8–32a1; D, fol. 27b7; S, vol. 75, p. 672.9–11): *'du byed kyi sdug bsngal gyi rigs bzhi'i 'jigs pa mthong nas drag cing gdung ba'i yid la byed pa skye bar 'gyur ro || des na myur du yongs su mya ngan las 'da' bar 'gyur bar 'dod cing | sems bskyed pa de ldog par 'gyur ro ||*.

[65] *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 32a1–3; D, fol. 28a1–2; S, vol. 75, p. 672.13–17): *sems skye ba'i rgyu las bzlog pa las ldog pa'i rgyur rig par bya ste | dkar po'i phyogs dang | nag po'i phyogs kyi dbye ba dang |. tshang* [tsha P] *ba dang | ma tshang ba'i dbye bas kyang rig par bya'o || dkar po'i phyogs dang tshang ba ni 'jug pa'i rgyu yin no || nag po'i phyogs dang | ma* [om. P] *tshang ba ni ldog pa'i* [om. PN] *rgyu yin no ||*.

[66] *Ratnaguṇasaṃcaya* 31.5 (YUYAMA 1976: 124; cf. OBERMILLER 1937: 116):
yadi kalpakoṭi daśabhī kuśalaiḥ pathebhiḥ caramāṇu pratyayarahāṇa spṛhāṃ janetī |
tada khaṇḍaśīla bhavate api chidraśīlo pārājikād gurutaro ayu citt'upādo ||.

[67] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.8:
bodhisattvasya tenaivaṃ sarvāpattir garīyasī |
yasmād āpadyamāno 'sau sarvasattvārthahānikṛt ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 25. See also DAYAL 1932: 64.

[68] *Viśeṣadyotanī* (P, fol. 256b2–3; D, fol. 215a6; S, vol. 62, p. 563.16–18): *des 'di la ltung ba chung* [add. ba PN] *yang shin tu lci bar 'gyur te | gang gi phyir 'di gcig pu la ltung ba byung na sems can thams cad kyi don mi 'grub pa'o ||*.

[69] *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fols. 56b8–57a1; D, fol. 58a3):
kun du nyams pa chen po dang ||
rtsa ba nyams dang yan lag nyams ||
de bzhin zlas nyams zhar nyams lnga ||.

chen po), (2) fundamental impairment (*rtsa ba nyams pa*), (3) secondary impairment (*yan lag nyams pa*), (4) impairment owing to a companion (*zlas nyams pa*), and (5) incidental impairment (*zhar la nyams pa*). Both the *Samayasaṃgraha* and the *mDo rgyas* demonstrate in general that the type of damage done to the pledge is determined not only by the type as such but also by the severity of the transgression or offence committed. The *Samayasaṃgraha* explains the five types of impairment pertaining to the abandonment of *bodhicitta* in greater detail:[70]

> [1] The occurrence of multiple fundamental [transgressions] after abandoning *bodhicitta* is called 'massive impairment' (*kun tu nyams pa chen po*). [2] The occurrence of one or more fundamental lapses, even though it (i.e. *bodhicitta*) has not been lost, is called 'fundamental impairment' (*rtsa ba nyams pa*). [3] The occurrence of other lapses without the fundamental [pledge] having been breached is called 'secondary impairment' (*yan lag nyams pa*). [4] If lapses have occurred on account of [one's] bad masters (*guru*) or bad friends, [they are] called 'impairment owing to a companion' (*zlas nyams pa*). [5] The occurrence of offences as a result of ignorance, lack of respect, carelessness, or the magnitude of intellectual-emotional defilements (*kleśa*) is called 'incidental impairment' (*zhar la nyams pa*).

In a similar tone, the *mDo rgyas* explains:[71]

> [1] If a breach of most basic [pledges] has occurred (*nyes par shor*) from having abandoned *bodhicitta* once and for all, [this] is called 'massive impairment' (*kun tu nyams pa chen po*). [2] If *bodhicitta* has not been lost, but nevertheless a single or multiple fundamental [pledges] that have been explained [to one] are breached, [this] is called 'fundamental impairment' (*rtsa ba nyams pa*). [3] The occurrence of lapses gradually without the fundamental [pledge] being breached is called 'secondary impairment' (*yan lag nyams pa*). [4] Although one is unwaveringly intent on abiding by [one's pledge], one associates with bad teachers (*ācārya*) and bad friends, and so automatically loses [one's] attentiveness and naturally becomes engaged in bad conduct, [to the point where] one is not [able to] see even serious offences as serious offences. Impairment that has occurred [in this way] is called 'impairment owing to a companion' (*zlas nyams pa*). [5] Moreover, those lapses that occur during an insufficiently attentive preoccupation with wholesome or neutral activities, despite the unwavering intention to abide by [one's pledge], are called 'incidental impairment' (*zhar gyis nyams pa*).

In sum, the abandonment of *bodhicitta* is said to cause not only total or massive impairment to one's *mantra* vow but also—as made explicit, for example, in the *Mantrāvatāravṛtti*—undermine the foundation of all Mahāyāna pledges.[72]

See also the *Samayasaṃgraha* (P, fols. 255b8–256a1; D, fol. 45b6–7; S, vol. 41, p. 695.2–3): *de la nyams pa* [om. PN] *che chung gi tshad ni kun du nyams pa chen po dang rtsa ba nyams pa dang | yan lag nyams pa dang zlas* [zlos pa P; zlas pa N] *nyams pa dang zhar la nyams pa'o* ||; *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 268b4; B, p. 384.7–9): *kun tu nyams pa chen po dang | rtsa ba nyams pa dang | yan lag nyams pa dang | zlas nyams pa dang | zhar gyis nyams pa dang lnga'o* ||.

[70] *Samayasaṃgraha* (P, fol. 256b1–3; D, fol. 46a7–b1; S, vol. 41, p. 696.6–11): [1] *de la byang chub kyi sems gtan spangs te rtsa ba mang tu* [du D] *byung ba ni kun du 'nyon mongs'* [= nyams] *pa chen po'o* || [2] *de ma shor yang rtsa ba'i nyes pa gcig gam 'ga' byung ba ni rtsa ba nyams pa'o* || [3] *rtsa ba ma shor ba yang nyes pa gzhan byung ba ni yan lag nyams pa'o* || [4] *bla ma ngan pa dang grogs* [glogs P] *ngan pas nyes pa byung na ni zlas* [bzlas PN] *nyams pa'o* || [4] *mi shes pa dang ma gus pa dang bag med pa dang nyon mongs pa* [om. P] *che bas nyes pa byung ba ni zhar la nyams pa'o* ||.

[71] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 263b2–6; B, p. 378.6–17): [1] *de la byang chub kyi sems gtan nas spangs te | rtsa ba phal mo che las nyes par shor na ni | kun tu* [du A] *nyams pa chen po zhes bya'o* || [2] *byang chub kyi sems ma shor yang ji skad du bshad pa'i rtsa ba rnams las gcig gam du ma 'das par gyur na | rtsa ba nyams pa zhes bya'o* || [3] *rtsa ba ma shor ba las nyes pa rim gyis 'byung ba ni | yan lag nyams pa zhes bya'o* || [4] *bdag la bsrung ba'i bsam pa mi g.yo bar yod bzhin du |* [add. | B] *slob dpon ngan pa dang 'grogs pa dang | grogs po ngan pa dang 'grogs pa'i dbang gis | rang bzhin gyis bag yod pa shor zhing | nyes pa chen po rnams la yang | nyes pa chen por ma mthong ste | rang bzhin gyi* [= gyis] *spyod pa ngan pa la bslab par gyur te | nyams pa gyur pa rnams ni zlas nyams pa* [om. B] *zhes bya'o* || [5] *gzhan yang bdag la bsrung ba'i bsam pa mi g.yo bar yod bzhin du dge ba'i las sam lung du ma bstan pa'i las shig brtsams pa'i zhar la bag yod pas ma zin te | nyes pa shor ba rnams ni | zhar gyis nyams pa zhes bya'o* ||.

The fact that the abandonment or loss of *bodhicitta* is perceived as a serious breach of the *bodhisattva*'s ethical-moral discipline does not mean that someone who has not cultivated *bodhicitta* at all automatically has to bear the consequences of not doing so. One could say that a person who has not made any promise has no promise to keep or break. Thus, for example, a *śrāvaka* who has not taken the *bodhisattva* vow has neither any incentive to maintain *bodhicitta* nor disincentives to acquiring it. The main argument for considering the abandonment of *bodhicitta* as a serious offence of the *bodhisattva*'s ethical-moral discipline is that, by abandoning or impairing his *bodhicitta*, he turns his back on all sentient beings, and so revokes the commitment that he had made. The idea that his personal integrity is at stake is often played up to encourage a *bodhisattva* to keep his *bodhicitta* alive, for even by worldly standards a person who cannot keep a commitment is considered unreliable.[73]

6. The Types of Setbacks

The fact that *bodhicitta* is prone to relapse does not mean that all *bodhisattvas* at some point invariably suffer setbacks. The ones they do suffer may be of different kinds. The *bodhicitta* of some *bodhisattvas* is said to never suffer any relapse from the beginning to the end of their career, whereas in other cases the relapse may be irreversible. According to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, there are two types of relapse (*vyāvṛtti*)[74] of *cittotpāda*:[75]

> Moreover, relapse (*vyāvṛtti*) of the generation of the resolve [to become a *buddha*] is also of two types: a definitive one (*ātyantikī*) and a temporary one (*anātyantikī*). Of [these two], the definitive one [implies] that the resolve [to become a *buddha*], having relapsed once, does not arise towards awakening again. The temporary one [implies] that the resolve [to become a *buddha*], having relapsed,[76] arises towards awakening again and again.

In a similar tone, Sthiramati states in the *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā*:[77]

> Its relapse is of two kinds: irreversible and reversible. Of the [two], the irreversible one is one [in which *bodhicitta*] does not arise any more once [it] has relapsed. The reversible one is one [in which it] arises again even after relapsing.

The intellectual-emotional receptivity to the fact that phenomena have no origination (*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*)[78] shown by *bodhisattvas* seems to be relevant to the nature of the

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[72] *Mantrāvatāravṛtti* (P, fol. 231a7; D, fol. 206a4–5; S, vol. 41, p. 559.17–19): *gang gi tshe des byang chub kyi sems btang na | de'i tshe theg pa chen po'i dam tshig thams cad rtsa ba nas nyams par brjod par bya'o ||*.

[73] For example, see the *Trisaṃvaraprabhāmālā* (P, fol. 268a1–2; D, fol. 56b1; S, vol. 41, p. 725.9–10):
byang sems nyams na 'gro ba kun ||
bslus pas gnod pa shin tu mang ||
rgyal dang de sras thams cad dang ||
'gro ba kun gyis shin tu khrel ||.
See also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.4–6. For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 25.

[74] For the four reasons for the relapse of *cittotpāda*, see the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§3.2.0). See also Sāgaramegha's *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā* (P, fol. 24a4–5; D, fol. 20b3–4; S, vol. 75, pp. 654.19–655.2).

[75] *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2 (§2.2.0). This is noted also in DAYAL 1932: 62.

[76] Cf. the Tibetan translation which has 'although having relapsed.'

[77] *Kāśyapaparivartaṭīkā* (P, fol. 255b5–6; D, fol. 208a7–b1; S, vol. 67, p. 556.10–12): *de'i ldog pa yang rnam pa gnyis te | rgyun chad pa pa* [om. PN] *dang rgyun mi 'chad pa'o || de la rgyun chad pa ni gang lan cig log nas yang mi skye ba'o || rgyun mi 'chad pa ni gang log kyang yang skye'o ||*.

[78] For this difficult expression, see the *BHSD* (s.vv. *kṣānti* and *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*), where Edgerton has translated it as 'intellectual receptivity to truth that states of existence have no origination' and 'receptivity to the fact that states-of-being have no origination.' My impression is that the term *kṣānti* has connotations not only of

relapse of *bodhicitta*. There are said to be three kinds of *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*, as Mi-pham explains:[79]

> In general, the attainment of three kinds of *kṣānti*, namely, mild (*mṛdu*), middling (*madhya*), and great (*adhimātra*), occurs when one is intellectually and emotionally receptive to the fact that phenomena have no origination (*anutpattikadharma*): [1] mild *kṣānti* is the *kṣānti* attained on the path of preparation (*prayogamārga*) when one is receptive to unborn reality by virtue of [an inference based on] the 'universal object,'[80] [2] the middling kind of *kṣānti* is the one [attained] on the path of seeing (*darśanamārga*), [or] the first *bhūmi*, [and] is accompanied by a direct realisation of the non-origination [of phenomena], and [3] great *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* is attained by [the *bodhisattva* on] the eighth *bhūmi* by bringing non-conceptual gnosis to complete maturation and by not deviating in any way from the true reality of the primordial non-origination of all phenomena, in either a meditative or post-meditative state. [Those] *bodhisattvas* who have irreversibly attained *kṣānti* are prophetically destined [to become] *buddhas*.[81] The eighth *bhūmi* is designated in particular as the 'stage of prophecy.' But there are also cases where, for certain purposes, it has been prophesied that one who abides in the spiritual disposition (*gotra*) [of a *bodhisattva* but has not yet generated the resolve to become a *buddha*] or has just generated his resolve [will become] a *buddha*. The term *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* is explained primarily as intellectual-emotional receptivity to the fact that all phenomena are primordially without origination, for there is no phenomenon separate from the sphere of reality (*dharmadhātu*).

'intellectual' but also of 'emotional' receptivity (or readiness to confront and accept reality). In Mahāyāna Buddhism, ultimate reality, often equated with emptiness (*śūnyatā*), is said to be profound and frightening, like the ocean (*Madhyamakāvatārabhāṣya*, pp. 407.3–408.12), and hence those who cannot comprehend it intellectually would likely dread it emotionally, in a kind of *horror vacui*. On the other hand, an advanced *bodhisattva* is not only able to penetrate this profound reality intellectually but also courageous enough to accept and confront it emotionally. That some people experience 'emptiness-phobia' seems to be taken for granted. For example, Rong-zom-pa states: "Nonetheless, one should not be frightened of these [statements about emptiness], for it is emptiness that dispels all fears, and nobody has been protected or released by clinging to entities.... Thus emptiness dispels all fears, and one should therefore not be frightened of it" (*Theg chen tshul 'jug*, A, fol. 99a2–b2; B, pp. 523.20–524.10): *'on kyang de dag gis 'jigs* ['jig B] *par mi bya'o || gang gi phyir 'jigs pa thams cad sel ba ni stong pa nyid yin te | dngos por 'dzin pas ni su la yang mi bskyabs shing grol bar ma byas so ||... de'i phyir na stong pa nyid ni 'jigs pa thams cad sel ba yin gyis 'di la skrag par mi bya'o ||*).

[79] *mDo sde rgyan 'grel* (pp. 274.3–275.1): *spyir skye ba med pa'i chos la bzod tshul gyis bzod pa thob pa'i rnam grangs chung 'bring chen po gsum byung ste | sbyor lam bzod pa thob pa'i tshe skye med kyi don la don spyi'i tshul gyis bzod pa'i bzod pa chung ngu dang | mthong lam sa dang por skye med mngon sum rtogs pa'i bzod pa 'bring gi gnas skabs dang | sa brgyad par rnam par mi rtog pa'i ye shes yongs su smin pas chos thams cad gdod nas skye ba med pa'i don las mnyam rjes kun du mi g.yo bas mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa chen po thob pa'o* [||] *bzod pa thob pa phyir mi ltog* [= ldog] *pa'i byang sems rnams la sangs rgyas su lung ston cing | khyad par sa brgyad pa la lung bstan pa'i sa zhes kyang gsungs | 'on kyang dgos pa'i dbang gis rigs la gnas pa dang | sems bskyed ma thag pa la yang sangs rgyas su lung ston pa yang yod do || mi skye ba'i chos la bzod pa zhes pa chos kyi dbyings las gzhan du gyur pa'i chos med pas chos thams cad gdod nas skye ba med pa'i don la bzod pa la gtso bor bshad do ||*.

[80] Each kind of *kṣānti* seems to harbour a certain type of irreversibility. Even in the non-Mahāyāna context—for example, in the *Abhidharmakośa*—it is said that a person who has attained the *kṣānti* of the *prayogamārga* will not assume any bad forms of existence in the future, at least not on account of karma or *kleśas*. See *Abhidharmakośa* 6.23b: *kṣāntilābhy anapāyagaḥ* |. On the reason for this, see the *Abhidharmakośabhāṣya* (p. 348.5): *vihīnāyām api kṣāntau na punar apāyān yāti tadbhūmika* [= tadgatika] *karmakleśadūrīkaraṇāt* |.

[81] See also, for example, *Abhisamayālaṃkāra* 4.38, 4.45–46.

The three kinds of *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* can be positioned among the stages of a *bodhisattva* as follows:

mārga	*bhūmi*			*anutpattikadharmakṣānti*
1. *saṃbhāramārga*	1.1.	*mṛdu*	*adhimukti-caryābhūmi*	
	1.2.	*madhya*		
	1.3.	*adhimātra*		
2. *prayogamārga*	2.1.	*ūṣman*		
	2.2.	*mūrdhan*		
	2.3.	*kṣānti*		1. mild (*mṛdu*)
	2.4.	*laukikāgradharma*		
3. *darśanamārga*	1st.	*pramuditā*	seven impure *bhūmi*s	2. middling (*madhya*)
4. *bhāvanāmārga*	2nd.	*vimalā*		
	3rd.	*prabhākarī*		
	4th.	*arciṣmatī*		
	5th.	*sudurjayā*		
	6th.	*abhimukhī*		
	7th.	*dūraṅgamā*		
	8th.	*acalā*	three pure *bhūmi*s	3. great (*adhimātra*)
	9th.	*sādhumatī*		
	10th.	*dharmamegha*		
5. *aśaikṣamārga*	11th.	*samantaprabhā*	*buddhabhūmi*	

Mi-pham has stated that the textual source for these three kinds of *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* is the *Samādhirājasūtra*.[82]

The question is: if even a *bodhisattva* of the first *bhūmi* is said to be 'irreversible,' how is it that in some Prajñāpāramitā *sūtra*s even a *bodhisattva* on the eighth *bhūmi* is said to still run the risk of passing into *nirvāṇa* prematurely? Does this mean that *bodhicitta* can relapse even at that stage? For scholars such as Mi-pham, who were well aware of the three kinds of *anutpattikadharmakṣānti* and the corresponding grades of irreversibility, the statement that a *bodhisattva* of the eighth *bhūmi* runs the risk of passing into *nirvāṇa* prematurely would appear irreconcilable with most Mahāyāna scriptures. Mi-pham himself thus held that the risk of highly advanced *bodhisattva*s such as those on the eighth *bhūmi* to relapse into the so-called 'one-sided cessation' (*zhi ba phyogs gcig pa*) was purely hypothetical.[83] Mi-pham's attempt to resolve this contradiction, however, is a doctrinal rather than a historiographical one.

The contradiction, which Mi-pham has attempted to resolve, seems to be a result of mixing two strands of doctrine, each with different historical backgrounds (specifically in regard to the notion of *nirvāṇa*) and can be explained accordingly. (1) The Mahāyāna *sūtra* which expresses the potential 'reversibility' of the *bodhisattva* of the eighth *bhūmi* presupposes a very old concept of *nirvāṇa*, in which no distinction is made between the *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* ('*nirvāṇa* without residue') of a *śrāvaka* saint, a *pratyekabuddha*, and a *buddha*. According to this presupposition, passing into *nirvāṇa* would not be seen as a kind of regression into a lower status, for it involves the same kind of *nirvāṇa* into which the Buddha himself passed. The only disadvantage of a *bodhisattva* prematurely entering into such a *nirupadhiśeṣanirvāṇa* is that he, like the Buddha, can no longer be active and effective thereafter. In short, this tradition presupposes an identical *nirvāṇa* for a *śrāvaka* saint, a *pratyekabuddha*, and a *buddha* (with the saint becoming ineffective after his death), and

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[82] *dBu ma rgyan 'grel* (p. 77.2–3): *gzhung 'di 'dra ba thos shing thos don bsams la | bsam zhing bsam pas nges pa rnyed pa'i don la goms par byas na zab mo'i lam la bzod pa rim gyis skye bar 'gyur te | zla ba sgron me'i mdo las bzod pa gsum gyi skabs su ji skad bshad pa la sogs pa bzhin no ||.*

[83] For Mi-pham's detailed discussion of this matter, see his *mDo sdud 'grel pa* (pp. 139.3–142.5).

presumably either does not know of or recognise the three kinds of *anutpattikadharmakṣānti*. (2) For the tradition that professes the 'irreversibility' of the *bodhisattva* of the eighth *bhūmi*, Buddhahood is strongly contrasted with the 'sterile' *nirvāṇa* of a *śrāvaka* saint or of a *pratyekabuddha*. Given such a presupposition, it is understandable why falling into the 'sterile' *nirvāṇa* would be a regression from the *bodhisattva* path, but in reality this is not possible, because a *bodhisattva* of the eighth *bhūmi* is destined to become a *buddha* and remain active and effective by abiding in what one might call the 'fertile' *nirvāṇa* of a *buddha* or a *bodhisattva*. Thus the question as to whether a *bodhisattva* of the eighth *bhūmi* indeed runs a real risk of passing into *nirvāṇa*, and thereby relapsing from his *bodhicitta*, is answered differently by these two strands of thought. According to the former strand, although the risk of passing into *nirvāṇa* is real for such a *bodhisattva*, his passing into *nirvāṇa* prematurely would not be considered a regression or relapse from his *bodhicitta*, any more than the Buddha's passing into *nirvāṇa* can be considered a regression or relapse. According to the latter strand, the answer would depend on how *nirvāṇa* in this context is understood. If it is understood as the 'sterile' *nirvāṇa*, the risk of passing into such a *nirvāṇa* is not real, as has been argued by Mi-pham. If *nirvāṇa* in this context is the 'fertile' *nirvāṇa*, it is by definition not a risk.

7. The Restorability of *Bodhicitta*

The idea and actual practice of confessing misdeeds (*pāpadeśanā*) in Buddhism, particularly in view of the Buddhist theory of karma, certainly deserve further investigation. Har Dayal's claims that the practice of confession described by Śāntideva 'bears witness to the influence of the completely developed Hindu doctrine of *bhakti* (devotion) on Buddhist thought' and that the 'ideas of self-reliance and personal retribution are discarded, and the *bodhisattvas* are invoked to save a sinner from evil consequences of his deeds'[84] seem to provide an inaccurate picture of the *bodhisattva* doctrine and should be reconsidered. It is, however, beyond the scope of this study to discuss these issues.

In Tibet it is said that the good quality of misdeeds is that they can be purified through confession.[85] The stories of Nanda, Aṅgulimāla, Ajātaśatru, and Udayana have often been used for didactic purposes to illustrate that even those who have negligently committed the most heinous deeds are capable of reacquiring their circumspection.[86] Breaking one's vows is no doubt considered negative, with potential negative consequences. Unlike the *prātimokṣa* vow, however, which is said to be irreparable if damaged, and hence has often been compared to a palm tree[87] or an earthenware vessel (*rdza be'u*),[88] the *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows are

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[84] DAYAL 1932: 56–57.

[85] See, for example, dPal-sprul's *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fol. 205b4): *sngon gyi dam pa dag gi zhal nas | spyir sdig pa la yon tan med kyang | bshags pas 'dag pa sdig pa'i yon tan yin gsungs |*.

[86] *Suhṛllekha* 14:

gang zhig sngon chad bag med gyur pa lags ||
phyi nas bag dang ldan par gyur de yang ||
zla ba sprin bral lta bur rnam mdzes te ||
dga' bo sor phreng mthong ldan bde byed bzhin ||.

Cf. *TSD*, s.v. *sor phreng*. Brief accounts of the past misdeeds of Nanda, Aṅgulimāla, Ajātaśatru, and Udayana are given in the *Suhṛllekhaṭīkā* (P, fols. 334a6–335a2; D, fols. 80b6–81a7). For an English translation of the verse and comments, see JAMSPAL 1978: 9. Compare the translation of the verse with Mi-pham's annotation (*mchan*) in KAWAMURA 1975: 18, n. 32, where Nanda is erroneously called Ānanda. Mi-pham's commentary itself (*bShes spring mchan 'grel*, p. 166.2–5) reads *gcung dga' bo* and not *kun dga' bo*. See also the *Dwags po thar rgyan* (pp. 154.12–159.14); *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fols. 205b4–206a3).

said to be, in principle, restorable. To be sure, *bodhicitta* has an exclusive role to play. If other parts of the tantric and non-tantric Mahāyāna vows are broken, they can be repaired with the help of *bodhicitta*. But if *bodhicitta* itself is lost or damaged, nothing else is able to restore it. In other words, there is no substitute for *bodhicitta*. Likewise, there are several measures prescribed for the confession and purification of all kinds of misdeeds. Finding an antidote for bad deeds more powerful than *bodhicitta* is said to be impossible.[89] The fact that broken vows can be restored is, of course, no excuse to break them again and again, for according to Śāntideva doing so would decelerate the attainment of the stages (*bhūmi*).[90]

8. Retaking and Restoring *Bodhicitta*

We have already considered the process of restoring the *bodhisattva* vow according to the Mañjuśrī-Nāgārjuna and Maitreya-Asaṅga traditions. We shall not go into the method of retaking or restoring *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows[91] in general but focus only on how *bodhicitta* is restored by means of *bodhicitta*. Whether one retakes or merely restores a *bodhicitta* vow would, of course, depend on whether it has been completely or only partially breached. The loss of *bodhicitta* cannot be compensated by anything other than the re-assumption of *bodhicitta* itself; the same is true with regard to restoring impaired *bodhicitta*. Here, we shall look at the reviving or restoring of *bodhicitta* as discussed in the context of the *mantra* vow. Just as the term 'impair' (*nyams pa*), as has already been mentioned, is used as a generic term for both 'impairment' and 'loss,' so the term 'restoration' (*bskang ba*) is employed as a generic term for the following four procedures:[92] (1) confessing (*bshags pa*) offences committed through carelessness, (2) restoring or reconstituting (*bskang zhing gso ba*) breached pledges, (3) purifying (*sbyang ba*) misdeeds (*sdig pa*), and (4) retaking (*slar blang ba*) the vows.

It is stated that according to the *kriyātantra*s and *yogatantra*s those who have abandoned *bodhicitta* and thereby nullified their vow should basically retake the vow.[93]

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[87] See, for example, the *Vinayavastu* (T, vol. *ka*, fol. 89b6–7; D, vol. *ka*, fol. 59b6–7): *'di lta ste dper na shing ta la'i mgo bcad na sngon por 'gyur du mi rung la 'phel zhing rgyas pa dang* [1] *yangs par 'gyur du mi rung ba bzhin no* ||. See also the *mChims chen* (p. 378.8–9). Cf. the *Sāgaramatiparipṛcchāsūtra* (T, fol. 32b7; D, fol. 23a6): *shing ta la'i mgo bcad* [gcad D] *pa bzhin du rtsa ba nas chad nas ma 'ongs pa na mi skye ba'i chos can du 'gyur ro* ||.

[88] *Kun bzang bla ma'i zhal lung* (fols. 217b5–218a2): *nyan thos kyi lugs la rtsa ltung skor gcig byung na rdza be'u chag pa dang 'dra te slar gso ba'i thabs med par gsungs* | *byang sdom rin po che'i nyer spyad chag pa dang 'dra ste* | *dper na rin po che'i nyer spyad chag na mgar ba mkhas pa la brten nas bcos su yod pa ltar* | *gzhan rkyen dge ba'i bshes gnyen la brten nas gso rung bar gsungs* | *gsang sngags kyi sdom pa ni rin po che'i nyer spyad cung zad zhom pa dang 'dra ste* | *rang nyid kyis kyang lha sngags ting 'dzin la brten nas bshags pa byas kyang lhag ma med par dag par gsungs pa yin* |.

[89] *Bodhicaryāvatārapañjikā* (p. 6.14): *na ca saṃbodhicittāt pratipakṣo mahīyānaparaḥ saṃbhavati* |.

[90] *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 4.11:
evam āpattibalato bodhicittabalena ca |
dolāyamānaḥ saṃsāre bhūmiprāptaś cirāyate ||.
For an English translation, see CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 26.

[91] Perhaps I should point out LOPEZ 1995, where a rite for restoring *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows according to Tsong-kha-pa's tradition is discussed. The article also includes (pp. 507–512) a plain translation of the *sDom pa gong ma gnyis kyi phyir bcos byed tshul rje'i phyag len bzhin bkod pa* (*TsSB*, vol. *kha*, pp. 917–928).

[92] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 265a1–2; B, p. 379.23–24): *da ni nyams pa rnams bskang ba'i cho ga bshad de de yang mdor bsdu na rnam pa bzhir 'dus te bshags pa dang* | *gso ba dang* | *sbyang ba dang* | *sdom pa slar blang ba'o* ||.

According to the *mahāyoga* system, the restoration or revival of a *mantra* vow on the strength (*rtsal*) of one's own compassion (*karuṇā*) and discriminating insight (*prajñā*) is particularly noteworthy. In this regard, Rong-zom-pa states:[94]

> [Question:] It has been taught that the tantric pledges can be restored by one's own power. If that is the case, [why is this not discussed here?] Is there not such a method here [in this system]? [Response]: This method has been taught [with the understanding] that [the *mantra* vow] can be restored if [one is] aware of (lit. 'imbued with') the fact that there is [in reality] nothing to restore.
>
> [Question:] What is that [power]? [Response]: It is the power of [one's] compassion and the power of [one's] discriminating insight. Of these, the power of [one's] compassion is as follows: All sentient beings are endowed with the Essence of Awakening (i.e., clearly, the *tathāgatagarbha*) and are under the protection of those who have generated *bodhicitta*. Likewise, it is taught that even those who have not accumulated the basic wholesome virtues (*kuśalamūla*) and those whose [mental] continuum has not matured can attain (lit. 'become causes of') release (*mokṣa*) [from *saṃsāra*] or good destinations (*sugati*) [in *saṃsāra*]. This being the case, I myself have not broken [my] pledge and will protect all sentient beings. In this way, if the great strength of *bodhicittotpāda* is practised for a long time, [an impaired vow] will be restored. The strength of discriminating insight is as follows: All phenomena are by nature pure. If even those that appear in the form of mere illusion are pure and equal within the configuration (*maṇḍala*) of an [awakened] body, speech, and mind, what impure sentient being [can] exist? If [this view] is realised and practised for a long time, it is taught that [the impaired vow] will be restored.

This passage makes it clear that the power of one's compassion and insight, which are two indispensable components of *bodhicitta*, can reinvigorate broken *mantra* vows. We shall now consider two points, namely, the four means of confession (*bshags pa*) and the five methods of restoration (*bskang ba*) according to the *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo*, cited by Rong-zom-pa under its alternative title *rDo rje bkod pa* (**Vajravyūha*). In these cases, too, emphasis will be laid on *bodhicitta*. The four means of confession may be summarised as follows:[95] (1) confessing by means of the continuum of great insight (*she rab chen po'i rgyud*) so that the latent tendencies (*vāsanā*) are cognised as possessing no self-nature, (2) confessing by means of the fire of the great meditative absorption (*ting nge 'dzin chen po'i me*) so that the latent tendencies are burnt and reduced to nothing, (3) confessing by means of the light rays of *bodhicitta* (*byang chub sems kyi 'od zer*) so that all the darkness of the latent tendencies is

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[93] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 266a2–3; B, p. 381.6–9): *byang chub kyi sems btang zhing sdom pa zhig par gyur pa rnams la ni dkyil 'khor du 'jug cing sdom pa slar blang ba gtsor gyur pa yin no || 'di ni bya ba'i rgyud las gsungs pa'i sdom pa nyams pa bskang ba'i cho ga ste | rnal 'byor gyi rgyud du'ang tshul 'di nyid kyis sbyar bar bya'o ||*.

[94] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 267a2–b2; B, p. 382.9–22): *'o na gsang sngags kyi dam tshig rnams kyang rang gi rtsal gyis skongs so zhes gsungs na | 'di la thabs med dam zhe* [zhi A] *na 'di ni skong* [skang B] *du med pa'i don gyis zin na bskongs* [skongs B] *par gsungs te | de gang zhe na | snying rje'i rtsal dang | shes rab kyi rtsal lo || de la snying rje'i rtsal ni | sems can thams cad ni byang chub kyi snying po can yin la | byang chub kyi sems bskyed pa rnams kyis kyang thams cad bskyabs* [skyabs B] *par bya ba yin te | 'di ltar dge ba'i rtsa ba ma bsags pa dang rgyud ma smin pas kyang | thar pa dang bde 'gro'i rgyur 'gyur bar gsungs pas | bdag gis kyang dam tshig nyams pa med de | sems can thams cad bskyabs* [skyabs B] *par bya'o || zhes byang chub tu sems bskyed pa'i stobs chen po yun ring du bsgoms na bskongs* [skongs B] *so || shes rab kyi stobs ni | chos thams cad ni rang bzhin gyis rnam par dag pa ste | sgyu ma tsam du snang ba rnams kyang | sku gsung thugs kyi dkyil 'khor du dag cing mnyam par yin na | ma dag pa'i sems can gang zhig yod ces de ltar rtogs shing yun ring du bsgoms na bskongs* [skongs] *so zhes 'byung ngo ||*.

[95] *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 61b2–3; D, fol. 62b5–6): *thabs ni rnam pa bzhi yod de | gang zhe na | shes rab chen po'i rgyud kyis bag chags thams cad rang bzhin med par shes pa dang | ting nge 'dzin chen po'i mes bag chags thams cad bsregs te med par bya ba dang | byang chub sems kyi 'od zer gyis bag chags kyi mun nag thams cad bsal* [gsal P] *te de dag dag par bya ba dang | spyod pa rlabs po che'i chus bkru ba'o ||*. See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 267b2–268a2; B, pp. 382.22–383.14), where this passage is cited.

dispelled and purified, and (4) confessing by means of the water of daring conduct (*spyod pa rlabs po che*) so that all the latent tendencies are washed clean.

It should be added that the purification of misdeeds by generating *bodhicitta* is included as one form of daring conduct.[96] The five methods of restoration (*bskang ba*) are:[97] (1) restoring through the performance of (wholesome) activities (*spyad pa'i las kyis bskang ba*), for example, recitation of *mantra*s and minor *sūtra*s, building *stūpa*s, rescuing lives (*srog gdon pa*), and making prostrations, (2) restoring by means of material resources (*rdzas kyis bskang ba*), for example, by making material offerings to the deities and teachers, (3) restoring on the strength of (having seen) true reality (*don gyis bskang ba*), for example, realising the freedom from manifoldness of all phenomena; studying, contemplating, and meditating on the profound *dharma*; sponsoring teaching activities; and copying scriptures and donating them, (4) restoring through meditative concentration (*ting nge 'dzin gyis bskang ba*)—three kinds of meditative concentration being discussed, namely, the meditative concentration that burns up the latent tendencies (*bag chags bsreg pa'i ting nge 'dzin*), the meditative concentration that scatters the latent tendencies (*bag chags gtor ba'i ting nge 'dzin*), and the meditative concentration that washes the latent tendencies clean (*bag chags bkru ba'i ting nge 'dzin*), and (5) restoring by the method of secret instructions (*man ngag gsang ba thabs kyis bskang ba*), for example, special meditative practices.

The *mDo rgyas* goes on to explain the relation between the three vows and the reason why impaired *bodhicittavajra* cannot be restored by anything else:[98]

> It is taught that there are methods of restoration if the three, namely, the vase empowerment (*kalaśābhiṣeka*) pertaining to body, the secret empowerment (*guhyābhiṣeka*) pertaining to speech, or the empowerment of the knowledge of insight (*prajñājñānābhiṣeka*) pertaining to mind, have been impaired once obtained, but there is no method of purification if the fourth empowerment (*caturthābhiṣeka*) has been impaired. This is because it has been taught that [of] the [three] vows, the lower ones rely [for their continuance] on the upper ones successively, while the upper ones secure (lit. 'hold') and invigorate (lit. 'purify') [the lower ones] with [their] might. In this way, if the *bodhisattva* vow is taken on the basis of the *prātimokṣa* vow, invalidated *prātimokṣa* vows can be retaken on the basis of the *bodhisattva* vow. Similarly, up until the *mantra* vow, upper [vows] are taken successively on the basis of the lower ones, and the latter are allowed to be restored on the strength of the former. However, if the upper ones themselves are broken, they cannot be restored by lower methods. Therefore, if the fourth empowerment, which involves the maintenance of *bodhicittavajra*, should become impaired, no

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[96] *mDo rgyas* (A, fol. 268a2–3; B, p. 383.14–15): *de la spyod pa rlabs po ches bkru ba'ang byang chub kyi sems bskyed cing sdig pa sbyong ba dang* |.

[97] *Kun 'dus rig pa'i mdo* (P, fol. 57a1; D, fol. 58a3–4):
bskang ba'i thabs kyang lnga yod de ||
spyad pa'i las [thubs P] *kyis bskang ba dang* ||
rdzas dang don dang ting 'dzin dang ||
man ngag gsang ba'i thabs chen no ||.
See also the *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 268b4–270b4; B, pp. 384.9–386.17).

[98] *mDo rgyas* (A, fols. 270b5–271a4; B, pp. 386.19–387.6): *bum pa sku'i dbang dang* | *gsang ba gsung gi dbang dang* | *shes rab ye shes thugs kyi dbang gsum thob pa las* | *nyams par gyur na ni bskang ba'i thabs yod kyi* | *dbang bzhi pa las nyams na ni dag pa'i thabs med do* || *zhes gsungs te* | *gang gi phyir sdom pa rnams ni* | *mas yar* [lar A] *rim gyis brten cing* | *gong ma'i mthus 'dzin cing dag par byed par gsungs te* | *'di ltar so sor thar pa'i sdom pa la brten nas* | *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa blangs pa na* | *so sor thar pa'i sdom pa zhig pa rnams* | *byang chub sems dpa'i sdom pa la brten nas slar blang du rung ngo* || *de bzhin du gsang sngags kyi sdom pa'i bar du yang rim gyis 'og ma la brten cing* | *gong ma blangs pa yin la* | *gong ma'i mthu la brten cing 'og ma sor* [= gsor] *gzhug ste* | *gong ma nyid nyams na de la thabs 'og mas ma bskongs* [skongs B] *so* || *de bas na dbang bzhi pa ni rdo rje byang chub kyi sems 'dzin pa yin la* | *gal te de nyid nyams par gyur na* | *de gso ba'i thabs su gyur pa* | *gzhan gyis mi nus te* | *rdo rje rin po che chag pa rtsi gzhan gyis mi 'byor ba bzhin no* ||.

other means of restoring it can do so, just as, for example, no other adhesive can fasten together broken [pieces of] precious diamond.

Although the relationship between the three vows is not his actual theme, this passage shows Rong-zom-pa's stance on the issue of the assumption, subsistence, and restoration of the three vows (in the mental continuum of an individual). First, his position on the assumption of the three vows is that the higher vows are taken on the basis of the lower ones, that is, the *mantra* vow on the basis of the *bodhisattva* vow, and it in turn on the basis of the *prātimokṣa* vows. Second, his position on the continuing validity of the three vows is that the lower vows rely on the upper ones for their security, so to speak; that is, the upper ones provide the lower ones with stability and qualitative enhancement. Third, his position on the restoration of the three vows is that the impaired lower vows can be retaken or otherwise restored on the strength of the upper ones, but not vice versa. And since Rong-zom-pa does not really tell us how impaired *bodhicittavajra* should be restored, I assume that the vow relating to the fourth empowerment, involving *bodhicittavajra*, can only be retaken.

9. The Four Strengths

We have already run across the expression 'four strengths' (*stobs bzhi*) in the chapter on the two *bodhicittotpāda* traditions. The exercise of the four strengths seems to be the most popular method of cleansing oneself of one's past misdeeds. Its popularity is perhaps due to its supposed effectiveness, for it is maintained that there is no misdeed that cannot be purified through the four strengths. The *locus classicus* is perhaps the following passage from the *Caturdharmakasūtra*, which is cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya*:[99]

> Furthermore, the washing away of misdeeds has been taught in the *Caturdharmakasūtra*, [as follows]: "O Maitreya, a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* endowed with four qualities overcomes misdeeds that have been committed and [allowed to] collect. Which four? [The following four]: [1] the proper approach to reproaching [oneself for one's misdeeds], [2] the proper approach to antidotes, [3] the strength to resist committing transgressions, and [4] the strength [to seek] support. [1] As to these [four], the proper approach to reproaching [oneself for one's misdeeds] is to feel great repentance for unwholesome deeds wherever they have been perpetrated; [2] the proper approach to antidotes is to make energetic efforts to commit wholesome deeds once unwholesome deeds have been committed; [3] the strength to resist committing transgressions comes from [re]taking a vow of non-action (*akaraṇasaṃvara*)[100]; [4] the strength [to seek] support comes from taking refuge in the Buddha, Dharma, and Saṃgha and from the non-abandonment of *bodhicitta*. Given the support of the Powerful One, [one] cannot be overpowered by misdeeds. O Maitreya, a *bodhisattva-mahāsattva* endowed with these four qualities overpowers misdeeds that have been committed and [allowed to] collect."[101]

Although in the Tibetan sources, each of these four qualities is referred to as a 'strength' (*stobs: bala*), we notice here that only the last two are referred to as *pratyāpattibala* and

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[99] *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, p. 160.4–11; VAIDYA, pp. 89.28–90.3): *tatra pāpaśodhana caturdharmakasūtre deśitam | caturbhir maitreya dharmaiḥ samanvāgato bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ kṛtopacitaṃ pāpam abhibhavati | katamaiś caturbhiḥ | yad uta |* [1] *vidūṣaṇāsamudācāreṇa* [2] *pratipakṣasamudācāreṇa |* [3] *pratyāpattibalena |* [4] *āśrayabalena ca ||* [1] *tatra vidūṣaṇāsamudācāro 'kuśalaṃ karmādhyācarati tatrai* [tatraiva VAIDYA] *tatraiva ca vipratisārabahulo bhavati ||* [2] *tatra pratipakṣasamudācāraḥ kṛtvāpy akuśalaṃ karma kuśale karmaṇy atyarthābhiyogaṃ gataḥ ||* [3] *pratyāpattibalaṃ saṃvarasamādānād akaraṇasaṃvaralābhaḥ ||* [4] *tatrāśrayabalaṃ buddhadharmasaṃghaśaraṇagamanam anutsṛṣṭabodhicittatā ca | subalavatsaṃniśrayeṇa na śakyate pāpenābhibhavituṃ | ebhir maitreya caturbhir dharmaiḥ samanvāgato bodhisattvo mahāsattvaḥ kṛtopacitaṃ pāpam abhibhavatīti ||*.

[100] It is not clear to me what *akaraṇasaṃvara* means.

[101] For the Tibetan translation, see the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (P, fols. 105b5–106a1; D, fols. 89b7–90a4; S, vol. 64, pp. 1218.18–1219.10). Cf. the English translation in BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 158–159.

āśrayabala, the first two being called *vidūṣaṇāsamudācāra* and *pratipakṣasamudācāra*. In the *Tarkajvālā*, the above passage from the *Caturdharmakasūtra* has been cited to make the Mahāyāna case that even the most serious misdeeds can be neutralised.[102] The passage is often quoted in the Tibetan sources. sGam-po-pa, for instance, illustrates each of the four strengths with an example and refers to the stories of Nanda, Aṅgulimāla, Ajātaśatru, and Udayana as, so to speak, historical cases, as follows:[103]

	Four Strengths	Four Analogies	Cases
1.	*vidūṣaṇāsamudācāra*	Making a plea to a powerful person to be exempted from unpayable debts	Aṅgulimāla
2.	*pratipakṣasamudācāra*	Washing and perfuming a person after rescuing him from a pit of filth	Udayana
3.	*pratyāpattibala*	Changing the course of a devastating flood	Nanda
4.	*āśrayabala*	A culprit clasping (i.e. seeking pardon from) a powerful king or the detoxication or neutralisation of poison through *mantra*s	Ajātaśatru

Furthermore, one of the qualities of *bodhicitta* that has often been eulogised is its ability to cleanse all misdeeds.[104]

10. Concluding Remarks

Let me recapitulate what has been said in this chapter. Firstly, *bodhicitta* is seen as something that can be impaired and easily lost. Secondly, impairing or abandoning *bodhicitta* is considered a serious offence in the context of both the *bodhisattva* and *mantra* vows. Thirdly, Mahāyāna Buddhism seems to profess that not only is the impaired or lost *bodhicitta* restorable, but in fact all offences or misdeeds, regardless of how grave they may be, can be atoned for by timely and proper measures. Fourthly, *bodhicitta* is said to be capable of mending other broken vows or pledges and purifying other misdeeds, but if *bodhicitta* itself is lost, there is nothing that can serve as a substitute for it. Thus the one and only way to atone for the loss of *bodhicitta* is to regain it.

[102] *Tarkajvālā* (P, fol. 201a4–b2; D, fols. 184b4–185a2; S, vol. 58, pp. 448.15–449.9).

[103] *Dwags po thar rgyan* (pp. 149.10–159.14).

[104] See the *Maitreyavimokṣasūtra*, as cited in the *Śikṣāsamuccaya* (BENDALL, pp. 177.14–178.8; VAIDYA, pp. 98.27–99.6), where *bodhicitta* is praised for its role in cleansing one's misdeeds. For an English translation, see BENDALL & ROUSE 1922: 173. See also *Bodhicaryāvatāra* 1.6 and the English translation in CROSBY & SKILTON 1995: 5.

Appendix A

A Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2

1. Introduction

For the critical edition of the Sanskrit text, I have used two previous editions made by Wogihara (W) and Dutt (D) together with photocopies of a Nepal MS (N) microfilmed by the NGMPP and photographs of the Patna MS (P).[1] Below I shall first describe the extant manuscripts and editions briefly. This will be followed by a short discussion of the stemmatic relationship of the manuscripts to one another. Finally I shall explain the method employed in the critical edition.

(a) Extant Manuscripts, Critical Editions, and Other Related Studies on the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*

In the course of the nineteenth century, numerous Buddhist Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal found their way to libraries of Asian societies in London and Paris. The collection of such manuscripts from Nepal was initiated and stimulated by Brian Houghton Hodgson (1800–1894), who arrived in Kathmandu as an English resident at the Court of Nepal in the year 1821.[2] This activity of collecting manuscripts was continued by Dr. Daniel Wright, a brother of the Arabist William Wright of Cambridge and a long-time English surgeon to the British Residency at Kathmandu. His collection of manuscripts numbered over four hundred, some of them very old. These manuscripts, which ended up in the Cambridge University Library, were catalogued by Cecil Bendall in 1883.[3] This catalogue brought the manuscripts of the Cambridge collection to the attention of interested scholars, thus lending impetus to the study of various Buddhist Sanskrit texts,[4] the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* being among them.

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[1] I should like to thank Prof. Schmithausen for kindly procuring for me the microfilm of the Nepal manuscript from the Berlin State Library and for lending me his photographs of the Patna manuscript.

[2] For bibliographical references to the Hodgson collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, see the appendix in YUYAMA 1992: 16–17.

[3] BENDALL 1883.

[4] Ernst Windisch (1844–1918) discussed the discovery of the Sanskrit manuscripts from Nepal and the boost it gave to the study of what was then known as 'northern Buddhism.' See WINDISCH 1917: 130–131.

Having attracted interest since almost the beginning of Western Indology and modern Buddhist studies, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* has been the subject of a number of monographs. Unrai Wogihara (1869–1937), a Japanese Sanskritist then in Strassburg, noticed the title *Bodhisattvabhūmi* while reading Bendall's catalogue (MS Add. 1702)[5] in 1904, and in the same year, presuming it to be the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* from the *Yogācārabhūmi* collection, went to Cambridge, where he made two transcripts of the palm-leaf manuscript.[6] A short article by him on the 'northern' Buddhist terminology in the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* appeared in 1904.[7] In 1908 he submitted his dissertation (at the University of Strassburg), in which he discussed the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in general and some of its lexical terms in particular.[8]

When he was compiling the catalogue, Bendall assumed that no other manuscripts or versions of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* existed.[9] However, in 1914, to Wogihara's surprise, the Japanese scholar Ryōzaburō Sakaki 'brought home from India' a paper manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and deposited it in the Kyoto University (then called the Kyoto Imperial University) Library.[10] Wogihara started editing the

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[5] BENDALL 1883: 191–196.

[6] See WOGIHARA 1904: 34; WOGIHARA 1908: 2 (preface to his dissertation); WOGIHARA 1930–36: i–iv. Unrai Wogihara, who may be called a pioneer in the study of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, made it possible for other pioneering scholars such as La Vallée Poussin to do work on the same topic. His edition of the Sanskrit text of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, general introduction to it, division of the text, and discussion of its authorship, lexical terms, and the like can still be read with much profit.

[7] WOGIHARA 1904.

[8] The title of Wogihara's dissertation, as mentioned in LEUMANN 1931: 21, is "Asaṅga's Bodhisattva-bhūmi ein dogmatischer Text der Nordbuddhisten nach dem Unikum von Cambridge im allgemeinen und lexikalisch untersucht (1908)." This dissertation, which he calls 'my little German dissertation' (WOGIHARA 1930–36: i), is appended to his edition with an independent pagination running from page 1 to 43. This dissertation consists of two parts: part one (pp. 4–14) is a general discussion of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, and part two (pp. 15–43) is about its lexical terms. The original title of the dissertation does not seem to have been mentioned.

[9] BENDALL 1883: 191: "No other MS or version of the work seems to exist." Cf. WOGIHARA 1904: 452: "Weil indessen besagte Handschrift in Europa als Unikum gilt...." See also WOGIHARA 1930–36: ii: "All the events as stated above took place in the thirty-third year of Meiji (1904 P. Chr.), when the MS. was still a unique one in the world." See also the title of Wogihara's dissertation.

[10] See WOGIHARA 1930–36: ii. The paper manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (MS K) is identified as having the serial number E 263 in GOSHIMA & NOGUCHI 1983: 20–21. The collection to which it belongs is called the Sakaki Ryōzaburō Collection; see YUYAMA 1992: 13 (no. 24), 14 (no. 28). Confusion reigned in regard to the origin of MS K. For instance, Dutt in the introduction to his edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* stated that it was 'procured probably from Nepal'; see DUTT 1966: 3. Ernst Leumann (1859–1931) thought that MS K was brought by Ekai Kawaguchi from Tibet! He gave the following account of the manuscript: "Zurück in Japan hat Wogihara später unter den im Verlauf von Kawaguchi in Tibet erworbenen Handschriften noch ein zweites Exemplar der Bodhisattva-bhūmi gefunden, das freilich auch wieder bedauerlich Lücken aufwies. Aber Wogihara konnte doch den Plan fassen, nunmehr das Werk herauszugeben, um so mehr als er im Tibetischen sich soweit vervollkommnete, daß er die tibetische Übersetzung der Bodhisattva-bhūmi, die lückenlos erhalten ist, zur Kontrolle und zur Ergänzung der beiden Sanskrithandschriften (C = Cambridge und K = Kawaguchi) heranziehen konnte"; see LEUMANN 1931: 21–22. Probably the siglum K used by Wogihara to designate the manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* deposited in the Kyoto University Library was falsely associated with the name Kawaguchi. Although there is a Kawaguchi Ekai Collection of manuscripts kept in the Toyo Bunko Oriental Library in Tokyo (KANEKO & MATSUNAMI 1979: 151–191), no Sanskrit manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* brought by Kawaguchi is known of (to me at least). Note that Ernst Leumann's article, where the description of MSS C and K occurs, was published after his death, and the mistake may be that of the editor(s) rather than the author himself.

Bodhisattvabhūmi using the Cambridge and Kyoto manuscripts, comparing them with the sDe-dge edition of the Tibetan translation and with the Chinese translations by Hsüan-tsang and *Dharmakṣema.[11] His edition appeared in two parts: part one in 1930 and part two in 1936.[12] Johannes Rahder used one of the two transcripts made by Wogihara in Cambridge for his edition of the *Vihārapaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 2.4) and the *Bhūmipaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 3.3).[13] After the first volume of Wogihara's edition was published, a major portion of the *Balagotrapaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.8) was published again as a specimen by his professor Ernst Leumann.[14]

The Indian paṇḍita Rāhula Sāṅkṛtyāyana (1893–1963)[15] travelled to Tibet in the years 1929/30, 1934, 1936, and 1938. Although he heard about the existence of palm-leaf manuscripts of Sanskrit texts in Tibetan monasteries, he did not find any during his first journey.[16] The following trips, however, yielded many palm-leaf Sanskrit manuscripts, most of them in three Tibetan monasteries situated in gTsang: Sa-skya, Ngor, and Zha-lu. The manuscripts found in Ngor and Zha-lu, though, were originally housed in Sa-skya.[17] Some of his finds he copied down,[18] but most he had photographed.[19] In 1938, during the last of his four visits to Tibet, the manuscripts of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* and the *Śrāvakabhūmi*,[20] among many others, were discovered at Zha-lu Monastery.[21] On his return to India, Sāṅkṛtyāyana wrote a report and made a catalogue of his finds.[22] The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript appears in the latter as

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[11] According to Prof. Schmithausen (personal communication), the Chinese name of the translator should rather be reconstructed into Sanskrit as *Dharmakṣema (cf. *Hōbōgirin*, s.v. *dommusen*) and not as *Dharmarakṣa, as given by Wogihara. See also DE JONG 1987b: 166, where the name of the translator is given as *Dharmakṣema.

[12] Since the two parts have been now published as one book, it is not clear where the original partition lay. It should be noted that this publication contains several related studies, such as the 'Synopsis of the Contents of the Bodhisattvabhūmi' with separate pagination (from 1 to 23) and Wogihara's dissertation in German, also with separate pagination (from 1 to 43).

[13] RAHDER 1926.

[14] See LEUMANN 1931. The portion of the text published is basically the same as in Wogihara's edition (pp. 95–110). There is a difference in the lay-out of the text. A numbered outline has been introduced into it in order to make the structure of the text 'clearer' (*übersichtlicher*). The critical apparatus found in the footnotes in Wogihara's edition was left out.

[15] For the biography of Sāṅkṛtyāyana, see BANDURSKI 1994: 27, n. 76.

[16] SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA 1935: 21 (part 1).

[17] BANDURSKI 1994: 25.

[18] MUCH 1988: 12.

[19] BANDURSKI 1994: 12–13.

[20] For a recent discussion on the origin and date of the *Śrāvakabhūmi* manuscript, see DELEANU 2006: 51–72.

[21] SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA 1938: 21 (part 4).

[22] SĀṄKṚTYĀYANA 1938. dGe-'dun-chos-'phel (1903–1951), who accompanied Sāṅkṛtyāyana, also describes the same *Śrāvakabhūmi* and *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscripts as having been seen by them in Zha-lu Monastery. According to him, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript contained 266 short format (*dpe*

number forty-one of the Zha-lu corpus (section IX).[23] The negatives of the photographs of the manuscript were deposited in the Bihar Research Society in Patna.[24]

The famous Tibetologist Giuseppe Tucci (1894–1984) made many scientific expeditions to India, Nepal, and Tibet in the 1930s and 1940s. During his expedition to Tibet in 1939 he was able to photograph more than 1,500 pages of Indian palm-leaf manuscripts that he discovered in various monasteries in Tibet.[25] He also photographed some of the manuscripts that had already been photographed by Sāṅkṛtyāyana.[26] One manuscript photographed twice was the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[27]

From 1968 to 1971, the Department of Indology and Buddhist Studies of the University of Göttingen was able to make copies from the negative films that were put at the disposal of Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute in Patna by the Bihar Research Society. This Göttingen collection of Buddhist Sanskrit texts discovered in Tibet by Sāṅkṛtyāyana was the theme of Frank Bandurski's M.A. thesis, in which he catalogued and described each manuscript included in the collection.[28] In his catalogue of the Göttingen collection, the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* bears the catalogue number 28 (Xc 14/29).[29] The original manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* from Zha-lu Monastery, was held for a time in the Central Institute of Nationalities (Zhongyang Minzu Xueyuan) in Beijing,[30] and then brought back to Lhasa in 1993.[31]

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thung) folios of good quality (*spus legs*), with a remark (*kha byang*) on the cover-leaf: "Offered by Slob-dpon 'Od-zer-seng-ge." See his *gSer gyi thang ma* (p. 26.2–4).

[23] See SĀṄKṚTYĀYNA 1938: 145 (part 4); cf. ROTH 1975/76: 166; see also BANDURSKI 1994: 65.

[24] The negatives are kept in the Archives of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute, Museum Buildings, Patna-1. See ROTH 1975/76: 166, 174. Whether the negatives are of glass or films is discussed by BANDURSKI 1994: 13, n. 15. See also MUCH 1988.

[25] For an informative report on the Sanskrit manuscripts and photos of them in Giuseppe Tucci's collection, see SFERRA 2000.

[26] Sferra states that while working on his critical edition of the *Hevajratantrapiṇḍārthaṭīkā* (forthcoming in the Serie Orientale Roma), a clear reading of the manuscript was made possible by comparing the photographic reproductions prepared by Tucci and Sāṅkṛtyāyana. In certain cases, such as Ratnākaraśānti's *Sāratamā*, which is a commentary on the *Aṣṭasāhasrikāprajñāpāramitāsūtra*, Tucci's photographs contained more leaves than Sāṅkṛtyāyana's (SFERRA 2000: 401).

[27] The *Bodhisattvabhūmi* occurs thrice in the list of items in Giuseppe Tucci's collection compiled by Francesco Sferra and Claudio Cicuzza (SFERRA 2000: 409–413). The number of negatives specified are 8, 3, and 10 (totalling 21). The list is a provisional one, and the details offered are minimal. A more detailed and accurate list will be published in a forthcoming catalogue and accompanying CD-ROMS; see SFERRA 2000: 410. Sferra does not mention the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as a work photographed by both Sāṅkṛtyāyana and Tucci. However, Zha-lu is given as the location where both Tucci and Sāṅkṛtyāyana photographed a manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*, which is perhaps enough to conclude that the object was one and the same manuscript. I should like to take this opportunity to thank Prof. Francesco Sferra of the University of Rome for kindly sending me a CD-ROM containing a tentative copy of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript photographed by Tucci. However, as already noted by him (SFERRA 2000: 399, 401), the quality of the photographs is often very poor, and I have not been able to make use of them.

[28] BANDURSKI 1994.

[29] BANDURSKI 1994: 64.

[30] This fact is documented in unpublished lists of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts kept in Beijing (*Min-tsu t'u-shu-kuan-ts'ang fan-wen-pei-yeh-ching mu-lu* (*Verzeichnis der in der Nationalitäten Bibliothek aufbewahrten Sanskrit Palmblatt-Sūtras*), List No. 19. See BANDURSKI 1994: 27 (n. 76), 66, 119.

In 1966 Nalinaksha Dutt (1893–1973) published a new edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*[32] using the photos taken by Sāṅkṛtyāyana at Zha-lu[33] (with the help of a copy of the manuscript made by Paṇḍita Baldeo Mishra of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute) and Wogihara's edition.[34] Gustav Roth published a new edition and an annotated English translation of the beginning of the text in 1975/76, noting a number of wrong readings in Dutt's edition.[35] Recently, yet another palm-leaf manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* was microfilmed by the Nepal-German Manuscript Preservation Project,[36] and thus one more manuscript has been put at our disposal. But again this manuscript is unfortunately incomplete.

The most recent work concerning the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* is that of Mudagamuwe Maithrimurthi. The portion of the *Pūjasevāpramāṇapaṭala* (*Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.16) dealing with the four immeasurables (*apramāṇa*) has been critically edited, analysed and translated by him. This forms a part of his doctoral dissertation on the study of the history of ideas as it relates to the four immeasurables in Buddhist ethics and spirituality, beginning from earliest Buddhism to early Yogācāra.[37] For his edition, Maithrimurthi has used photographic copies of the palm-leaf manuscripts from Patna (P) and Nepal (N) and the two editions of Wogihara (W) and Dutt (D). In addition, he has consulted the Tibetan translation of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (Peking and sDe-dge) along with Sāgaramegha's *Bodhisattvabhūmivyākhyā*, which is extant only in Tibetan. He did not, however, edit the Tibetan text. He also consulted Hsüan-tsang's Chinese translation.

It should be mentioned here that Edgerton's dictionary is one of a number of important contributions to the lexicography of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[38] Another is a Sanskrit-Chinese index of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* published by Hakuju Ui (1882–1966). Further, in 1996 Koitsu Yokoyama and Takayuki Hirosawa brought out an index (Chinese-Sanskrit-Tibetan) to the *Yogācārabhūmi* including the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.[39] Lastly, there are several other *Bodhisattvabhūmi*-related publications, particularly by Japanese scholars, which cannot be mentioned here.

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[31] According to YONEZAWA 1998: 11, n. 1, these original Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts were brought back to Lhasa and are now preserved in the Nor-bu-gling-ka (the Summer Palace of the Dalai Lamas). The Cultural Palace of Nationalities in Beijing possesses microfilms of the original Sanskrit manuscripts. A recent report on the past and future of Sanskrit manuscripts in Tibet appears in STEINKELLNER 2004.

[32] DUTT 1966.

[33] BANDURSKI 1994: 66; DUTT 1966: 2 (preface).

[34] See my discussion of Dutt's edition in the introduction to the critical edition of the Sanskrit text.

[35] See ROTH 1975/76. De Jong made the following comment regarding Dutt's edition: "...Gustav Roth has shown convincingly that Dutt's edition is not to be relied upon" (DE JONG 1987a: 73).

[36] See n. 42.

[37] MAITHRIMURTHI 1999.

[38] It is, however, difficult to know if Edgerton had read the entire text or had mainly used Wogihara's index to his edition (DE JONG 1987b: 164).

[39] See YOKOYAMA & HIROSAWA 1996. For a review of this index, see SILK 2001.

(b) A Brief Description of the Extant Manuscripts and Editions

The following general description of MSS P, C, and K are to a great extent based on details provided in previous studies, reference to which will be made in the respective footnotes. Note that any further specific observations made on all manuscripts and editions are based only on the *Cittotpādapaṭala*. Still, I hope that at least some of the observations I make in the following paragraphs are representative of the manuscripts and editions of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* as a whole.

(i) The Patna MS

The Patna MS (P) contains 266 leaves measuring 12 x 2 inches, and represents a complete text.[40] The text is written in Kuṭila script with seven lines on each side.[41] There are 30 photo plates reproducing the whole, labelled 1A, 1B up to 15A, 15B. The folio numbers occur on the reverse. Sometimes MS P uses a *daṇḍa*-like stroke at the end of lines, seemingly with a hyphen-like function. It also occasionally manifests some scribal peculiarities—for instance, not combining the consonant of the previous word with the vowel of the following word (e.g. °*m u*° instead of the common °*mu*°). It generally (but not always) omits *avagraha* signs, and it does not use the *virāma* sign at all. It also contains a few corrections made by the scribe. Compared to MS N, it is in much better shape and contains no lacunae, as far as I could judge from the *Cittotpādapaṭala* portion.

(ii) The Nepal MS

The Nepal palm-leaf manuscript (N)[42] is written in ornamental Nevārī script and contains 108 folios with five lines each. Numerous folios are missing, among them the first folio and possibly the last series of folios; the text concludes at the end of the third Yogasthāna. The last folio filmed is numbered 174 which means that at least 66 folios are missing. The folios, measuring 56 x 6 centimetres, are riddled with holes, and the margins of several folios have broken off, resulting in damage to numerals. This must have created a good deal of confusion when the manuscript was photographed. The *Cittotpādapaṭala*, for instance, begins on folio 6 *recto* and ends on 10 *recto*. Folio 8 is missing, another folio belonging to another section (its folio number is missing) being found in its place, that is, between folios 7 and 9, and a further two folios, again belonging to another section (their folio numbers are missing as well), have been inserted between folios 9 and 10. MS N generally (but not always) omits *avagraha*

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[40] By a printing mistake, the number of folios is given in SĀṄKṚTYĀNA 1938: 145 as 226 instead of 266. This was pointed out by ROTH 1975/76: 166, 174. The number 266 is confirmed by the report of the discovery of the manuscript written by dGe-'dun-chos-'phel (*gSer gyi thang ma*, p. 26.2–3). In the unpublished lists of Sanskrit palm-leaf manuscripts kept in Beijing, the number of manuscript leaves is also registered as 266; see BANDURSKI 1994: 66.

[41] For details, see SĀṄKṚTYĀNA 1938: 145 (part 4); BANDURSKI 1994: 65.

[42] The MS no. 3–681 (*bauddhadarśana* 63), National Archives, Kathmandu, NGMPP-Reel No. A 38/3. The date of filming is given as 22.9.70. This manuscript has a book-cover illustrated with nine Buddha-figures displaying various hand gestures (*mudrā*).

signs, and often too the *anusvāra* is either missing or indiscernible. Owing to the numerous lacunae, MS N has not been of much value for the critical edition.

(iii) The Cambridge MS

The Cambridge palm-leaf manuscript (C) consists of 144 leaves,[43] the number of lines on them ranging from 6 to 8. The size of the leaves is given by Bendall as 12 x 2 inches. The physical condition of the manuscript is described by him as "imperfect and very shattered at the edges, in particular many of the leaf-numbers being broken off."[44] In addition, Wogihara noted the occasional illegibility of letters marred by stains.[45] Bendall also remarked that the manuscript, which is written in Nevārī script,[46] is scribed in two different hands[47] and that one hand is more archaic than that of the palm-leaf manuscript of the *Parameśvaratantra* (MS Add. 1049)[48] which dates from 875 C.E. He placed this manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* in the ninth century C.E.[49] According to Wogihara, C was written in the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century.[50]

(iv) The Kyoto MS

I have been able to obtain a copy of the microfilm of the Kyoto manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (K) through the library of the Department of the Culture and History of India and Tibet (University of Hamburg).[51] Unlike the other manuscripts, K is written on paper. There are 206 folios, the number of lines being regularly 7. The folios are numbered on the right margin of the *verso* in Devanāgarī numerals, while on the left margin of the same side appears the syllable *bo*, obviously an abbreviation of *Bodhisattvabhūmi*. It seems that the manuscript was provided with a corresponding pagination on the *recto* in Arabic numerals before filming. The colophon of K states that its original was an undated palm-leaf manuscript.[52] Such facts as the absence of the

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[43] Originally, the number of leaves of MS C must have been 151, and thus it now lacks seven leaves; see WOGIHARA 1930–36: ii (preface).

[44] BENDALL 1883: 191.

[45] See WOGIHARA 1930–36: ii (preface). For a description of MS C, see WOGIHARA 1904: 34.

[46] For a discussion of palaeographical features of MS C, see the 'Palaeographical Introduction' in BENDALL 1883: xvii–xxxviii.

[47] The end of the first hand and the beginning of the second hand of MS C (Add. 1702, leaf no. 19) is reproduced in Plate 1.1; see BENDALL 1883: 191–196.

[48] BENDALL 1883: xxxix–lv.

[49] Har Dayal, who used the Cambridge palm-leaf manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* manuscript for his dissertation, also dated it to the ninth century. He gives no explanation for his dating, but he probably relied on Bendall; see DAYAL 1932: 348 (appendix).

[50] See WOGIHARA 1908: 6; DE JONG 1987b: 165.

[51] I should like to take this opportunity to thank Dr. Felix Erb who, in spite of severe financial constraints faced by the library of the Department, agreed to order the microfilm of the Kyoto manuscript of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* (K) from Kyoto, Japan, and Achim Beyer for clearing the order in Japan.

beginning portion of the *Gotrapaṭala* and the fourth and last *Anukramapaṭala*, and the marking of missing lines and letters with dashes, indicate that the palm-leaf manuscript upon which K was based was in a poor condition. Wogihara held the original of K to be older than the original of C. However, he did not venture to estimate the date of MS K. In de Jong's judgement, MS K is probably a recent copy made in the nineteenth century.[53] Not being a palaeographer, I am unable to offer any suggestions as to the age of P and N. MS K seems to be in any case quite recent.

(v) Wogihara's Edition

Wogihara remarked that the manuscripts that he used (C and K) are both incomplete and abound in clerical errors, which he corrected (wherever possible) on the basis of the Tibetan translation. Irregular *saṃdhi*, though, he left as it stands in the original, except at the end of a sentence.[54] He took into consideration the Tibetan translation of the sDe-dge recension and the Chinese translations of Hsüan-tsang and *Dharmakṣema. In cases of lacunae in his manuscripts, he reconstructed the Sanskrit text based on the Tibetan and Chinese translations, often successfully. In general, given the quality of the manuscripts and the amount of work involved, his edition, done with much more care than Dutt's, is quite reliable.

(vi) Dutt's Edition

As already stated, Dutt used photographs of MS P for his edition. In addition, he used a copy of the same manuscript made by Paṇḍit Baldeo Mishra of the Kashi Prasad Jayaswal Research Institute. In this regard the following statement is made by Dutt:[55]

> I should also thank Paṇḍit Baldeo Mishra of the Institute for preparing a copy from the photographs, all of which are not legible. As the photographs are not kept in order, the Paṇḍit's copy also suffered from the same defect. The copy however reduced my labour of decipherment to a large extent though I had to prepare a fresh copy for the Press.

As is evident from his critical apparatus, Dutt used another version (assigned by him the siglum J), without, however, identifying it. As most of the variant readings in J recorded by Dutt in his critical apparatus bear a great deal of similarity with Wogihara's edition, with the numbers following the siglum J obviously referring to the page numbers in the latter, J (probably standing for 'Japanese') must be referring to Wogihara's edition, concerning which Dutt states:[56]

> On the basis of the Cambridge and Kyoto mss., Prof. U. Wogihara published an edition in Romanised script. A copy of this work came into my hands when I had nearly completed the edition of the present ms. I found that the readings of the Cambridge ms. agreed with those in our ms. The present ms. being almost complete, it filled up the lacuna in Wogihara's edition.

A careful examination reveals, however, that J is not completely identical with W, which can perhaps only be explained by assuming inaccurate recording on the part of

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[52] The colophon of MS K (fol. *verso* 206.5–6) reads: "[The text] was written after being seen in an old undated book written on palm leaves in Lañjana/Rañjana-*akṣaras*" (*tālapatreṣu lañjanākṣarair llikhita samvatsararahite purātanapustake dṛṣṭvā likhitam* ||). See also WOGIHARA 1930–1936: ii.

[53] DE JONG 1987b: 165. Cf. GOSHIMA & NOGUCHI 1983: iii, 20.

[54] See WOGIHARA 1930–36 (no page number), 'General Remarks' in his edition of the *Bodhisattvabhūmi*.

[55] DUTT 1966: 2 (Preface).

[56] DUTT 1966: 3 (Introduction).

Dutt. Unlike Wogihara, Dutt seems to have consulted neither the Tibetan[57] nor any Chinese translation.

The observations made by me in regard to Dutt's edition on the basis of my critical edition of the *Cittotpādapaṭala* portion make clear that Dutt's edition abounds in mistakes and is often imprecise. Several cases demonstrate that he has sometimes misread his manuscript, creating variants that cannot be confirmed. There are many instances where D reads the same as W (only occasionally does Dutt indicate, by using square brackets, that his reading is an emendation) without the variant of P or D^J being given, although P reads differently. These cases clearly demonstrate that Dutt often did not faithfully record the readings of his manuscript. In various other cases Dutt, while not following any of the readings attested, emended the text without marking the emendation as such. Furthermore, the notes given in his critical apparatus are sometimes ambiguous and thus prone to conflicting interpretations.[58] Since Dutt employs a negative apparatus, one can only assume that in the instances where D reads the same as W, with variants recorded for P but not for D^J, and vice versa, he is following respectively D^J against P and the reverse. There is at least one instance where D reads the same as W while recording a variant reading in D^J as well as in P. In three further cases, D reads the same as W^K (in one of them he supplies no variant either in P or in D^J, and in the remaining two he notes a variant in D^J but not in P, but nevertheless reads against both P and D^J, which reads the same as W). These cases confirm that Dutt has actually used W without explicitly stating so. It was also de Jong's impression that Dutt adopted some readings from Wogihara's edition even when his own manuscript offered a better reading, and that on the whole Dutt's edition was produced with much less care than Wogihara's.[59]

(c) Some Observations on the Stemmatic Relationship of the Manuscripts

Given the limited number of manuscripts available and the focus on only a small portion of the text, there is no firm basis for adequately determining the stemmatic relationship of the manuscripts to one another. Nevertheless, I should like to present here some observations based on a statistical evaluation of the different readings of the manuscripts of this particular portion of the text. In general, the readings in P differ from the readings in W (which reflects both C and K). But when C and K differ, P is clearly closer to K. The number of cases in which N shows some similarity to P as opposed to W is approximately equal to the number of cases in which N and W have similar readings as opposed to P (note, however, that we have a number of cases in which P differs from W but where N is lost). Again, when C and K differ, N shows a greater affinity with K. Hence one may generalise that while C and K show a certain similarity as opposed to P, both P and N more closely resemble K than C. One may recall here that the three manuscripts P, N, and K lack the *Anukramapaṭala,* which is found only in C. There are, further, no clear indications as to whether the manuscript(s) used by the Tibetan translators is or are in anyway related to any of the present manuscripts, for the Tibetan translation does not predominantly support the readings of any of them. Note, however, that the Tibetan translation includes the *Anukramapaṭala*, found also in MS C.

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[57] The few instances where he gives 'Tib.' in his critical apparatus may have simply involved copying from Wogihara's edition.

[58] See also my presentation of the methods employed in my critical edition of the Sanskrit text.

[59] DE JONG 1987b: 164.

(d) The Methodology and Abbreviations Employed in the Critical Edition of the Sanskrit Text

A positive apparatus has been followed for the critical edition. I have made an attempt to record all variants: Those variants that I regard as significant for textual criticism and for the textual transmission are reproduced in the footnotes (in Roman letters, beginning anew on each page) and the less significant ones in the endnotes (in Arabic numerals that run on). The variants regarded by me as less significant are ones largely palaeographical and stylistic in nature, namely, variants regarding the *avagraha* sign (often omitted by both P and N), any variation involving the application of *anusvāra* versus one of the nasal letters (including cases where the *anusvāra* is missing or indiscernible, as is often the case in MS N), and variants in punctuation (i.e. the use of *daṇḍa*s[60]), along with obvious scribal or printing errors.

The numbering of the text in Arabic numerals (e.g. 3.2.0.) is mine and employed to mark the main points. When necessary, passages are partitioned further and numbered in Roman letters within round brackets (e.g. (a)). The page or folio numbers of the manuscripts and editions are given in raised and large angled brackets (e.g. <P12r>) where a new page or folio commences. In cases where I thought it unclear which portion of text a particular footnote or endnote refers to, I have used small raised angled brackets (e.g. ‘ayaṃ prathamaḥ’) to mark the text in question. In addition to the variant readings in the editions made by Wogihara and Dutt, I have also included all variant readings marked by them in the notes to their editions. These readings are indicated by the siglum of the edition followed by a raised siglum for the manuscript (e.g. W^C for Wogihara's reading of MS C). I also refer to any remark or observation made by Wogihara regarding the Tibetan or Chinese translations. The variants given by Dutt in his critical apparatus are sometimes ambiguous and subject to interpretation. In such cases, I interpreted Dutt's variants (at times with the help of MS P used by him) and recorded them in my critical apparatus as he had apparently intended, as opposed to how he himself recorded them. When I found it necessary to do so, I provided Dutt's exact formulation, described its ambiguity, and explained my interpretation. In general, *saṃdhi* rules have been adopted if attested in at least one of the manuscripts or editions. Only in a few cases have I emended the text by applying *saṃdhi* rules. The lacunae in MS N have been marked with *lost in* N. When illegible, in part or in whole, I have used *defaced in* N. In a few cases, I have also recorded the scribal corrections found in MS P using P^{ac} to designate the reading before correction, and P^{pc} the reading after correction. In cases of uncertainty, I refer to the Tibetan translation in the Sanskrit edition and vice versa.

As stated above, I have made an attempt to record all variants. Some minor variants, though, which seem to be mere stylistic peculiarities have not been noted. These include the omission of the *virāma* sign and the use of the *daṇḍa*-like short stroke at the end of a line, both in MS P. Some other scribal peculiarities observed in MS P are no longer visible when transliterated into Roman script. For instance, both *ci ttam u tpā da ya ti* (as in MS P) and the common *ci tta mu tpā da ya ti* are transcribed as *cittam utpādayati*.

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[60] Note that Wogihara used a full stop for *daṇḍa*s throughout. Hence the variants in W regarding *daṇḍa*s can be indicated only in cases when these are either omitted or added. Differences in the number of *daṇḍa*s cannot be determined.

The following abbreviations are used in the critical edition of the Sanskrit text:

ac	*ante correctum*
add.	addendum
C	Cambridge MS
Chin.	Chinese translation by Hsüan-tsang (in the critical apparatus of W)
conj.	conjecture
D	Dutt's edition
D^J	Dutt's reading of Wogihara's edition
D^P	Dutt's reading of the Patna MS indicated in his footnotes
em.	emendation
K	Kyoto MS
N	Nepal MS
om.	omit
P	Patna MS
pc	*post correctum*
r	*recto*
Tib.	Tibetan translation
v	*verso*
W	Wogihara's edition
W^C	Wogihara's reading of the Cambridge MS indicated in his footnotes
W^K	Wogihara's reading of the Kyoto MS indicated in his footnotes

2. The Text

1.1.1. iha bodhisattvasya prathamaś cittotpādaḥ sarvabodhisattvasamyakpraṇidhānānām ādyaṃ samyakpraṇidhānaṃ[a] tadanyasamyakpraṇidhānasaṃgrāhakam[1] | tasmā<P8v>t sa āditaḥ[b] samyakpraṇidhāna[c]svabhāvaḥ |

1.1.2. sa khalu bodhisattvo bodhāya cittaṃ praṇidadhad evaṃ[2] cittam abhisaṃskaroti vācaṃ[3] ca bhāṣate | aho batāham anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim abhisaṃbudhyeyaṃ[4] sarvasattvānāṃ[5] cārthakaraḥ[6] syām atyantaniṣṭhe nirvāṇe pratiṣṭhāpayeyaṃ[7] tathāgatajñāne ca | sa ‘evam ātmanaś’[d] ca bodhiṃ sattvārthaṃ[8] ca prārthayamānaś cittam utpādayati | tasmāt sa cittotpādaḥ prārthanākāraḥ[9] |

1.1.3. tāṃ khalu bodhiṃ sattvārthaṃ[10] cālambya[11] sa cittotpādaḥ[12] ‘prārthayate nānālambya’[e] | tasmāt sa cittotpādo bodhyālambanaḥ sattvārthālambanaś ca |
1.1.4. sa ca[f] cittotpādaḥ sarvabodhi‘pakṣa’[g]kuśalamūlasaṃgrahāya pūrvaṃgamatvāt[13] kuśalaḥ[14] ‘paramakauśalyaguṇayuktaḥ’[h15] bhadraḥ paramabhadraḥ kalyāṇaḥ ‘paramakalyāṇaḥ’[i] sarvasattvādhiṣṭhānakāyavāṅmanoduścarita‘vairodhikaḥ |

1.1.5. yāni ca’[j] ‘kānicid’[k] anyāni laukikalokottareṣv artheṣu kuśalāni samyakpraṇidhānāni |[16] teṣāṃ sarveṣāṃ[17] agram[l] etat samyakpraṇidhānaṃ niruttaraṃ yad uta bodhisattvasya prathamaś cittotpādaḥ |

1.1.Ø. evam ayaṃ prathamaś cittotpādaḥ svabhāvato <P9r> ’pi[18] veditavyaḥ |[19] ‘ākārato ’py’[m] ālambanato ’pi[20] guṇato ‘’py utkarṣato ’pi’[n] pañcalakṣaṇo[21] veditavyaḥ |

1.2.1. tasya ca cittasya[o] sahotpādād avatīrṇo[p] bhavati <N6v> bodhisattvo ‘’nuttare bodhimahāyāne’[q] |[22] ‘bodhisattva iti’[r] ca <W13> saṃkhyāṃ gacchati yad uta saṃketavyavahāranayena | tasmāt sa ‘cittotpādaḥ avatārasaṃgṛhītaḥ’[23] |

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[a] samyakpraṇidhānaṃ] PND (*also* Tib.), *om.* WD^{J}
[b] āditaḥ] WD, ādita N, ādi P (*also* Tib.)
[c] °dhā°] PWD, *stroke of long vowel* ā *invisible in* N
[d] evam ātmanaś] NWN, evātmanaś PD^{P}D^{J}
[e] °rthayate nānā°] PWD, *lost in* N
[f] ca] PND, *om.* WD^{J}
[g] °pakṣa°] NW, °pakṣya° PD
[h] °kauśalyaguṇayuktaḥ] PNWD. *The Chinese and Tibetan translations seem to have* kuśala/o *instead of* kauśalya. *The Chinese however has no* guṇayuktaḥ *whereas Tibetan reads as though* guṇayuktaḥ *occurred as the last member of the compound, that is,* kuśalaparamakuśalabhadraparamabhadra-kalyāṇaparamakalyāṇaguṇayuktaḥ. *See also the following note and the note to my translation.*
[i] °kalyāṇaḥ] PNWD (*According to the Tibetan translation* °kalyāṇaguṇayuktaḥ. *See the previous note and the note to my translation.*)
[j] °kaḥ | yāni ca] PWD, *lost in* N
[k] kānicid] NWD^{J} (kā *in* N *only partly visible*), kānicit tad PD (*also* Tib.)
[l] agram] WD^{J}, agryaṃ W^{K}, agryam PND
[m] °rato ’py] WD, °rato py N, °ra py P
[n] ’py utkarṣato ’pi] D, py utkarṣato pi P, ’pi utkarṣato ’pi W, *lost in* N
[o] cittasya] PND^{P} (*also* Tib.), bodhicittasya WD
[p] avatīrṇo] PNW^{K}D^{P}, evāvatīrṇo WD, evātīrṇo W^{C}
[q] ’nuttare bodhimahā°] DW^{K}, ’nuttarabodhimahā° W, nuttare bodhimahā° N, ’nuttare bodhimahāna° P
[r] bodhisattva iti] W (*also* Tib.), bodhisattvo bodhisattva iti PND

1.2.2. utpādya ca bodhisattvas tac cittaṃ ‘krameṇānuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim’[a] abhisaṃbudhyate[b] nānutpādya[c] |[24] tasmād[d] anuttarāyāḥ samyaksaṃbodheḥ[25] sa cittotpādo mūlam |[e]

1.2.3. duḥkhiteṣu ca sattveṣu sa[f] kāruṇiko bodhisattvaḥ paritrāṇābhiprāyas[26] tac cittam utpādayati | tasmāt sa cittotpādaḥ karuṇāniṣyandaḥ | <D9>

1.2.4. taṃ[27] ca cittotpādaṃ niśritya pratiṣṭhāya bodhisattvo[g] bodhipakṣeṣu[h] dharmeṣu ‘sattvārthakriyāyāṃ ca’[i] bodhisattvaśikṣāyāṃ prayujyate | tasmāt sa cittotpādo bodhisattvaśikṣāyāḥ saṃniśrayaḥ[28] |

1.2.Ø. evam asau prathamaś cittotpādaḥ saṃgrahato ’pi[29] mūlato ’pi[30] niṣyandato ’pi[31] saṃniśrayato[32] ’pi[33] veditavyaḥ[j] |

2.1.0. sa ca bodhisattvasya ‘prathamaś cittotpādaḥ’[k34] samāsena dvividhaḥ | nairyāṇikaś ‘ca anairyāṇikaś’[35] ca | ‘tatra nairyāṇiko’[l] yad[m] utpanno ’tyantam ‘anuvartate na’[n] pu<P9v>nar[o] vyāvartate | anairyāṇikaḥ punar yad[p] utpanno nātyantam anuvartate[36] punar eva vyāvartate |

2.2.0. tasya ca cittotpādasya vyāvṛttir api ‘dvividhā | ātyantikī’[37q] cānātyantikī ca | tatrātyantikī yat sakṛd vyāvṛttaṃ[38] cittaṃ na punar utpadyate bodhāya | anātyantikī punaḥ[39] yad vyāvṛttaṃ ‘cittaṃ punaḥ’[r] punar utpadyate bodhāya |

3.1.0. sa[s] khalu cittasyotpādaś[40] caturbhiḥ pratyayaiś caturbhir hetubhiś[41] caturbhir balair[42] veditavyaḥ |

3.1.1. catvāraḥ pratyayāḥ[43] katame |[44] (a) iha kulaputro vā kuladuhitā[t] vā tathāgatasya vā bodhisattvasya ‘vā acintyam’[45] adbhutaṃ[u] prātihāryaṃ prabhāvaṃ paśyati |[46] saṃpratyayitasya vā ’ntikāc chṛṇoti | tasya dṛṣṭvā vā ‘śrutvā vaivaṃ’[v] bhavati | mahānubhāvā bateyaṃ <W14> bodhir yasyāṃ sthitasya vā pratipannasya vā <N7r> ’yam

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[a] °rāṃ samyaksaṃbodhi°] PWD, *lost in* N (*akṣara* rāṃ *partly visible*)
[b] abhisaṃbudhyate] W (*also* Tib.), amisaṃbudhyate D^{J} (*obviously a scribal or printing error*), adhigacchati NDW^{K}, gacchati P
[c] °dya |] NWD, °dyate P
[d] tasmād] NWD, tesmād P (*Probably the daṇḍa that should precede* tasmād *had erroneously been scribed as a stroke of vowel e*).
[e] °lam |] D, °laṃ | NW, °laḥ | P
[f] sa] NWD, *om.* PW^{K}D^{P}
[g] bodhisattvo] WD (*also* Tib.), *om.* PND^{P}
[h] °pakṣeṣu] NW, °pakṣyeṣu PD
[i] °ttvārthakriyāyāṃ ca] W, °ttvārthakriyāyāñ ca PD, *lost in* N (*akṣara* ca *partly visible*).
[j] °tavyaḥ] PND, °tayaḥ W
[k] °maś cittot°] NW, °macittot° P^{ac}D, °maḥ cittot° P^{pc}
[l] °tra nairyāṇiko] PWD, *lost in* N
[m] yad] PN, ya WD
[n] °rtate na] WD, °rtate | na P, *lost in* N
[o] punar] PWD, *illegible in* N
[p] yad] PN, ya WD
[q] °ntikī] P^{pc}NWD, °ntīkī P^{ac}
[r] °ttaṃ pu°] PWD, *lost in* N (*lowermost part visible*)
[s] sa] WD^{J}, tasya PND
[t] °duhitā] PNW, °druhitā D (*probably a printing error*)
[u] adbhutaṃ] W (*also* Tib.), atyadbhutaṃ PND, adbhūtaṃ D^{J}
[v] śrutvā vaivaṃ] NW, śrutvaivaṃ W^{C}, śrutvā caivaṃ W^{K}, śrutvā vā evaṃ PD

evaṃrūpaḥ prabhāvaḥ[47] idam evaṃrūpaṃ prātihāryaṃ dṛśyate ca śrūyate ca |[48] sa[a] tad eva prabhāva[b]darśanaṃ śravaṇaṃ vādhipatiṃ kṛtvā mahābodhyadhimukto mahābodhau cittam utpādayati |[49] ‘ayaṃ prathamaḥ’[c] pratyayaś[50] cittasyotpattaye | (b) sa na haiva prabhāvaṃ paśyati vā śṛṇoti vā[d] api tv anuttarāṃ samyaksaṃbodhim[e] ārabhya saddharmaṃ śṛṇoti bo<P10r>dhisattvapiṭakaṃ[f] deśyamānaṃ[g] | śrutvā ca punar abhiprasīdati |[51] abhiprasannaś ca saddharmaśravaṇam adhipatiṃ kṛtvā tathāgatajñānādhimuktaḥ[52] tathāgatajñānapratilambhāya[53] cittam utpādayati | ayaṃ dvitīyaḥ pratyayaś[54] cittasyotpattaye[h] | (c) sa na haiva dharmaṃ śṛṇoty[i] api tu bodhisattvasaddharmāntardhānim[j] āmukhām upagatāṃ paśyati | dṛṣṭvā ca punar asyaivaṃ bhavati |[55] aprameyāṇāṃ[k] bata sattvānāṃ duḥkhāpagamāya bodhisattvasaddharmasthitiḥ saṃvartate | yan nv ahaṃ bodhisattvasaddharmacirasthitaye cittam utpādayeyaṃ[56] yad uta eṣām eva sattvānāṃ[l] duḥkhāpakarṣaṇāya[m][57] | sa[n] ‘saddharmadhāraṇam evādhipatiṃ’[o] kṛtvā tathāgatajñānādhimuktas tathāgatajñānapratilambhāya[58] cittam utpādayati | ayaṃ[59] <D10> tṛtīyaḥ[60] pratyayaś cittasyotpattaye | (d) sa na haiva saddharmāntardhāniṃ[p] pratyupasthitāṃ paśyati |[61] api tv antayuge ’ntakāle ‘pratyavarān antayugikān’[q] sattvāśrayān[r] paśyati[62] ‘yad uta daśabhir upakleśair’[s] upakliṣṭān[63] | tadyathā ‘mohabahulān āhrīkyānapatrāpyabahulān’[t] īrṣyāmā[u]tsaryabahulān[64] duḥkhabahulān[65] dauṣṭhulyabahulān[66] kleśabahulān[67] <P10v> duścarita<W15>bahulān[68] pramādabahulān[69] kausīdyabahulān[70] āśraddhyabahulāṃś ca |[71] dṛṣṭvā ca punar asyaivaṃ bhavati | mahān[72] batāyaṃ[v] kaṣāyakālaḥ[w] pratyupasthitaḥ[x] | asminn evam upakliṣṭe kāle na sulabho ‘nihīnaśrāvaka’[y]<N7v>pratyekabodhāv api tāvac cittotpādaḥ |[73] prāg evānuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau | yan nv aham api tāvac cittam utpādayeyam[74] apy eva nāma[z] mamānuśikṣamāṇā anye ’py[75] utpādayeyur iti | so ’ntakāle ‘cittotpādadurlabhatām

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[a] sa] PNWD, tadā W^{C}

[b] °va PNDW^{C}, °vasya WD^{J}

[c] °yaṃ prathama°] PWD, *lost in* N (*lowermost part visible*)

[d] vā] WD, vā | N, vāti P

[e] samyaksaṃbodhim] W (*also* Tib.), bodhim PND

[f] *Note* Tib. *byang chub kyi sde snod.*

[g] deśyamānaṃ] PWD, vā deśyamānaṃ N

[h] cittasyo°] PWD, *lower part lost in* N

[i] śṛṇoty] PND (°ty *in* N *partly damaged*), śṛṇoti W

[j] °ttvasaddhar°] W, °ttvaḥ saddhar° PD, °ttvaḥ | saddhar° N

[k] °meyāṇāṃ] PDW^{K} (*Note that the variant in K recorded by Wogihara reads* a-prameyāṇ° *which can also be interpreted as* aprameyāṇānāṃ.), °meyāṇām N, °māṇānāṃ W

[l] °nāṃ] PWD, *stroke of long vowel* ā *lost in* N

[m] °karṣaṇāya] PD, *only* °ṇāya *visible in* N (*probably* N = PD), °karṣāya WD^{J}

[n] sa] W, [sa] D, *om.* PND^{P}

[o] °dhāraṇam evā°] PD, °m evā° *lost in* N (*unclear whether* ṇa *or* ṇā), °dhāraṇām evā° W

[p] °niṃ] WD, °nīṃ N, °niḥ P

[q] °rān antayugi°] PNW, °rāntayugi° D

[r] sattvāśrayān] PD, sattvāśrayāṃ W, sattvān N

[s] °ad uta daśabhir up°] PWD, *lost in* N

[t] °lān āhrī°] WD, °lānāṃ hrī° P (*anusvāra probably added by mistake*), °lāhrī° *or* °lānhrī°? N

[u] °mā] P^{pc}NWD, °ma P^{ac}

[v] kaṣāyakālaḥ] WD, kaṣāyakālaḥ | P, *lost in* N

[w] °yaṃ] PWD, *partly damaged in* N

[x] °upasthitaḥ] PNWD, °avasthitaḥ W^{C}

[y] °naśrāvaka°] NW, °naḥ śrāvaka° PD

[z] nāma], NW, [nāma] D, *om.* P

adhipatiṃ’[a] kṛtvā mahābodhāv adhimukto mahābodhau cittam utpādayati | ayaṃ[76] caturthaḥ pratyayaś[77] cittasyotpattaye |[78]

3.1.2. catvāro hetavaḥ katame | (a) gotrasampad bodhisattvasya prathamo hetuś[79] cittasyotpattaye | (b) buddhabodhisattvakalyāṇamitraparigraho[80] dvitīyo hetuś cittasyotpattaye |[81] (c) sattveṣu kāruṇyaṃ[82] ‘bodhisattvasya tṛtīyo’[b] hetuś cittasyotpattaye | (d) ‘saṃsāraduḥkhaduṣkaracaryāduḥkhād’[c83] api dīrghakālikād vicitrāt tīvrān nirantarād abhīrutā caturtho hetuś cittasyotpattaye | (a) tatra gotrasampad bodhisattvasya dharmatāpratilabdhaiva veditavyā | <D11> (b) caturbhir ākārai<P11r>r bodhisattvasya mitrasampad[84] veditavyā | (i) iha ‘bodhisattvasya mitram ādita’[d] evājaḍaṃ bhavaty adhandhajātīyaṃ[e] paṇḍitaṃ[85] vicakṣaṇaṃ[f] na ca ‘kudṛṣṭipatitam | iyaṃ’[86] prathamā mitrasampat[87] | (ii) na cainaṃ pramāde viniyojayati[88] na pramādasthānam[g] asyopasaṃharati[h] | iyaṃ dvitīyā mitrasampat |[89] (iii) na cainaṃ duścarite[i] viniyojayati[90] na duścaritasthānam ‘asyopasaṃharati | iyaṃ’[91] <W16> tṛtīyā mitrasampat[j] | (iv) na cainam utkṛṣṭatarebhyaḥ śraddhā[k]cchandasamādānavīryopāyaguṇebhyo vicchandayitvā[l] nihīnatareṣu[m] śraddhācchandasamādānavīryopāyaguṇeṣu samādāpayati | tadyathā mahāyānād vicchandayitvā śrāvakayāne vā[92] pratyekabuddhayāne vā[93] ‘bhāvanāmayād vicchandayitvā’[n] cintāmaye[94] cintāmayād vicchandayitvā śrutamaye[95] śrutamayād vicchandayitvā[o] vaiyāpṛtya[p]karmaṇi[96] śī<N8>[q]lamayād[r] vicchandayitvā dānamaye |[97] ity evaṃbhāgīyebhya utkṛṣṭatarakebhyo[s] guṇebhyo na vicchandayitvā[98] evaṃbhāgīyeṣu nihīnatareṣu[t] guṇeṣu ‘samādāpayati | iyaṃ’[99] caturthī mitrasampat | (c) <D11> ‘caturbhiḥ kāraṇair’[u] bodhisattvaḥ karuṇābahulo bhavati sattveṣu | (i) santi te <P11v> dhātavaḥ,[100] yeṣu duḥkhaṃ nopalabhyate[101] daśasu dikṣv anantāparyanteṣu lokadhātuṣu | sa ca bodhisattvaḥ saduḥkhe lokadhātau[v] pratyājāto bhavati,[102] yatra duḥkham upalabhyate,[103] nāduḥkhe[w] | (ii) paraṃ[104] cānyatamena duḥkhena spṛṣṭam upadrutam abhibhūtaṃ paśyati | (iii) ātmanā cānyatamena[105] duḥkhena spṛṣṭo bhavaty upadruto ’bhibhūtaḥ[106] |

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[a] cittotpādadurlabhatām adhipatiṃ] PD, cittotpādaḥ du... (*rest lost*) N (*akṣara* t *and anusvāra of last akṣara* tiṃ *visible*), cittotpādadur... (*rest lost*) W (*Wogihara's conjecture based on* Tib.: cittotpādaṃ durlabham adhipatiṃ)

[b] °sattvasya tṛtīyo] PWD, *lost in* N

[c] °duḥkhaduṣkaracaryāduḥkhād] PN, °duḥkhād duṣkaracaryāduḥkhād D, °duḥkhād duṣkaracaryād duḥkhād W

[d] °sya mitram ādita] PWD, *lost in* N

[e] °ndhajā°] PWD, *lost in* N

[f] vicakṣaṇaṃ] PNW (*also* Tib.), vilakṣaṇaṃ D

[g] °sthānam] NWD, °sthādanam P

[h] °saṃharati] NWD, °harati P

[i] °ścarite] PWD, *illegible in* N

[j] mitrasampat] PWD, *upper part lost in* N

[k] °śraddhā] PWD, śra *partly damaged and* ddhā *lost in* N

[l] vicchandayitvā] PNDW[K] (*all throughout unless indicated otherwise*), vicchandya WD[J], vicchindya W[C] (*The reading of* PNDW[K], *being a genuine BHS-form, is definitively preferable here.*)

[m] nihīnatareṣu] PNDW[K] (N *seems to have an incomplete daṇḍa after* hī), nihīnatarakeṣu WD[J]

[n] °yād vi°] PWD, *lower part lost in* N

[o] *No variant given in* W. *Either the MSS read so or is a printing error.*

[p] °pṛtya°] NW (*also* Tib.), °pṛtye° P, °vṛti° W[C], °vṛttya° D

[q] *Fol. no 8 of* N *lost.*

[r] śīlamayād] WD, śīlamayād vā P

[s] °tarakebhyo] W, °tarebhyo PD

[t] °tareṣu] PD, °tarakeṣu W

[u] °bhiḥ kāraṇair] WD[J] (*Dutt's actual record is* caturbhiḥ kāraṇairbodhi-), °bhir ākārair PD. *Note that* Tib. *reads*: rgyu rnam pa bzhis na. *See note to my translation.*

[v] lokadhātau] PD, dhātau WD[J] (*also* Tib.)

[w] °khe] WD, °khaṃ P

(iv) punaś ca param ātmānaṃ vā tadubhayaṃ vā dīrghakālikena vicitreṇa tīvreṇa[a] nirantareṇa duḥkhena spṛṣṭam upadrutam abhibhūtaṃ paśyati | iti tasya bodhisattvasya svagotrasaṃniśrayeṇa[107] prakṛtibhadratayā ebhiś caturbhir ālambanair[108] adhiṣṭhānaiḥ karuṇā mṛdumadhyādhimātrā pravartate[109] anyatrābhyāsataḥ | (d) caturbhiḥ kāraṇair bodhisattvaḥ sattveṣu karuṇāṃ saṃpuraskṛtya saṃsāraduḥkhād dīrghakālikād vicitrāt tīvrān nirantarād api na bibheti[110] nottrasyati |[111] prāg eva nihīnāt | <W17> (i) prakṛtyā sāttviko bhavati[112] dhṛtimāṃ[113] balavān |[114] idaṃ prathamaṃ kāraṇam[115] | (ii) paṇḍito bhavati samyagupanidhyānaśīlaḥ pratisaṃkhyānabalikaḥ | idaṃ dvitīyaṃ kāraṇam[116] | (iii) anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhāv a<P12r>dhimātrayā adhimuktyā[117] samanvāgato 'bhavati | idaṃ'[118] tṛtīyaṃ kāraṇam[119] | (iv) 'sattveṣu cādhimātrayā'[b] karuṇayā samanvāgato 'bhavati | idaṃ'[120] caturthaṃ kāraṇam[121] |

3.1.3. (a) catvāri balāni katamāni | adhyātmabalaṃ[122] parabalaṃ[123] hetubalaṃ[124] prayogabalaṃ[125] ca | (b) (i) tatra svaśaktipatitā yā rucir anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau[126] idam ucyate bodhisattvasyādhyātmabalaṃ[c] cittasyotpattaye | (ii) paraśaktisamutpāditā tu[d] rucir anuttarāyāṃ samyaksaṃbodhau bodhisattvasya parabalam ity ucyate cittasyotpattaye | (iii) pūrvako bodhisattvasya mahāyānapratisaṃyuktakuśaladharmābhyāsa[127] etarhi buddhabodhisattvasaṃdarśanamātrakeṇa[e] tadvarṇaśravaṇamātrakeṇa vā āśu cittasyotpattaye[f128] prāg eva 'prabhāvadarśanena vā saddharmaśravaṇena vā'[g129] hetubalam ity ucyate cittasyotpattaye | (iv) dṛṣṭadhārmiko bodhisattvasya satpuruṣasaṃsevāsaddharmaśravaṇacintādiko[130] dīrghakālikaḥ[131] kuśaladharmābhyāsaḥ prayogabalam ity ucyate cittasyotpattaye |

3.1.Ø. tatra bodhisattvasya samastavyastāṃś[132] caturaḥ pratyayāṃś[133] caturo hetūn āgamya saced adhyātmabalena hetuba<P12v>lena ca samastābhyāṃ[h] dvābhyāṃ balābhyāṃ tac cittam utpadyate,[134] <D12> evaṃ[135] tad dṛḍhaṃ[136] ca sāraṃ[137] ca niścalaṃ <W18> cotpadyate | parabalaprayogabalābhyāṃ tu tac cittam adṛḍhodayaṃ veditavyam[138] |

3.2.0. catvāri bodhisattvasya cittavyāvṛttikāraṇāni | katamāni catvāri | (a) na gotrasampanno[i] bhavati | (b) pāpamitraparigṛhīto bhavati | (c) sattveṣu mandakaruṇo bhavati | (d) saṃsāraduḥkhāc ca dīrghakālikād vicitrāt tīvrān nirantarād bhīrur bhavati[139] atyarthaṃ bibhety uttrasyati[140] saṃtrāsam āpadyate | caturṇāṃ[141] cittotpattihetūnāṃ viparyayeṇa catvāry etāni cittavyāvṛttikāraṇāni vistareṇa pūrvavad veditavyāni | |

4.1.0. dvāv imau dṛḍhaprathamacittotpādikasya bodhisattvasya lokāsādhāraṇāv āścaryādbhutau dharmau | katamau dvau | (a) sarvasattvāṃś[142] ca kaḍatrabhāvena parigṛhṇāti |[143] (b) na ca punaḥ kaḍatraparigrahadoṣeṇa lipyate | tatrāyaṃ

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[a] tīvreṇa] WD, *om.* P
[b] sattveṣu cādhimātrayā] PD, *restored by* W *based on* Tib.
[c] °syādhyātmabalaṃ] PD, *restored by* W *based on* Tib.
[d] *Cf. the Tibetan translation which reads:* gang yin pa de ni.
[e] °saṃdarśanamātrakeṇa] W (*restored based on* Tib.), °sandarśanamātrakeṇa D, °sandadarśanaṃ mātrakeṇa D[P], °sandadarśanamātrakeṇa P
[f] °ttaye] PWD (W *remarks that his reading is based on* C *but suggests a different reading based on* Tib.: sems skye bar 'gyur na =? cittasyotpattiḥ).
[g] prabhāvadarśanena vā saddharmaśravaṇena vā] W, saddharmaśravaṇena vā prabhāvadarśanena vā PD
[h] *Note that* Tib. *has* tshogs pa'am | so so las *as if the MS/S read* *samastavyastābhyāṃ.
[i] °sampanno] W, °saṃpanno PD

ka<N9r>‘ḍatraparigrahadoṣaḥ |’[a] ‘kaḍatrasyānugrahopaghātābhyāṃ kliṣṭānurodhavirodhau’[b] | tau ca bodhisattvasya na vidyete |

4.2.0. dvāv imau dṛḍhaprathamacittotpādikasya[c] bodhisattvasya ‘sattveṣu kalyāṇādhyāśayau’[d] pravartete[e] |[144] (a) ‘hitādhyāśa<P13r>yaś ca’[f] (b) sukhādhyāśayaś ca | tatra ‘hitādhyāśayaḥ yā akuśalāt’[g] sthānād vyutthāpya kuśale sthāne pratiṣṭhāpanakāmatā‘ | sukhādhyāśayo yā vighātinām’[h] anāthānām apratiśaraṇānāṃ[i] sattvānāṃ kliṣṭavarjitānugrāhakavastūpasaṃharaṇakā[j]matā |

4.3.0. dvāv imau dṛḍhaprathamacittotpādikasya bodhisattvasya prayogau | (a) adhyāśayaprayogaḥ (b) ‘pratipattiprayogaś ca’[k] | tatrādhyāśayaprayogo yā tasyaiva hitasukhādhyāśayasya ‘pratidivasam anubṛṃhaṇā’[l] | pratipattiprayogaḥ pratidivasam ātmanaś ca buddhadharmaparipākaprayogaḥ[145] <W19> sattvānāṃ[146] ‘ca yathāśakti’[m] yathābalam[147] adhyāśayaprayogam[n] eva niśritya hitasukho[o]pasaṃhāraprayogaḥ[p] |

4.4.0. dve ime dṛḍhaprathamacittotpā[q]dikasya bodhisattvasya mahatī kuśaladharmāyadvāre[148] | (a) ‘svārthaprayogaś cānuttarāyāḥ samyaksaṃbodheḥ’[r] samudāgamāya | (b) parārthaprayogaś ca sarvasattvānāṃ sarvaduḥkhanirmokṣāya | yathā dve āyadvāre |[149] evaṃ dvau mahāntau kuśaladharmasaṃnicayau[150] dvāv ‘aprameyau[s] kuśaladharmaskandhau’[t151] peyālam[u] |[152]

4.5.0. dve ime pra[v]<P13v>thamacittotpādikasya bodhisattvasya[153] prathamaṃ[154] cittotpādam upādāya <D13> bodhāya kuśalaparigrahavaiśeṣye tadanyaṃ[155] kuśalaparigraham upanidhāya[w] | (b) hetuvaiśeṣyaṃ[156] (b) phalavaiśeṣyaṃ[157] ca | sa

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[a] °rigrahadoṣaḥ |] PWD, *upper part of akṣaras slightly damaged* N
[b] °yānugrahopaghātābhyāṃ kliṣṭā°] PWD, *lost in* N
[c] °dika°] PWD, *lost in* N (*vowel sign* i *in* di *visible*)
[d] °ṣu kalyāṇādhyā°] PWD, *lost in* N (*lower half of akṣaras* ṣu *and* ka *still visible*)
[e] *Note that, as already mentioned by Wogihara*, Tib. *add.* gnyis gang zhe na (*katamau dvau).
[f] °yaś ca] PNWD, °puṇya D[P] (*Dutt's actual record of the variant which is placed after* hitādhyāśayaś ca *is* puṇyasukhā° *thereby giving the impression that* P *reads* puṇyasukhā° *instead of* hitādhyāśayaś ca *which is not the case.*)
[g] °śayaḥ yā a°] W, °śayo yā a° PD, *lost in* N (*extreme left part of akṣara* śa *visible*)
[h] ° | sukhādhyāśayo yā vighātinā°] PWD, *lost in* N
[i] °tiśar°] PNW[K]D, °tisar° W
[j] °haraṇakā°] PWD, *slightly defaced in* N
[k] °tti prayogaś ca] PWD, *lost in* N (*remains of akṣaras* tti *and* ca *visible*)
[l] °divasam anubṛṃhaṇā] PWD, °divasasarvabṛṃhaṇā D[P] (*Dutt's actual record of his reading of MS* P *here is* divasasarva°, *giving the impression that he had not read* prati. *It is also not clear as to which akṣaras follow his reading of* divasasarva°. *However, based on my examination of this passage in MS* P, *I assume that he had misread the two akṣaras* manu *as* sarva, *hence reading* pratidivasasarvabṛṃhaṇā *instead of* pratidivasam anubṛṃhaṇā), *lost in* N
[m] ca yathā°] PWD, *slightly defaced in* N
[n] °prayogam] PND, °prayoyam W
[o] °kho°] PWD, *only partly visible in* N
[p] °hāraprayo°] PWD, *lost in* N (*akṣara* yo *partly visible*)
[q] °cittotpā°] PWD, *lost in* N
[r] °prayogaś cānuttarāyāḥ sa°] WD, °prayogaś cānuttara sa° P, *lost in* N (*lower most part of akṣaras visible*); °myaksaṃbodheḥ] WD, °myaksaṃbodhi P, *slightly defaced in* N
[s] °meyau] PWD, *slightly damaged in* N
[t] °meyau kuśaladharmaskandhau] PWD, *lost in* N (*first akṣara* ku *and last akṣara* dhau *partly visible*)
[u] peyālam] ND, peyālaṃ W, pelāyālam P
[v] pra°] PWD, *damaged* in N. *Cf.* Tib. *which must have read* *dṛḍhapra° *as in the preceding and the following paragraphs which compels us to take the Tibetan reading more seriously. See the note to the my translation.*
[w] upanidh°] PNWD, upadh° W[C]

khalu bodhisattvasya kuśalaparigraho ’nuttarāyāḥ ‘samyaksaṃbodher hetuḥ[158] sā ca tasya’[a] phalaṃ[159] | na tadanyaḥ[b] sarvaśrāvakapratyekabuddhakuśalaparigrahaḥ |[160] <N9v> prāgeva tadanyeṣāṃ sattvānāṃ | tasmād bodhisattvānāṃ kuśalaparigrahas[161] tadanyasmāt sarvakuśalaparigrahād dhetubhāvataḥ phalataś ca prativiśiṣṭaḥ |

4.6.0. dvāv imau dṛḍhaprathamacittotpādikasya bodhisattvasya cittotpādānuśaṃsau[c] | (a) saha cittotpādāc ca sarvasattvānāṃ dakṣiṇīyabhūto bhavati gurubhūtaḥ puṇyakṣetraṃ[162] ‘pitṛkalpaḥ prajānām’[d] (b) avyābādhyasya ca[163] puṇyasya parigrahaṃ[164] karoti | tatredam avyābādhyaṃ[165] puṇyaṃ | (i) yena samanvāgato bodhisattvaś[166] cakravartidviguṇenārakṣeṇārakṣito[e] bhavati | yasminn ‘asyārakṣe sadā’[f] pratyupasthite na śaknuvanti[g] suptamattapramattasyāpi vyāḍā vā yakṣā vā ‘amanuṣyā vā’[h] <P14r> ‘naivāsikā vā viheṭhāṃ kartuṃ | parivṛttajanmā’[i] punar ayaṃ bodhisattvas[167] tena <W20> puṇyaparigraheṇālpābādho bhavaty ‘arogajātīyaḥ | na’[j] ca dīrgheṇa khareṇa ‘vā ābādhena’[168] spṛśyate | (ii) sattvārtheṣu ca sattvakara[k]‘ṇīyeṣu asya vyā’[l]yacchamānasya[m] kāyena vācā ‘dharmaṃ ca deśayataḥ’[n169] nātyarthaṃ kāyaḥ klāmyati[o170] na smṛtiḥ pramuṣyate na cittam ‘upahanyate | (iii) prakṛtyaiva tāvad gotrastho’[p] bodhisattvo mandadauṣṭhulyo bhavati |[171] utpāditacittas[q] tu bhūyasyā mātrayā ‘mandataradauṣṭhulyo’[r] bhavati |[172] yad uta kāyadauṣṭhulyena vāgdauṣṭhulyena[s] cittadauṣṭhulyena ca | (iv) asiddhāny api ca tadanyasattva[t]hastagatāni ‘sattvānām ītyupa’[u]dravopasargasaṃśamakāni[v] mantrapadāni vidyāpadāni ‘taddhastagatāni sidhyanti | kaḥ’[w] punar vādaḥ siddhāni | (v) adhikena ca kṣāntisauratyena samanvāgato bhavati | parataupatāpasahaḥ[x173] ‘aparopatāpī ca | pareṇāpi’[y] ca param upatāpyamānam upalabhyātyarthaṃ[174] bādhyate | krodherṣyāśāṭhyamrakṣādayaś[z] cāsyopakleśā hatave<N10r>gā[aa] mandāyamānāḥ kadācit samudācaranty[a175] āśu ca vigacchanti[176] | yatra

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[a] °saṃbo°] PWD, °sambo° N; °dher hetuḥ sā ca tasya] PWD, *lost in* N (*last akṣara* ya *partly visible*)

[b] tadanyaḥ] NWD, tv anyaḥ P

[c] cittotpādānuśaṃ°] PWD, *lost in* N (*akṣara* ci *partly legible*)

[d] °kalpaḥ prajānām] D, °kalpaḥ prajānāṃ PNW (*lowermost part of akṣaras damaged in* N)

[e] °guṇenārakṣeṇārakṣito] PND, °guṇ’ ārakṣeṇ’ ārakṣito W, °guṇ’ ārakṣaṇe rakṣito W[C]

[f] asyārakṣe sadā] P, asy’ ārakṣe sadā W, ārakṣe sadā D, *lost in* N (*the length of the lacunae suggests that* N *might have read like* P *or* W)

[g] °nti] PWD, *lower part of akṣara lost in* N

[h] amanuṣyā vā] PD (*also* Tib. & Chin. *as noted by Wogihara*), manuṣyā vā amanuṣyā vā W, manuṣyā vā amanuṣyā N. *See note to my translation.*

[i] °sikā vā viheṭhaṃ kartuṃ | pari°] PWD, *lost in* N (*first akṣara* si *partially visible*)

[j] °yaḥ | na] PWD, *defaced in* N

[k] °kara°] PWD, *akṣara* ka *defaced in* N

[l] °ṇīyeṣu asya vyā°] W, °ṇīyeṣv asya vyā° PD, *lost in* N (ṇī *partly visible*)

[m] °yacchamānasya] WD, °yacchataḥ PNW[K]D[P]

[n] dharmaṃ ca de°] W, dharmañ ca de° PD, *lost in* N (*akṣara* ñca *has survived*)

[o] klāmyati] PNW, krāmyati D

[p] °pahanyate | prakṛtyaiva tāvad gotrastho] PWD, *lost in* N (*first akṣara* pa *and last akṣara* tho *partially visible*)

[q] °cittas] PNDW[K] (*also* Tib. & Chin.), °bodhicittas WD[J]

[r] °ndatara dauṣṭhu°] PDW[K], °nda dauṣṭhu°] WD[J], *badly defaced in* N (*seems, however, to read like* PDW[K])

[s] vāgdauṣṭhulyena] WD[J], *om.* PND (*also* Chin. & Tib.)

[t] °sattva°] W, °sattvaṃ° D[J] (WD[J] *supported by* Tib.), *om.* PND

[u] °nām ītyupa°] PWD, *lost in* N

[v] °rgasaṃśa°] WD, °rgasaṃsa° P, °rge daṃśamaśakaśa° W[K] (*Wogihara notes that* K *is not corroborated by* Tib. & Chin.), °rga daṃśamaśakaśa° N

[w] taddhastagatāni sidhyanti | kaḥ] PWD, *lost in* N (*visarga partly visible*)

[x] °rataupa°] PWD, *lost in* N (*akṣaras* ra *and* pa *partly visible*)

[y] °pī ca | pa°] PWD, *lost in* N

[z] °śāṭhyamrakṣā°] PWD, *lost in* N

[aa] °gā] PNWD, °gāya W[C]

ca <P14v> grāmakṣetre prativasati |[177] tasmin[178] bhayabhairavadurbhikṣadoṣā[179] amanuṣyā[b]kṛtāś copadravā[180] anutpannāś ca notpadyante[181] utpannāś ca vyupaśāmyanti |

sacet punaḥ[c] prathamacittotpādiko bodhisattva[182] ekadā <D14> narakeṣv apāyabhūmāv upapadyate |[183] sa bhūyasyā 'mātrayā āśutaraṃ'[184] ca mucyate narakebhyaḥ | tanutarāṃ[185] ca 'duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ'[d] vedayate |[186] bhṛśataraṃ[187] ca saṃvegam[188] utpādayati[189] teṣāṃ[190] ca sattvānām antike karuṇācittatām[191] avyābādhyapuṇyaparigrahahetoḥ | ity evaṃbhāgīyān[192] bahūn anuśaṃsān avyābādhyapuṇyaparigrahāt prathamacittotpādiko bodhisattvaḥ pratyanubhavati |[193] <W21>

5.Ø.Ø. bodhisattvabhūmāv ādhāre yogasthāne dvitīyaṃ cittotpādapaṭalaṃ[194] samāptam[e] ||[195]

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[a] °cara°] PW, °cāra° ND

[b] amanuṣyā°] PND, amanuṣy 'ā° W, manuṣyā vā amanuṣya° D[J]

[c] punaḥ] WD[J] (*Dutt, erroneously(?) placing the note before* sa, *states*: J 20 *omits it.*), punaḥ sa PND

[d] duḥkhāṃ vedanāṃ] WD, vedanāduḥkham N, vedanāṃ duḥkhaṃ P

[e] samāptam] WN, *om.* PD[P], [samāptam] D. *Note that* P *has* samāptam *at the end of the gotrapaṭala.*

[1] °kam] D, °kaṃ PNW
[2] °vaṃ] NWD, °vañ P
[3] °caṃ] W, °cañ PND
[4] °yaṃ] NWD, ya P
[5] °naṃ] NW, °nañ PD
[6] cārtha°] NWD, ca artha° P
[7] °yaṃ] NWD, °yam | P
[8] °rthaṃ] W, °rthañ PND
[9] prārthanākāraḥ] PND, prārthan'ākāraḥ W
[10] °rthaṃ] W, °rthañ PND
[11] cālambya] ND, c' ālambya W, ca alambya P
[12] °daḥ] NWD, °daḥ | P
[13] °vaṃgama°] W, °vaṅgama° PND
[14] °laḥ] NWD, °laḥ | P
[15] °ktaḥ] NWD, °ktaḥ | P
[16] °ni |] NWD, °ni P
[17] °ṣām] PND, °ṣāṃ W
[18] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[19] °yaḥ |] PN, °yaḥ WD
[20] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[21] pañca°] PND, paṃca° W
[22] °ne |] WD, °ne PN
[23] °tpādo 'va°] *em.*, °tpādaḥ ava° NWD, °tpādaḥ| ava° P
[24] °ya |] NWD, °ya P
[25] °saṃbo°] PND, °sambo° W
[26] °yas] PND, °yaḥ W
[27] taṃ] W, tañ PND
[28] saṃni°] W, sanni° PND
[29] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[30] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[31] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[32] saṃni°] W, sanni° PND
[33] 'pi] WD, pi PN
[34] °daḥ] PWD, °daḥ | N
[35] ca anai°] WD, cānai° PN
[36] °te] NWD, °te | P
[37] °vidhā | ātya°] PWD, °vidhātya° N
[38] °ttaṃ] NWD, °ttañ P
[39] °naḥ] NWD, °naḥ | P
[40] °pādaś] N, °pādaḥ WD, °pādaḥ | P
[41] °bhiś] PND, °bhiḥ W
[42] °lair] PND, °laiḥ W
[43] °yāḥ] NWD, ° yaḥ | P
[44] °me | PWD, °me N
[45] vā aci°] ND, vā 'ci° W, vā | aci° P
[46] °ti | PN, °ti WD
[47] °vaḥ] W, °va PN, °[vaḥ] D
[48] ca |] W, ca PND
[49] °ti |] WD, °ty PN
[50] °yaś] WD, °yaḥ N, °yaḥ | P
[51] °ti |] WD, °ty PN
[52] °taḥ WD, °taḥ | PN
[53] °lambhāya] PND, °laṃbhāya W
[54] pratyayaś] PND, pratyayaḥ W
[55] °ti |] WD, °ty PN
[56] °yaṃ] NWD, °yaṃ | P
[57] duḥkhā°] NWD, dukkhā° P
[58] °lambhāya] PND, °laṃbhāya W
[59] °yaṃ] WDN, *anusvāra not visible in* P
[60] °yaḥ] NWD, °yaṃḥ P
[61] °ti |] PND, °ty W
[62] °ti] WD, °ti | PN
[63] °ṣþān] PND, °ṣṭāṃ W
[64] °lān] PD, °lān | N, °lāṃ W
[65] °lān] PD, °lān | N, °lāṃ W
[66] °lān] PD, °lān | N, °lāṃ W
[67] °lān] D, °lān | PN, °lāṃ W
[68] °lān] D, °lān | PN, °lāṃ W
[69] °lān] PND (N *erroneously adds daṇḍa after* lā), °lāṃ W
[70] °bahulān] ND, °bahulān | P, °bahulāṃn W (*obviously printing error*)
[71] ca |] NWD, ca P
[72] °hān] PND, °hāṃ W
[73] °daḥ |] PW, °daḥ ND
[74] °yam] D, °yaṃ | PN, °yaṃ W
[75] 'py] WD, py PN
[76] °yaṃ] PWD, °yañ N
[77] °yaś] PND, °yaḥ W
[78] °ye |] NWD, °ye || P
[79] hetuś] PND, hetuḥ W
[80] °ho] D, °haḥ NW, °haḥ | P
[81] °ye |] PWD, °ye || N
[82] °yaṃ] WD, °yam N, *anusvāra not visible in* P
[83] °duḥkha°…°duḥkhād] NWD, °dukkha°…°dukkhād P
[84] °saṃpad] PD, °sampad NW
[85] paṇḍitaṃ] PD, paṇḍitam] N, paṃḍitaṃ W
[86] °tam | iyaṃ] WD, °tam iyaṃ PN
[87] °saṃpat] PWD, sampat N
[88] °yati] W, °yati | PND
[89] °saṃpat |] PWD, sampat || N
[90] °ti] NWD, °ti | P
[91] °harati | iyaṃ] WD, °haratīyaṃ PN
[92] vā] NWD, vā | P
[93] vā] WD, vā | P, vā || N
[94] °ye] WD, °ye | PN
[95] °ye] NWD, °ye | P
[96] °ṇi] WD, °ṇi | P, °ṇi || N
[97] °ye |] PW, °ye D
[98] °tvā] WD, °tvā | P
[99] °ti | iyaṃ] WD, °tīyañ P
[100] °vaḥ,] *conj.*, °vaḥ | W, °vo PD
[101] °te] WD, °te | P
[102] °ti,] *conj.*, °ti | PW, °ti D
[103] °te,] *conj.*, °te | PNWD
[104] °raṃ] W, °rañ PD
[105] cānyata°] W, cā 'nyata° PD
[106] 'bhi°] WD, bhi° P
[107] saṃniś°] W, sanniś° PD
[108] ālambanair] PD, ālaṃbanair W
[109] °te] WD, °te | P
[110] °ti] WD, °ti | P
[111] °ti] W, °ti | PD
[112] °ti |] W, °ti PD
[113] °māṃ] PW, °mān D
[114] °lān | WD, °lan P
[115] °ṇam] D, °ṇaṃ PW

116 °ṇam] D, °ṇaṃ PW
117 adhi°] W, 'dhi° PD
118 °ti | idaṃ] WD, °tīdaṃ P
119 °ṇam] D, °ṇaṃ PW
120 °ti | idaṃ] WD, °tīdaṃ P
121 °ṇam] D, °ṇaṃ PW
122 °laṃ] WD, °laṃ | P
123 °laṃ] WD, °laṃ | P
124 °laṃ] WD, °laṃ | P
125 °laṃ] W, °lañ PD
126 °dhau] D, °dhāu | W, °dhāv P
127 °dharmābhyāsa] PD, °dhrmābhyāsa (*obviously printing error*) W
128 °ye] D, °ye | PW
129 vā D, vā | PW
130 °cintādiko] PD, °cint 'ādiko W
131 °kaḥ] WD, °kaḥ | P
132 °tāṃś] WD, *anusvāra missing in* P
133 °yāṃś] PD, °yāṃs W
134 °te,] *conj.*, °te | PNWD
135 °vaṃ] W, °van PD
136 °ḍhaṃ] W, °ḍhañ PD
137 °raṃ] W, °rañ PD
138 °ṇam] D, °ṇaṃ PW
139 °ti] WD, °ti | P
140 °ti] WD, °ti | P
141 °ṇāṃ] WD, °ṇāñ P
142 °ttvāṃś] PD, °ttvāṃs W
143 °ti |] WD, °ti P
144 °te | NWD, °te P
145 °gaḥ] PWD, °gaḥ | N
146 °nāṃ] W, °nāñ PND
147 °lam] PND, °laṃ W
148 °rmā°] PND, °rm 'ā° W
149 °re |] PNW, °re D
150 °saṃnicayau] W, °samnicayau D, °samnicayau | N, °sannicayau P
151 °dhau] NW, °dhau | D, °dhau || P
152 °lam |] ND, °laṃ | W, °lam || P
153 °asya] NWD, °sya | P
154 °maṃ] PWD, mañ N
155 °yaṃ] PWD, *anusvāra not visible in* N
156 °yaṃ] PWD, *anusvāra not visible in* N
157 °yaṃ] W, °yañ PND
158 °tuḥ] NWD, °tuḥ P
159 °laṃ] WD, lam PN
160 °haḥ |] PWD, °haḥ N
161 °has] PND, °haḥ W
162 °traṃ] PWD, °tram N
163 ca] PWD, ca | N
164 °haṃ] PWD, °ham N
165 °dhyaṃ] PWD, *anusvāra not visible in* N
166 °tvaś] PD, °tvaḥ NW
167 °tvas] PND, °tvaḥ W
168 vā ābā°] PWD, vā 'bā° N
169 °taḥ] NWD, °taḥ | P
170 °ti] NWD, °ti | P
171 °ti |] WD, °ty PN
172 °ti |] P, °ti NWD
173 °haḥ] WD, °haḥ | PN
174 °thaṃ] PWD, °tham N
175 °nty] PND, °nti W
176 °cchanti] PND, cchaṃti W
177 °ti |] PNW, °ti D
178 °min] PND, °miṃ W
179 °ṣā] PNDD[J], ṣāḥ W
180 °vā PND, °vāḥ W
181 °nte] WD, °nte | PN
182 °ttva] PN, °ttvaḥ WD
183 °te |] PNW, °te D
184 °yā āśutaraṃ] D, °yā āśutarañ PN, °y' āśutaraṃ W
185 °rāṃ] W, °rāñ PND
186 °te |] PN, °te WD
187 °rāṃ] W, °rāñ PND
188 saṃ°] PWD, sam° N
189 °ti] WD, °ti | PN
190 °ṣāṃ] W, °ṣāñ PND
191 °tām] PND, °tāṃ W
192 evaṃbhāgīyān] PND (*anusvāra in* N *missing or not visible*), evaṃbhāgīyāṃ W
193 °ti |] WD, °ti || || PN
194 ° laṃ] NWD, °lam || || || P
195 °tam ||] D, °tam || || N

Appendix B

A Critical Edition of the Tibetan Text of *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.2

1. Introduction

The copying of the bsTan-'gyur was less common than that of the bKa'-'gyur (esteemed as the *buddhavacana*) and was held to result in fewer beneficial resources (*puṇya*). Copying the bsTan-'gyur was also an immense and expensive task involving the reproduction of as many as 225 volumes (as in the case of the Golden bsTan-'gyur) in comparison with the approximately one hundred volumes of the bKa'-'gyur.[1] As a result, the number of bsTan-'gyur editions transmitted is far smaller than that of the bKa'-'gyur. Only five bsTan-'gyur recensions are available to modern scholars today, although other handwritten versions of the bsTan-'gyur are known to have been produced in sNar-thang, Zha-lu, 'Phyong-rgyas, rTse-thang, rGyal-rtse, and elsewhere.[2] We know more about the history of the bKa'-'gyur than we do about the history of the bsTan-'gyur, thanks to the work of scholars such as Helmut Eimer.[3] A thorough study of the history of the bsTan-'gyur tradition, however, remains a desideratum.[4] The five bsTan-'gyur recensions available today are:

(1) the Peking bsTan-'gyur, completed in 1724,[5]
(2) the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur, completed in 1744,[6]
(3) the sNar-thang bsTan-'gyur, completed in 1742,[7]

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[1] See SKILLING 1991: 138.

[2] SKILLING 1991: 138, n. 11.

[3] For the names of some leading scholars in the field, see SCHOENING 1995: 122–123 and ZIMMERMANN 2002: 164.

[4] As already noted in SCHOENING 1995: 124. For a general discussion of the bsTan-'gyur editions, see SCHOENING 1995: 123–124, 132–134, 141–143; SKILLING 1991: 138. A study on the history of the bsTan-'gyur transmission based on historical sources is being currently conducted by Orna Almogi.

[5] See SCHOENING 1995: 143 (Blockprint Editions, no. 8). According to the *Bod yig 'bri tshul* (p. 33), the original wood blocks of the Peking bsTan-'gyur are no longer extant.

[6] For a brief history of the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur, see SCHOENING 1995: 142–143 (Blockprint Editions, no. 4) and the *Bod yig 'bri tshul* (p. 29). The original wood blocks of the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur have survived until this day (*Bod yig 'bri tshul*, pp. 29, 33).

(4) the Co-ne bsTan-'gyur, completed in 1772,[8] and
(5) the Golden bsTan-'gyur of the mid-18th century.[9]

Except for the Golden bsTan-'gyur, which is the first and so far only handwritten bsTan-'gyur to become accessible to modern scholars, all other recensions are xylographic editions. Schoening has made an attempt to define the stemmatic tree of the bsTan-'gyur editions.[10] As shown by him, the sDe-dge bsTan-'gyur (which is an edition made by collating four different manuscript versions) and the faithful copy of it that resulted in the Co-ne bsTan-'gyur represent one strand of transmission, and the Peking, sNar-thang, and the Golden copies, all of which derive from the 'Phying-ba sTag-rtse recension, compiled shortly after the death of the Fifth Dalai Lama (reigned 1642–1682), another.[11] Both of these bsTan-'gyur traditions have descended in turn from the Zha-lu bsTan-'gyur (early 14th century). The sDe-dge edition in particular is a critical edition of sorts, and seems to have undergone an unusual degree of editorial scrutiny. This is probably the reason why it offers the smoothest readings from the point of view of Tibetan grammar and syntax, although such readings do not necessarily represent the original ('correct') ones in the Tibetan translation.

For my critical edition, I have used all but the sNar-thang edition.[12] The method applied here is basically the same as the one applied in the critical edition of the Sanskrit text. A positive apparatus has been adopted, and the numbers used to segment the text (corresponding to the numbers in the Sanskrit edition and the translation) are mine. The folio numbers of each recension are given in raised angled brackets (for instance, <P10a> represents folio number 10 recto of the Peking recension). The variants that I hold to have semantic significance have been recorded in the footnotes (in lettered sequence, beginning on each page anew). In addition, the few instances where all Tibetan editions deviate from the Sanskrit text have been noted. Less significant variants such as the use of strokes (*shad*), orthographic variants that have resulted from

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[7] For a description of the sNar-thang bsTan-'gyur, see SCHOENING 1995: 132, 143 (Blockprint Editions, no. 6). Some of the wood blocks of the sNar-thang bsTan-'gyur are said to have been destroyed during the Cultural Revolution. Later the wood blocks of the missing texts in the sNar-thang bsTan-'gyur were recarved based on extant prints from the original wood blocks. However, some corrections were made in the process. Since the old and new blocks were commingled, it is now difficult to know whether a particular block belongs to the original or to the new blocks, and thus whether a certain reading is original or emended. (I thank Dr. Felix Erb for sharing this information.) Compare the table (*re'u mig*) in the *Bod yig 'bri tshul* (p. 33), which merely states '[wood] blocks destroyed' (*par 'jig*) as a note to the sNar-thang bsTan-'gyur.

[8] See SCHOENING 1995: 142 (Blockprint Editions, no. 3) and the *Bod yig 'bri tshul*, pp. 27–28. According to the *Bod yig 'bri tshul* (pp. 28, 33), the original wood blocks of the Co-ne bsTan-'gyur were destroyed during the Cultural Revolution when Co-ne Monastery was burnt down. I have used a photocopy made from the microfilm of the xylographic print of the Co-ne bsTan-'gyur kept in the library of the University of Hamburg (Asien-Afrika-Institut, Abteilung für Kultur und Geschichte Indiens und Tibets).

[9] On the Golden bsTan-'gyur, see SKILLING 1991; MEJOR 1992: 29–30, n. 1; and SCHOENING 1995: 141–142 (Manuscript Editions, no. 1).

[10] See SCHOENING 1995: 133 (Figure 2: Tentative Tanjur stemma).

[11] See PĀSĀDIKA 1989: xviii; SKILLING 1991: 139; MEJOR 1992: 30; SCHOENING 1995: 123–124 (Tanjur Research).

[12] There is a modern print of the Tibetan *Bodhisattvabhūmi* published together with the Tibetan *Udānavarga* by the Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang. See the *Byang sa dang tshoms*. The editors (*dPe skrun gsal bshad*, p. 2.12–15) state that they collated the sDe-dge and sNar-thang recensions and, except for serious mistakes, retained all original readings. However, since this edition has no historical and philological value, I have not used it for my critical edition.

abbreviations, obvious scribal errors, and confusion between *pa* and *ba*, have been recorded in the endnotes (under Arabic numerals). However, I have not recorded scribal peculiarities (such as the placing of the suffix *s* below the preceding letter, commonly employed in order to save space) or later scribal or editorial corrections. Likewise, no distinction was made between the common *shad* and the *rin chen spung shad*,[13] commonly used for the first *shad* in the line when it occurs after only one syllable.

Some observations may be made on the basis of the *Cittotpādapaṭala*. Although the Peking and the Golden editions belong to the same tradition, their readings are not completely identical. The most notable feature of the Golden edition is its profuse use of orthographic abbreviations (*skung yig*),[14] invariably resulting in simple orthographic variants (e.g. the reading *yongsu* instead of *yongs su*). Since the abbreviations were not used consistently throughout, they have been recorded individually. Moreover, the Golden edition abounds in scribal errors or deliberate 'corrections,' which are less common in the Peking edition. The Peking version often confuses *pa* and *dpa'* (for example, reading *sems pa* instead of *sems dpa'* and vice versa). And although the readings of Co-ne agree with the readings of sDe-dge to a great extent, these two editions are by no means identical. Most of the variations in Co-ne, however, seem to have resulted from scribal error rather than deliberate emendation.

The following sigla are used in the critical edition of the Tibetan text:

P Peking (P 5538), *Sems tsam*, vol. *zhi*, fols. 8b4–14b1
D sDe-dge (D 4037), *Sems tsam*, vol. *wi*, fols. 7a6–12a4
G Golden bsTan-'gyur, *Sems tsam*, vol. *zhi*, fols. 10a6–17a2
C Co-ne (Reel nos. 49–50), *Sems tsam*, vol. *wi*, fols. 7a7–12a5
Skt. Sanskrit (referring to my critical edition)

[13] Lit. 'the stroke [that looks like] a heap of jewels.'

[14] Already noted in SKILLING 1991: 139. dPa'-ris Sangs-rgyas devotes a chapter of his work *Bod yig 'bri tshul* (pp. 109–132) to orthographic abbreviations (*yig ge skung tshul*). He comments that the tradition of using abbreviations (*skung srol*) is archaic, one found already in the Tun-huang documents (p. 109). The benefits of *skung yig*, he states, are speed and the economy of ink and paper (p. 120). In the case of the Golden bsTan-'gyur, however, the judicious use of gold may have been the primary motive behind the extensive use of abbreviations.

2. The Text

1.1.1. ’di la byang chub sems dpa’i dang po’i sems bskyed pa ni byang chub sems dpa’i yang dag pa’i smon lam thams cad kyi nang na yang dag <C7b> pa’i smon lam gyi dang po yin[a] te | de las gzhan pa’i yang dag pa’i smon lam rnams sdud pa yin no || <G10b>de lta bas na de ni yang dag pa’i smon lam dang po’i ngo bo nyid yin no ||

1.1.2. byang chub sems dpa’ de byang chub tu sems kyis smon lam ’debs pa na | ’di ltar sems mngon par ’du <D7b> byed cing | tshig ’di skad ces kyang smras te | kye ma bdag bla na med pa yang dag par ‘rdzogs pa’i byang chub mngon par’[b] rdzogs par ’tshang rgya bar gyur cig | sems can thams cad kyi don yang byed cing shin tu mthar thug pa’i mya ngan las ’das pa dang | de bzhin gshegs pa’i ye shes la ’god par gyur cig ces de de ltar bdag gi byang chub dang sems can gyi don sgrub pa na | sems skyed[c] par byed do || de lta bas na sems bskyed pa ni <P9a> sgrub pa’i rnam pa yin no ||

1.1.3. sems bskyed pa de yang byang chub de dang | sems can gyi don la dmigs nas sgrub par byed kyi | dmigs pa med par ni ma yin te | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa de ni byang chub la dmigs pa dang | sems can gyi don la dmigs pa yin no ||

1.1.4. sems bskyed pa de yang byang chub kyi phyogs kyi dge ba’i rtsa ba thams cad sdud pa’i thog mar ’gro ba’i phyir | dge ba dang | mchog tu[1] dge ba dang | bzang ba dang | mchog tu bzang ba dang | legs pa dang | mchog tu legs pa’i yon tan dang ldan pa dang | sems can thams cad la brten pa’i lus dang[2] ngag dang[3] yid kyi nyes pa spyod pa dang mi mthun pa yin no ||

1.1.5. ’di lta ste | byang chub sems dpa’i dang po sems bskyed pa de ni de las gzhan pa ’jig rten pa dang | ’jig rten las ’das pa’i don dag la yang dag pa’i <G11a> smon lam dge ba de dag thams cad kyi nang na yang dag pa’i smon lam[4] gyi mchog bla na med pa yin no ||

1.1.Ø. de ltar na dang po sems bskyed pa de ni ngo bo nyid las kyang rig par bya | rnam pa dang | dmigs pa dang | yon tan dang | khyad par du ’phags pa las kyang mtshan nyid lngar rig par bya’o ||

1.2.1. byang chub sems dpa’ ni sems de bskyed ma thag tu[5] bla na med pa’i byang chub theg pa chen po la zhugs pa dang | ’di lta ste | brda dang | tha snyad kyi tshul gyis byang chub sems dpa’ zhes bya ba’i <C8a> ‘grangs su’[6]’gro ba yang yin te | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa de ni ’jug par bsdus pa yin no ||

1.2.2. byang chub sems dpa’ sems de bskyed nas rim gyis bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub mngon par rdzogs par ’tshang rgya bar ’gyur gyi | ma bskyed par ni ma <D8a> yin te | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa[d] de ni bla na med pa yang dag par <P9b> rdzogs pa’i byang chub kyi rtsa ba yin no ||

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[a] yin] DC, ni PG
[b] rdzogs pa’i byang chub mngon par] PDC (*also* Skt.), *om.* G
[c] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[d] pa] DC, *om.* PG

1.2.3. byang chub sems dpa’ sems can sdug bsngal ba[a] rnams la snying rje dang ldan zhing | ‘yongs su’[7] bskyab par sems pa yang sems de skyed[b] par byed de | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa de ni snying rje’i rgyu mthun pa yin no ||

1.2.4. byang chub sems dpa’ ni sems bskyed pa de la brten[c] cing gnas nas | byang chub sems dpa’i bslab pa byang chub kyi phyogs kyi chos rnams dang | sems can gyi don bya ba dag la sbyor bar byed de | de lta bas na sems bskyed pa de ni byang chub sems dpa’i bslab pa rnams kyi rten yin te |

1.2.Ø. <G11b> de ltar dang po sems bskyed pa de ni bsdu ba dang | rtsa ba dang | rgyu mthun pa dang | rten du gyur pa las rig par bya’o ||[8]

2.1.0. byang chub sems dpa’i dang po sems bskyed pa de yang mdor na rnam pa gnyis te | nges par ’byin pa dang | nges par ’byin pa ma yin pa’o || ‘de la’[d] nges par ’byin pa ni gang skyes nas gtan du ’jug la phyir ldog par mi ’gyur ba’o || nges par ’byin pa ma yin pa[e] de[f] ni gang skyes nas gtan du mi ’jug la phyir ldog par ’gyur ba’o ||

2.2.0. sems bskyed pa de’i ldog pa la yang rnam pa gnyis te | gtan du ba dang | gtan du ba ma yin pa’o || de la gtan du ba ni ’di ltar sems lan cig log nas phyis byang chub kyi phyir mi skye ba’o || gtan du ba ma yin pa ni ’di ltar sems log kyang byang chub kyi phyir yang dang yang skye bar ’gyur ba’o ||

3.1.0. sems skye ba de yang rkyen bzhi dang | rgyu bzhi dang | stobs bzhis skye bar ‘rig par’[g] bya’o ||

3.1.1. de la rkyen bzhi gang zhe na | (a) ’di la rigs kyi bu’am |[9] rigs kyi bu mos de bzhin gshegs ‘pa ’am’[10] | byang chub sems dpa’i cho <C8b> ’phrul dang | mthu bsam gyis mi khyab pa dang | rmad du byung ba mthong ngam | yid brtan pa las thos kyang rung ste | des <P10a> mthong ngam thos nas ’di snyam du sems te | kye ma gang la gnas par ’gyur ba ’am| zhugs par gyur pa’i mthu de[h] lta bu de dang | cho ’phrul de lta bu de mthong ba dang | thos pa’i byang chub de ni mthu che ba yin no[11] snyam <D8b>nas[12] de mthu mthong ba dang thos pa de[i] nyid kyi dbang du byas te | byang chub chen por mos shing <G12a> byang chub ‘chen por’[13] sems skyed[j] par byed pa ’di ni sems skye ba’i rkyen dang po’o || (b) des[k] mthu[l] mthong ba’am thos pa med du zin kyang bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub las brtsams te | ‘byang chub kyi sde snod[m]’[n] ston pa na dam pa’i chos nyan par byed do || mnyan nas kyang mngon par dad par byed do || mngon par dad nas kyang dam pa’i chos thos pa’i dbang du byas nas | de bzhin gshegs pa’i ye shes

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[a] ba] DC, *om.* PG
[b] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[c] brten] DC, rten PG
[d] de la] DC, des PG
[e] pa] PDG, *right vertical stroke of* pa *missing* in C (*Following is a gap measuring approximately the size of three ligatures. This space suggests that extra text curved out wrongly into the wooden block were removed by chipping off the curved out letters.*)
[f] de] DC, *om.* PG
[g] rig par] PDG, rigsar C
[h] de] PG, ’di DC
[i] de] PDC, *om.* G
[j] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[k] des] DC, de PG
[l] mthu] DC (*also* Skt.), *om.* PG
[m] snod] PDG, snon C
[n] *Note that* Skt. *has bodhisattvapiṭaka.*

la mos shing | de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes thob par bya ba'i phyir |[14] sems skyed[a] par byed pa 'di ni sems[b] skye ba'i rkyen gnyis pa'o || (c) des chos ma 'thos su'[15] zin kyang byang chub sems dpa'i dam pa'i chos nub tu cha bar nye bar gyur pa dag mthong ngo || mthong nas kyang yang de 'di snyam du sems te | kye ma byang chub sems dpa'i dam pa'i chos gnas pa ni sems can dpag tu med pa dag gi sdug bsngal sel bar byed pa yin gyis | bdag gis 'di lta ste | sems can 'di dag nyid kyi sdug 'bsngal bsal'[c] ba'i phyir | byang chub sems dpa'i 'dam pa'i'[d] chos yun ring du gnas par bya ba'i don du sems bskyed par bya gor ma chag snyam nas | de dam pa'i chos gzung ba nyid kyi dbang du byas te | de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes la mos shing | de bzhin gshegs pa'i ye shes thob par bya ba'i phyir | sems skyed[e] par byed pa 'di ni sems skye ba'i rkyen gsum pa'o || (d) des dam pa'i <P10b> chos nub tu[16] nye bar gyur pa ma mthong du zin kyang | dus kyi tha ma dus kyi mjug[f] tu bab pa'i tshe | <G12b> dus ngan pa'i sems can rnams kyi lus 'di ltar nye ba'i nyon mongs pa bcu po 'di lta ste | gti <C9a> mug shas che ba dang | ngo tsha med cing khrel med pa shas che ba[g] dang | phrag dog dang ser[h] sna shas che ba dang | sdug bsngal shas che ba dang | gnas ngan len shas che ba dang | nyon mongs pa shas che ba dang | nyes par spyod pa shas che ba dang | bag med pa shas che ba dang | le lo shas che ba dang | ma dad pa shas che ba rnams kyis nye bar nyon mongs pa mthong ngo || mthong <D9a> nas kyang yang 'di snyam du sems te | kye ma snyigs ma'i dus chen po de ni byung gis med do || nye ba'i nyon mongs pa can gyi dus 'di'i 'skabs su'[17] ni nyan thos dang[18] rang sangs rgyas kyi byang chub dman pa la sems bskyed pa yang rnyed par sla ba ma yin na | bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa'i byang chub tu lta ci smos te | re zhig bdag gis sems bskyed pa[i] dang | de dag kyang 'di ltar bdag gi[j] 'rjes su'[19] slob cing | gzhan dag gis kyang sems bskyed par ''gyur ro'[20] snyam nas | de[k] dus kyi tha ma'i tshe | sems bskyed pa rnyed par dka' ba'i dbang du byas te | byang chub chen po la mos shing byang chub chen por sems skyed[l] par byed pa[m] 'di ni sems 'skye ba'i'[n] rkyen bzhi pa'o ||

3.1.2. de la rgyu bzhi gang zhe na | (a) rigs phun sum tshogs pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i[o] sems[p] skye ba'i rgyu dang po'o || (b) sangs rgyas dang | byang chub sems dpa' dang | dge ba'i bshes gnyen gyis yongs su zin pa ni byang chub sems dpa'i sems[q] skye ba'i rgyu gnyis pa'o || (c) sems can rnams la snying rje ba ni byang <G13a> chub sems dpa'i[r] sems skye ba'i rgyu gsum pa'o || (d) 'khor ba'i sdug bsngal dang | dka' ba spyad pa'i sdug bsngal <P11a> yun ring po rnam pa sna tshogs pa drag pa bar chad med pas kyang mi 'jigs pa de[s] ni byang chub sems dpa'i sems skye ba'i rgyu bzhi pa'o || (a) de la byang chub sems dpa'i[t] rigs phun sum tshogs pa ni | chos nyid kyis thob pa nyid yin par

[a] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[b] sems] PDG, *defaced in* C
[c] bsngal bsal] PDC, bsngal bsngal G
[d] dam pa'i] PDC, *om.* G
[e] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[f] mjug] DC, 'jug PG
[g] ba] DCG, *om.* P
[h] ser] DPG, sem C
[i] pa] DC, *om.* PG
[j] gi] DC, gis PG
[k] de] DC, des PG
[l] skyed] DC, bskyed PG
[m] pa] DC, *om.* PG
[n] skye ba'i] DC (*also Sanskrit*), bskyed pa'i PG
[o] dpa'i] DGC, dpa' P
[p] sems] DGC, *om.* P
[q] sems] PGC, sams D
[r] dpa'i] DC, dpa' PG
[s] de] PG, 'di DC
[t] dpa'i] DCG, pa'i P

rig par bya’o || (b) byang chub sems dpa’i bshes gnyen phun[a] sum tshogs pa ni rnam pa bzhir rig par bya ste | (i) ’di la byang chub sems dpa’i[b] bshes gnyen ni thog ma nas kyang | <C9b> blun po ma yin zhing | yid brtul[c] ba’i rang bzhin can ma yin te | mkhas shing mdzangs la lta ba ngan pa la[21] zhugs pa yang ma yin pa ’di ni bshes gnyen phun sum tshogs pa dang po’o || (ii) bag med pa la yang de ’jug par mi byed la | bag med pa’i gnas kyang de la sgrub par mi byed pa ’di ni bshes gnyen phun sum tshogs pa gnyis pa’o || (iii) nyes par spyod pa la yang de ’jug par mi byed la nyes par spyod pa’i gnas kyang de la sgrub par <D9b> mi byed pa ’di ni bshes gnyen phun sum tshogs pa gsum pa’o || (iv) de dad pa dang | ’dun pa dang | yang dag par blang ba dang | brtson ’grus dang | thabs kyi ‘yon tan’[22] ches khyad par du[d] ’phags pa dag las ’dun pa bzlog la | dad pa dang | ’dun pa dang | yang dag par blang ba dang | brtson ’grus dang | thabs kyi yon tan ches dman pa dag la ’jug par mi byed de | ’di lta ste | theg pa chen po las ’dun pa bzlog la | nyan thos kyi theg <G13b> pa ’am | rang sangs rgyas kyi theg pa la ’jug par mi byed pa dang | bsgoms[e] pa las byung ba las ’dun pa bzlog la | bsams[f] pa las byung ba la[g] ’jug pa ’am | bsams pa las byung ba las ’dun[h] pa bzlog la | thos[i] pa las byung ba la ’jug ‘par byed’[j] pa ’am | thos pa las byung ba las ’dun pa bzlog la | zhal ta byed pa la ‘’jug par <P11b> byed pa ’am’[k] | tshul khrims las byung ba las ’dun pa blzog la | sbyin pa las byung ba la ’jug pa ’am | de ltar ’di lta bu dang mthun pa’i yon tan ches[l] khyad par du ’phags pa dag las ’dun pa bzlog la | ’di lta bu dang mthun pa’i yon tan ches dman pa dag ’dzin du ’jug par mi byed pa ’di ni bshes gnyen phun sum tshogs pa bzhi pa’o[m] || (c) byang chub sems dpa’ ni rgyu rnam pa bzhis na | sems can rnams la snying rje ba’i shas che ba yin te | (i) phyogs ‘bcu’i ’jig rten’[23] gyi khams mtha’ yas mu med pa dag na ’jig rten gyi khams gang na sdug bsngal med pa de lta bu dag kyang yod na | byang chub sems dpa’[n] de ni gang na sdug bsngal yod cing[24] sdug bsngal dang bcas pa’i ‘khams su’[o][25] skye bar byed kyi | sdug bsngal med par ni ma yin te | (ii) gzhan sdug bsngal ci yang rung bas thebs shing gnod par gyur te | ‘non pa’[p] <C10a> mthong ba dang | (iii) bdag kyang sdug bsngal ci yang rung bas thebs shing gnod par gyur te non pa mthong ba dang | (iv) gzhan nam bdag gam gnyis ka yang rung ste | sdug bsngal yun ring ba[26] rnam pa sna tshogs pa drag po bar chad med pas thebs shing gnod par <G14a> gyur[q] te | [27] non pa mthong na ’di ltar byang chub sems dpa’ de ni rang gi rigs <D10a> la brten cing | rang bzhin gyis dge bas na goms pa med par yang dmigs pa rten bzhi po ’di dag gis snying rje chung ngu dang | ’bring po dang | chen po skye bar ’gyur ro || (d) byang chub sems dpa’ ni sems can rnams la snying rje yang dag par sngon[r] du btang nas | [28] rgyu bzhi po ’di dag gis ’khor ba’i sdug bsngal yun ring ba rnam pa sna tshogs pa drag po bar chad med pas kyang mi ’jigs shing mi skrag na chung ngus lta ci smos te | (i) rang bzhin gyis

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[a] phun] PDG, *om.* C
[b] dpa’i] DCG, pa’i P
[c] brtul] PG, rtul DC
[d] du] DC, *om.* PG
[e] bsgoms] PDG, sgom C
[f] bsams] DC, bsam PG
[g] la] DC, las PG
[h] ’dun] DCG, bdun P
[i] thos PDG, thas C
[j] par byed] PG, *om.* DC
[k] ’jug par byed pa ’am] PG, ’jug par mi byed pa dang DC
[l] ches] PDG, chos C
[m] pa’o] PDG, po’o C
[n] dpa’] PDG, dpa’i C
[o] *Note that Sanskrit reading by* D *has* lokadhātau (= *jig rten gyi khams su).
[p] non pa] DC, non pa tha mar PG
[q] gyur] DC, ’gyur PG
[r] sngon] DC, mngon PG

snying stobs che zhing brtan[a] pa dang ldan ‹pas stobs dang ldan›[b] pa yin te | ’di ni rgyu dang po’o || (ii) mkhas pa dang | yang dag par sems pa’i[c] <P12a> ngang tshul can dang | so sor rtog pa’i stobs dang ldan pa yin te | ’di ni rgyu gnyis pa’o || (iii) bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub la mos pa chen po dang ldan pa yin te | ’di ni rgyu gsum pa’o || (iv) sems can rnams la yang cher snying rje ba dang ldan pa yin te | ’di ni rgyu bzhi pa’o ||

3.1.3. (a) stobs bzhi gang zhe na | nang[d] gi stobs dang | gzhan gyi stobs dang | rgyu’i stobs dang | sbyor ba’i ‘stobs so’[29] || (b) (i) de la rang gi mthus bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub ’dod par gyur pa gang yin pa de ni byang chub sems dpa’i byang chub tu sems skye ba’i nang[e] gi stobs zhes bya’o || (ii) gzhan gyi mthus bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub la ’dod pa skyed pa gang yin pa de ni byang chub sems dpa’i sems skye ba’i gzhan gyi stobs zhes bya’o || (iii) sngon theg pa chen po dang ldan pa’i dge ba’i chos la <G14b> goms pas da ltar sangs rgyas dang byang chub sems dpa’ mthong ba tsam mam | de dag gi bsngags pa thos pa tsam gyis kyang myur du sems skye bar ’gyur na | dam pa’i chos thos pa’am[30] | mthu mthong ‘bas lta ci’[f] smos te | de ni byang chub sems dpa’i sems skye ba’i rgyu’i stobs zhes bya’o || (iv) tshe[g] ’di nyid la skyes bu dam pa la brten <C10b> pa dang | dam pa’i chos mnyan pa dang | sems pa la sogs pa dge ba’i chos yun ring du goms par byas pa gang yin pa de ni byang chub sems dpa’i sems skye ba’i sbyor ba’i stobs zhes bya’o ||

3.1.Ø. de la byang chub sems dpa’i rkyen bzhi dang | rgyu bzhi po dag tshogs <D10b> pa’am[31] | so so la brten nas | [32] gal te stobs gnyis po nang gi stobs dang | rgyu’i stobs ’di gnyis tshogs pa’am[33] | so so las[h] sems de skyes na ni des na de brtan pa dang | snying por gyur pa dang | mi g.yo bar ’gyur ro || gzhan gyi stobs dang | sbyor ba’i stobs gnyis <P12b> las skyes pa’i sems de mi brtan par rig par bya’o ||

3.2.0. byang chub sems dpa’ sems ldog pa’i rgyu ni rnam pa bzhi ste | bzhi gang zhe na | (a) rigs dang mi ldan pa yin | (b) sdig pa’i grogs pos yongs su zin pa yin | (c) sems can rnams la snying rje chung ba yin | (d) ’khor ba’i sdug bsngal yun ring po rnam pa sna tshogs pa drag po bar chad med pas ’jigs te | shin tu ’jigs shing skrag la dngangs par ’gyur ba yin te | sems ldog par ’gyur ba’i rgyu bzhi po ’di dag ni sems skye ba’i rgyu bzhi po ’di dag bzlog pa las snga ma bzhin <G15a> du rgyas par rig par bya’o ||

4.1.0. ’di gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’[i] dang po sems bskyed pa brtan pa’i ngo mtshar rmad du byung ba’i chos ’jig rten dang thun mong ma yin pa ste | gnyis gang zhe na | (a) sems can thams cad chung ma’i tshul du yongs su ’dzin pa dang | (b) chung ma yongs su ’dzin pa’i nyes pas kyang gos par[j] ‘’gyur ba ma yin no’[k] || de la chung ma yongs su ’dzin pa’i nyes pa ni ’di yin te | chung ma la phan ’dogs pa dang | gnod pa byed pa las mthun pa dang mi mthun pas nyon mongs pa can du ’gyur ba ste | de[l] gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’ la med do ||

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[a] brtan] DC, brten PG
[b] pas stobs dang ldan] P, stobs dang ldan DC, *om.* G
[c] pa’i] DC, dpa’i PG
[d] nang] DC, rang PG
[e] nang] DC, rang PG
[f] bas lta ci] DCG, *defaced in* P
[g] tshe] DC, byang chub sems dpa’ tshe PG
[h] las] PG, las nges par DC
[i] dpa’] DGC, pa P
[j] par] DC, pa PG
[k] ’gyur ba ma yin no] PG, mi ’gyur ba yin no DC
[l] de] PCG, da D

4.2.0. ’di gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’ dang po sems bskyed pa brtan pa’i sems can rnams la lhag pa’i bsam pa bzang po ’jug par ’gyur ba yin te | ‘gnyis gang zhe na | ’[a] (a) phan pa bya ba’i lhag pa’i bsam pa dang | [34] (b) bde ba bya ba’i lhag pa’i bsam pa’o || de la phan par[b] bya ba’i lhag pa’i bsam pa ni mi dge ba’i gnas nas bton nas | dge ba’i ‘gnas su’[35] ’god par ’dod pa gang yin pa’o || bde bar[c] bya ba’i lhag pa’i bsam <C11a> pa ni sems can phongs[d] pa dang | mgon med pa dang | rten med pa rnams la nyon mongs pa[e] can spangs te | phan pa’i dngos po sgrub par ’dod pa gang yin <P13a> pa’o ||

4.3.0. ’di <D11a> gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’ dang po sems bskyed pa brtan[f] pa’i sbyor ba yin te | (a) lhag pa’i bsam pa’i ‘sbyor ba’[g] dang | (b) sgrub pa’i sbyor ba’o || de la lhag pa’i ‘bsam pa’i’[h] sbyor ba ni phan pa bya ba dang | [36] bde ba bya ba’i lhag pa’i bsam pa de nyid nyin gcig bzhin du yang <G15b> dag par spel ba’o || sgrub pa’i sbyor ba ni nyin gcig[i] bzhin du bdag gis sangs rgyas kyi[j] chos yongs su smin par byed pa’i sbyor ba dang | lhag pa’i bsam pa’i sbyor ba nyid la brten nas ci nus ci lcogs kyis sems can rnams la[k] phan pa dang | bde ba sgrub pa’i sbyor ba’o ||

4.4.0. ’di gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’ dang po sems bskyed pa[l] brtan pa’i dge ba’i chos chen po ’du ba’i sgo yin te | (a) bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub yang dag par bsgrub pa’i phyir bdag gi don la sbyor ba dang | (b) sems can thams cad kyi sdug bsngal thams cad bsal ba’i phyir gzhan gyi don la ‘sbyor ba’o’[m] || ’du ba’i sgo gnyis ji lta ba bzhin du dge ba’i chos kyi tshogs chen po gnyis dang | dge ba’i chos kyi phung po dpag tu med pa gnyis kyang de bzhin du sbyar ro ||

4.5.0. ’di gnyis ni byang chub ‘sems dpa’’[37] dang po sems bskyed pa brtan pa’i sems bskyed pa nas bzung ste | byang chub kyi phyir dge ba[n] yongs su ’dzin pa ni de las gzhan pa’i dge ba yongs su ’dzin pa las khyad par du ’phags pa yin te | (a) rgyu khyad par du ’phags pa dang | (b) ’bras[o] bu khyad par du ’phags pa’o || byang chub sems dpa’i dge ba yongs su ’dzin pa de ni bla na med pa yang dag par rdzogs pa’i byang chub kyi rgyu yin te | de yang de’i ’bras bu ‘yin no’[38] || de las gzhan pa nyan thos dang rang sangs rgyas thams cad kyi dge ba yongs su ’dzin pa yang de lta ma yin na | de las gzhan pa’i sems can rnams <P13b> kyi[p] lta ci smos | de lta bas na byang chub sems dpa’ rnams kyi dge ba[q] yongs su ’dzin pas[r] ni de las <G16a> gzhan pa’i dge ba yongs su ’dzin pa <C11b> thams cad las rgyu dang ’bras bu’i ngo bos khyad par du ’phags pa ‘yin no’[39] ||

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[a] *Note that Sanskrit has no parallel.*
[b] par] PG, pa DC
[c] bar] PG, ba DC
[d] phongs] DC, ’phongs PG
[e] pa] PDG, *om. or lost* C
[f] brtan] DC, bstan PG
[g] sbyor ba] PDG, sbyos G
[h] bsam pa’i] DC, *om.* PG
[i] gcig] DC, cig PG
[j] kyi] DC, kyis PG
[k] la] PG, la yang DC
[l] pa] DC, *om.* PG
[m] sbyor ba’o] DC, sbyar bar ro PG
[n] ba] DC, ba’i PG
[o] ’bras] PCG, *defaced in* D
[p] kyi] PG, kyis DC
[q] ba] DC, ba’i PG
[r] pas] DG, pa CP

4.6.0. ’di gnyis ni byang chub sems dpa’[a] dang po’i sems bskyed pa brtan pa’i sems bskyed pa’i phan yon yin te | (a) sems bskyed ma thag gis <D11b> kyang sems can thams cad kyi yon ‘gnas su’[40] gyur pa dang | bla mar gyur pa dang | bsod nams kyi zhing dang | skye dgu rnams kyi pha dang ’dra bar gyur pa dang | (b) gnod[b] pa med pa’i bsod nams yongs su ’dzin par byed do || de las gnod pa med pa’i bsod nams ni (i) gang dang ldan na byang chub sems dpa’ ’khor los sgyur ba kun nas bsrung ba’i nyis ’gyur gyis bsrung ba yin te | kun nas bsrung ba de dag de la rtag tu nye bar gnas pas | gnyid log[c] gam | myos par gyur pa’am[41] | bag med par gyur pa na yang | gdug pa’am[42] gnod sbyin nam | mi ma yin pa gnyug mar gnas pa rnams kyis gtse bar mi ‘nus pa’o’[d] || tshe brjes[e] pa’i ’og tu yang byang chub sems dpa’ de ni bsod nams yongs su bzung ba des na | gnod pa nyung zhing rang bzhin gyis ‘gnod pa’[f] med pa yin te | gnod pa yun ring ba dang | drag pos ’debs par mi ‘’gyur ro’[43] || (ii) de lus dang ngag gis sems can gyi[g] don dang | sems can gyi bya ba dag la rtsol[h] ba dang chos ston pa na shas[i] cher lus ngal bar mi ’gyur zhing | brjed ngas par[j] mi ’gyur la | sems nyams par mi ’gyur ro || (iii) byang chub sems dpa’i rigs la gnas pa ni rang bzhin gyis kyang gnas ngan len shas chung ba yin la | [44] sems bskyed ‘na ni’[k] ’di lta ste | <G16b> lus kyi gnas ngan len dang | ‘sems kyi gnas ngan len gyi gnas ngan len’[l] shin tu chung bar ‘’gyur ro’[45] || (iv) gsang sngags kyi tshig[m] dang | [46] <P14a> rig sngags kyi tshig sems can rnams kyi yams kyi nad dang | gnod pa dang | nad ’go ba zhi bar byed pa dag de las gzhan pa’i sems can gyi lag na ’dug pa ma grub pa rnams kyang de’i lag tu ’ongs na ’grub par ’gyur na | grub pa dag lta[n] ci smos | (v) lhag par yang bzod pa dang | nges pa dang ldan te | pha rol gyi gnod pa byas pa bzod pa yin no || gzhan la yang gnod pa mi byed la | [o] gzhan gyis gzhan la gnod <C12a> pa byed pa mthong ngam thos na yang shin tu mi dga’ bar ‘’gyur ro’[47] || de’i nye ba’i nyon[48] mongs pa khong khro ba dang | phrag[p] dog dang | g.yo dang ’chab pa la sogs pa rnams kyang bcom ste | nyams smad pas brgya la spyod par gyur na <D12a> yang myur du ’bral bar ‘’gyur ro’[49] || de grong gi gnas ‘gang na gnas’[q] pa de yang ’jigs pa dang | ’jigs par ’gyur ba dang | mu ge’i nyes pa rnams dang | mi[r] ma yin pas byas pa’i gnod pa ma byung ba rnams ni ’byung bar mi ’gyur la | byung ba rnams ni rnam par zhi bar ‘’gyur ro’[50] ||

gal te byang chub sems dpa’ dang po sems bskyed pa de lan ’ga’ zhig ngan song gi sems can dmyal ba ‘rnams su’[51] ‘skyes su’[52] zin kyang de ni gnod pa med pa’i bsod nams yongs su ’dzin pa’i rgyus shas[s] cher shin tu myur bar thar bar ’gyur la | sdug bsngal gyi[t]

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[a] dpa’] DC, dpa’i PG
[b] gnod] PDC, bnod G
[c] log] PDC, logs G
[d] nus pa’o] DC, nus so P, nuso G
[e] brjes] DC, mrjes PG
[f] gnod pa] DC, nad PG
[g] gyi] PG, rnams kyi DC
[h] rtsol] DC, brtsol PG
[i] shas] PDG, shes C
[j] par] DGC, bar P
[k] na ni] DC, na PG
[l] *Cf. Sanskrit text.*
[m] tshig] PDG, tshigs C
[n] lta] DC, *om.* PG
[o] la |] DC, la | gzhan gnod pa byed dam | PG. DC *supported by Sanskrit?*
[p] phrag] DCG, phra P
[q] gang na gnas] DC (*supported by Sanskrit*), *om.* PG
[r] mi] DC, mi dang mi PG
[s] shas] DC, chas P, ches G
[t] gyi] PGC, *defaced in* D

‘tshor ba’[a] yang shin tu tshabs chung ba myong bar ’gyur te | skyo[b] ba yang shin tu skye bar ‘’gyur ro’[53] || sems <G17a> can de dag la[c] snying rje’i sems bskyed par ‘’gyur ro’[54] || de ltar byang chub sems dpa’ dang[d] po sems bskyed pas ni gnod pa med pa’i bsod nams yongs su ’dzin pa las ’di lta bu dang |[55] mthun pa’i phan yon mang po ‘nyams su’[56] myong[e] bar ‘’gyur ro’[57] ||

5.Ø.Ø. byang chub sems dpa’i sa’i gzhi’i rnal ’byor gyi gnas las | [58] sems bskyed pa’i <P14b> le’u ste gnyis pa’o || ||

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[a] tshor ba] PG (*supported by Sanskrit*), tshor ba myong ba DC
[b] skyo] *em.*, skye PDCG
[c] la] PDG, la yang C
[d] dang] PDG, dad C
[e] myong DG, myod PC

1 tu] DCG, du P
2 dang] PDC, dang | G
3 dang] PDC, dang | G
4 smon] PDG, smen C
5 tu] DGC, du P
6 grangs su] DC, grangsu PG
7 yongs su] PDC, yongsu G
8 bya'o ||] DGC, bya'o | P
9 bu'am |] PDC, bu'am G
10 pa 'am] PCG, pa'am D
11 no] DCG, no || P
12 nas] PDC, nas | G
13 chen por] PDG, che dper C
14 phyir |] PDG, phyir || C
15 thos su] PDC, thosu G
16 tu] DCG, du P
17 skabs su] PDC, skabsu G
18 dang] PG, dang | DC
19 rjes su] PDC, rjesu G
20 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
21 la] DCG, la | P
22 yon tan] PDC, yton G
23 bcu'i 'jig rten] PDC, bcu'ijtien G
24 cing] PG, cing | DC
25 khams su] PDC, khamsu G
26 ba] DCG, pa P
27 te |] PG, te DC
28 nas | DC, nas PG
29 stobs so] PDC, stobso G
30 pa'am] DC, pa 'am PG
31 pa'am] DC, pa 'am PG
32 nas |] DC, nas PG
33 pa'am] DC, pa 'am PG
34 dang |] PG, dang DC
35 gnas su] PDC, gnasu G
36 dang |] DCG, dang P
37 sems dpa'] PDC, seṃda' G
38 yin no] PDC, yino G
39 yin no] PDC, yino G
40 gnas su] PDC, gnasu G
41 pa'am] DC, pa 'am PG
42 pa'am] DC, pa 'am PG
43 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
44 la |] PG, la DC
45 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
46 dang |] DGC, dang || P
47 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
48 nyon] PDG, nyo ma C
49 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
50 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
51 rnams su] PDC, rnamsu G
52 skyes su] PDC, skyesu G
53 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
54 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
55 dang |] DC, dang PG
56 nyams su] PDC, nyamsu G
57 'gyur ro] PDC, 'gyuro G
58 las |] DC, las PG

Abbreviations and Bibliography

1. Journals, Collections, Reference Books, Series, and Other Abbreviations

BB Bibliotheca Buddhica

BGG *Buddhismus in Geschichte und Gegenwart*

BHSD Franklin Edgerton, *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary, Volume 2: Dictionary*. 1953. Reprint: Kyoto: Rinsen Book Co., 1985.

BIB Bibliotheca Indo-Buddhica

BITS Bibliotheca Indo-Tibetica Series

BST Buddhist Sanskrit Texts

BTS Buddhist Tradition Series

CIHTS Central Institute of Higher Tibetan Studies

CPD V. Trenckner (begun by), D. Andersen et al., eds., *A Critical Pāli Dictionary*. Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy, 1924 sq.

D sDe-dge bKa'-'gyur and bsTan-'gyur. Numbers according to: Hakuju Ui et al., ed., *A Complete Catalogue of the Tibetan Buddhist Canons (Bkaḥ-ḥgyur and Bstan-ḥgyur)*. Sendai: Tōhoku Imperial University, 1934.

Dhīḥ *Dhīḥ: Journal of Rare Buddhist Texts Research Unit*. Sarnath: CIHTS.

DP Margaret Cone, *A Dictionary of Pāli: Part I, a – kha*. Oxford: The Pali Text Society, 2001.

DzD Klong-chen-pa Dri-med-'od-zer, *mDzod bdun*. Gangtok: Dodrup Chen Rinpoche, n.d. Reprint: Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, n.d.

EB *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Standard Edition, CD-Rom, 2002.

EoB G. P. Malalasekera, ed., *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, vol. 3. Ceylon: The Government Press of Ceylon, 1971.

Hōbōgirin Paul Demiéville et al., ed., *Répertoire du Canon Bouddhique Sino-Japonais. Édition de Taishō (Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō)*. Fascicule Annexe du Hōbōgirin. Paris/Tokyo: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient Adrien-Maisonneuve – Maison Franco-Japonaise, 1978.

HWP Joachim Ritter et al., eds., *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie*. Basel/Muttenz: Schwabe AG, 1971–2004.

IBK *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū = Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*

IeT Indica et Tibetica

IIBS The International Institute for Buddhist Studies

IIJ *Indo-Iranian Journal*

Is.M.E.O. Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente

JAOS *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JIABS *Journal of International Association of Buddhist Studies*

JIP *Journal of Indian Philosophy*

JPTS *Journal of the Pali Text Society*
LIRI Lumbini International Research Institute
MS *'Jam mgon 'ju mi pham rgya mtsho'i gsung 'bum rgyas pa sde dge dgon chen par ma. The Expanded Redaction of the Complete Works of 'Ju Mi-pham.* Reconstructed and reproduced from the surviving prints at the order of H. H. Dilgo Chhentse Rimpoche. Paro: Lama Ngodrup & Sherab Drimey, 1984–1993.
MW Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary.* 1899. Reprint: Tokyo: Meicho Fukyukai Co., 1986.
NyG *rNying ma rgyud 'bum.* [mTshams-brag Edition.] Thimphu: National Library of Bhutan, 1982.
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PED T. W. Rhys Davids & William Stede, *Pali-English Dictionary.* 1921–25. Reprint: Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1997.
PIATS Proceedings of the International Association of Tibetan Studies
PK O-rgyan-'jigs-med-chos-kyi-dbang-po, *dPal sprul bka' 'bum.* 5 vols. Photomechanical reproduction of the xylographic prints made from Lhasa blocks. [Chengdu: Southwest Minorities Institute, 1996?].
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S *bsTan 'gyur (dpe bsdur ma).* Sichuan: Krung-go'i-bod-kyi-shes-rig-dpe-skrun-khang, 1994–2005.
SKB *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i bka' 'bum: The Collected Works of the Founding Masters of Sa skya.* Reproduced from the 1736 Derge Edition. 15 vols. Dehra Dun: Sakya Centre, 1992.
SOAS School of Oriental and African Studies
SPBMS Studia Philologica Buddhica Monograph Series
SS *dPal ldan sa skya pa'i gsung rab*, eds., Tshul-khrims-rgyal-mtshan et al. Beijing: Mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang & Xining: mTsho-sngon-mi-rigs-dpe-skrun-khang, 2004.
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Taishō See *Hōbōgirin.*
TJ *The Tibet Journal*

TSD J. S. Negi et al., *Tibetan-Sanskrit Dictionary*. 16 vols. Sarnath: CIHTS, Dictionary Unit, 1993–2005.
TsSB *The Collected Works (gsung 'bum) of the Incomparable Lord Tsong-kha-pa Blo-bzang-grags-pa*, sKu-'bum-byams-pa-gling-par-khang, n.d.
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Webster's Philip Babcock Gove (editor in chief) & The Merriam-Webster editorial staff, *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language Unabridged*. Springfield: Merriam-Webster Inc., 1993.
WSTB Wiener Studien zur Tibetologie und Buddhismuskunde
WZKS *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde Südasiens*
ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

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[2] Obviously a printing error for I 8, a convention used by the author to refer to the *Bodhisattvabhūmi* 1.8 (*Balagotrapaṭala*). See DE JONG 1987b: 172.

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